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DAVID AND MEPHIBOSHETH
ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS

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Throughout 2 Samuel the reader repeatedly encounters the figure of that fortunate Saulide, Mephibosheth, who, thanks to David's favor, escapes the carnage that envelops so many of his family; see 4:4; 9:1-13; 16:1-4; 19:25-31 (MT; EVV 19:24-30); 21:7. The purpose of this essay is to investigate Josephus' version, found in his *Antiquitates Judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.*) Book 7[1] of the biblical story of the interaction between David and Mephibosheth. More specifically, I shall concentrate on his rendition of 2 Sam 9; 16 and 19, since Josephus has no equivalent to the parenthetical notice of 4:4 within his rendition of 2 Sam 4 in *Ant.* 7.46-52 and I have already treated his parallel to 2 Sam 21:1-13 elsewhere.[2] My investigation will proceed by way of a detailed comparison between the Josephan version of the above segments and the biblical parallel material as represented by the following major witnesses: MT (BHS), Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B),[3] the Lucianic (hereafter L) or Antiochene MSS[4] of the LXX, and *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (hereafter *Tg. Jon.*).[5]

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[1]For the writings of Josephus I used the text and translation of H.St.J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, A. Wikgren, and L.H. Feldman, *Josephus*, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926-1965 [*Ant.* Book 7 is found in vol. 5, ed. by Ralph Marcus]).

[2]See C.T. Begg, "The Execution of the Saulides according to Josephus," *Sef* 56 (1996): 3-18.

[3]For B I use A.E. Brooke, N. McLean and H.St.J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of the Codex Vaticanus*, vol. 2:1, *I and II Samuel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927).

[4]For L I use N. Fernández Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El Texto antioqueño de la Biblia Griega*, vol. 1, *1-2 Samuel*, Textos y estudios Cardenal Cisneros 50 (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1989).

[5]For Tj. Jon. I use A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, II (Leiden: Brill, 1959) and the translation of this by D.J. Harrington and A.J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets*, The Aramaic Bible 10 (Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1987).

I undertake this comparison with a number of overarching questions in view: Which text-form(s) of the above passages did Josephus employ? How, and on the basis of what sort of rewriting techniques, does his version differ from its source? Finally, what messages may Josephus have intended his version of the David-Mephibosheth story to convey to his double audience, i.e., (Roman) Gentiles and fellow Jews?

For purposes of my comparison I divide up the biblical and Josephan material into three parallel segments as follows: Mephibosheth Honored (2 Sam 9:1-13// *Ant.* 7.111-117a); 2) Mephibosheth Accused (16:1-4// 7.205-206); and 3) Mephibosheth's Self-Defense (19:25-31// 7.267-271).

Mephibosheth Honored

The biblical story of David's beneficence to Mephibosheth (2 Sam 9) is rather abruptly linked to what precedes, i.e., the list of David's officials, 8:15-18 (// *Ant.* 7.110) by means of the opening words of v. 1, "And David said." Josephus (7.111) provides a much more elaborate transition between the two segments:

> He also remembered [ἐμνήσθη] his sworn covenant [τῶν ... συνθηκῶν καὶ ὅρκων][6] with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and Jonathan's friendship and devotion [φιλίας καὶ σπουδῆς],[7] to him, for beside all the other good qualities [ἀγαθοῖς] he possessed, was also that of being ever mindful [μνημονικώτατος] of those who had benefited [εὖ ποιησάντων] him at any time.

The narration in 2 Sam 9:1 continues with David's direct discourse question about whether anyone is left of Saul's house to whom he might show "kindness" for Jonathan's sake. As he does frequently, Josephus (7.112a) transposes direct discourse into indirect discourse[8]: "Accordingly, he gave orders to inquire whether any of his family [γένους, B οἴκου][9] survived, to whom he might

[6]The phrase "remembered sworn oaths" here in 7.111 recalls Josephus' earlier references to David's and Jonathan's commitment to each other, see *Ant.* 6.241 (// 1 Sam 20:42): " ... exhorting each other to remember their oaths (μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ὅρκων)" and 6.276 (// 1 Sam 23:18) "(Jonathan) having renewed his oaths [ὅρκους]."

[7]This collocation is hapax in Josephus. The word φιλία figures in Josephus' previous account of the relationship between David and Jonathan; see *Ant.* 6.225,228. On Josephus' overall treatment of that relationship, see L.H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of David," *HUCA* 60 (1989): 129-174, esp. 169-170.

[8]On this feature of Josephus' biblical paraphrase, see C.T. Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8,212-420)*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 108: (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), 12-13, n. 38.

[9]In David's question of 9:1 the reference is to "the house of *Saul*." Josephus, in line with his earlier reference to David's remembering his commitment to *Jonathan*, has the king ask about "his, i.e., Jonathan's, family."

repay the debt he owed Jonathan for his comradeship [ἐταιρίας]."[10]

David's query leads (9:2a) to the summoning of a certain "Ziba," a servant of Saul's house. The Josephan rendition provides both a rationale for the recourse precisely to this figure and an alternative designation for him: "Thereupon there was brought to him one of Saul's freedmen [ἠλευθερωμένου][11] *who would know whether any of his family* [γένους, see 7.112a] remained alive."[12]

The exchange between Ziba and David (9:2b-4) begins with a question-and-answer sequence concerning the former's identity, v. 2b. Josephus passes over this opening element as something superfluous. David's question ("Are you Ziba?") seems to suppose that he has already been informed of the identity of the one who had been fetched. Instead, he has the king proceed immediately to the key issue: "and David asked whether he could name any kinsmen of Jonathan[13] who was alive and might be the recipient of kindness [χάριτας][14] *in return for the benefits* [εὐεργεσιῶν, compare εὖ ποιησάντων, 7.111] *which he himself had received from Jonathan.*"[15]

In 9:3b Ziba informs David that there does remain a lame son of Jonathan, whose name he, oddly, neglects to give. Josephus' respondent (7.113a) fills this lacuna, anticipating the Saulide's name from 9:6: "The man replied that a son [υἱόν] was left to him, *named Memphibosthos* (Μεμφίβοσθον),[16] who was crippled in his feet [πεπρωμένον τὰς βάσεις, BL πεπληγὼς τοὺς

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[10]This term echoes 6.241 (// 1 Sam 20:41), where David and Jonathan "bewail the companionship (ἐταιρίαν) which was begrudged them."

[11]In employing this term to designate the character's status at the moment of his summons, instead of the source's "servant" (BL παῖς), Josephus may have in view subsequent indications concerning him in 2 Sam 9 which might suggest that, when called before David here in 9:2a, "Ziba" was not currently a servant but only (re-)assumed that position subsequently at David's initiative, see 9:10b (Ziba himself has 20 "servants") and 12b (everyone in Ziba's household, i.e., including Ziba himself, *becomes* Mepiboseth's "servants"). In any case, Josephus for the moment (but see 7.115) passes over the proper name of David's future informant.

[12]I italicize elements of Josephus' presentation like the above which have no equivalent as such in the source.

[13]Compare 9:3a, "some one of the house of *Saul*." Once again (see n. 9), Josephus keeps attention focused specifically on Jonathan as the one whose memory evokes David's initiative.

[14]Compare 9:3a, "the kindness of God (B ἔλεος [L ἔλεον] θεοῦ)."

[15]The above, biblically unparalleled, motivation for David's proposed kindness, harks back to Josephus' editorial "preface" to the story of 2 Samuel 9, see 7.111 "(David) remembered . . . Jonathan's friendship and devotion to him," these being the "benefits" alluded to here in 7.112.

[16]This is the declined form of the name as found in B 9:6 etc. Compare MT "Mephibosheth"; L Μεμφιβάαλ (cf. MT 1 Chr 8:34; 9:39 "Meribbaal").

πόδας]." To the speaker's concluding reference to Memphibosthos' infirmity, Josephus then attaches an extended explanation whose content he draws from the parenthetical notice found in 2 Sam 4:4 earlier passed over by him (see above). His "delayed" utilization of 4:4 reads thus:

> For after the news came that the child's father and grandfather *had fallen in battle*,[17] his nurse (τροφοῦ) had snatched him up and fled, and he had slipped from her shoulder, thereby sustaining an injury to his feet (βάσεις).

The David-Ziba dialogue of 9:2b-4 ends (v. 4) with another question-answer sequence (cf. 9:2b) in which the king asks about the whereabouts of the crippled Saulide and is told by Ziba that he is in the house of Malchir, son of Ammiel, at Lo-debar. Thereupon (v. 5), David sends to the place and fetches the intended object of his benefactions. Josephus, in effect, fuses the separate contents of vv. 4-5 in 7.113b: "When David learned where and by whom he *was being brought up*,[18] he sent to *the city of Labatha* [Λάβαθα][19] to Macheiros [Μάχειρον][20]—*this was the person by whom Jonathan's son was being brought up* [see n. 18]—and summoned him to his presence."

In 2 Sam 9:6 Mephibosheth pays his respects to David (v. 6a), this being coupled with a question-answer exchange between them as to the former's identity (v. 6b). As he did with the similar exchange between David and Ziba of 9:2b (see above), Josephus leaves aside that of v. 6b. In so doing, he directly juxtaposes (7.114) the Saulide's homage (9:6a) with David's opening, general assurances to him (9:7a): "Memphibosthos[21] came before the king and, falling [πεσών] on his face, did obeisance [προσεκύνησεν] to him,[22] but David bade him take heart [θαρρεῖν] and look forward to a better lot."[23] Thereafter,

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[17]This allusion to the battle of Mt. Gilboa (1 Samuel 31// *Ant.* 6.368-378) represents a specification of the formulation used in 2 Sam 4:4aβ, "news about Saul and Jonathan came from Jezreel (MT; BL Israel)."

[18]The above formulation presupposes the exchange as cited in 9:4. The italicized phrase lacks a parallel in the source; it provides an implicit explanation as to what Memphibosthos was doing at "Machir's" home as reported by Ziba, i.e., Malchir was rearing the orphan boy.

[19]Compare MT "Lo-debar," BL Λαδαβάρ.

[20]Compare MT "Machir," BL Μαχείρ.

[21]In 2 Sam 9 Mephibosheth is mentioned by name for the first time in v. 6a, where the names of his father and grandfather are also cited. Josephus, who has already mentioned the name of the surviving Saulide in his version (see 7.113a), leaves aside those of his forebears in his parallel to 9:6a here in 7.114.

[22]Josephus' above sequence, mentioning first Mephibosheth's falling on his face and then his obeisance, corresponds to that of MT B 9:6a as against L, where the two items appear in the reverse order.

[23]Compare David's direct address word of 9:7a, "Do not fear; for I will show you kindness for the sake of your father Jonathan."

he expatiates somewhat on the two specific favors announced by David in 9:7b: "He then gave him *his father's house and* all the substance [οὐσίαν] which his grandfather [πάππος] Saul had acquired,[24] and gave orders that he should share his own food at his table [ὁμοτράπεζον][25] and let not a day pass without eating with him."[26] Mephibosheth responds to David's words with a new act of homage (9:8a, compare 9:6b// 7.114a) and a self-deprecating remark concerning himself (9:8b). Josephus (7.115a) leaves aside the latter component of the Saulide's response in favor of a transitional phrase "motivating" his renewed homage to the king: "*In acknowledgement of these words and gifts,* the lad did obeisance [προσκυνήσαντος, BL προσεκύνησεν] to him."[27]

In 2 Sam 9:9-10abα David shifts his attention from Mephibosheth back to Ziba (see 9:2-3), informing the latter of his decision about the former (see 9:7b) and issuing additional instructions to him. Josephus' version features both reminiscences of his own earlier formulations in 7.114-115 and various modifications of the source's wording. It reads: "Then [David] called Siba [Σιβάν][28] and told him that he had made the lad [παιδί, see παιδός, 7.114] a present [δεδωρῆσθαι, BL δέδωκα, cf. δωρεαῖς, 7.114] *of his father's house*[29] and all of Saul's possessions [κτῆσιν],[30] and he ordered [Siba] to work his [Mephibosheth's] land [ἐργαζόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν] *and take care of it*

[24]Compare 9:7bα, "I will restore to you all the land [B ἀγρόν, L ἀγρούς] of Saul your father" (so MT L; B the father of your father, compare Josephus' his grandfather Saul).

[25]The word ὁμοτράπεζος is hapax in Josephus.

[26]Compare the more summary wording of 9:7bβ, "and you shall eat at my table always."

[27]As mentioned above, Josephus leaves aside Mephibosheth's self-deprecating words of 9:8b ("What is your servant, that you should look upon a dead dog such as I?"). His doing so coheres with his omission of the comparable self-denigrations attributed to David himself in 1 Sam 24:14 and 26:20. The motivation for the historian's procedure in all these cases may be the concern not to evoke contempt for biblical characters from the side of his Gentile readers, whose great ethical authority, Aristotle, had deprecated excessive modesty (μικροψυχία); on the point, see L.H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Saul," *HUCA* 53 (1982): 45-99, esp. 80-82. In this connection it is of interest to note that *Tg. Jon.*, in its renderings of 1 Sam 24:14; 26:20; and 2 Sam 9:8b, replaces the (self-pejorative) "dog" imagery of MT with alternative terminology.

[28]This form of the name is the declined version of that read by MT "Ziba" and L (Σιβά); compare B Σειβά. In Josephus' version of 2 Sam 9, this is his first mention of "Ziba" by name.

[29]In 9:9 the reference is to David's having given Mephibosheth "all that belonged to Saul and to all his (i.e., Saul's) house." Josephus' rendition, with its mention of Mephibosheth's "father," directs attention specifically and distinctly to Jonathan, this in line with a tendency observable throughout his version of 2 Sam 9.

[30]Compare the equivalent phrase of David's word to Mephibosheth himself in 7.114, "all the substance (οὐσίαν) which . . . Saul had acquired."

[προνοούμε νον],³¹ to send all the yield [πρόσοδον] *to Jerusalem,*³² and to bring the lad [literally him] to his table every day."³³

The story in 2 Sam 9:10 ends in v.10bβ with a parenthetical notice on the figures for Ziba's sons (15) and his servants (20), whom David had previously directed (v. 10aα) to till the soil along with Ziba himself (see above), these references being then recapitulated in the seemingly extraneous remark of 9:12b ("and all who dwelt in Ziba's house became Mephibosheth's servants"). Josephus conflates the source's three separate mentions of Ziba's "household" in his notice on the king's next initiative: "David also presented [χαρίζεται, cf. χάριτας, 7.112] Memphibosthos with Siba himself, his sons, of whom there were fifteen, and his servants [οἰκέτας, BL δοῦλοι],³⁴ twenty in number."

Next, Josephus (7.116a) elaborates on the circumstances surrounding Ziba's promise to do as directed by David as cited in 9:11a: "*When the king had given these instructions,* Siba *did obeisance to him* [προσκυνήσας],³⁵ saying he would do all these things,³⁶ *and withdrew.*" He then proceeds to combine into one the two similar references to Mephibosheth's eating place of 9:11b³⁷

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³¹Compare 9:10aα, "you *and your sons and your servants* shall till the land for him" (BL ἐργᾷ αὐτῷ τὴν γῆν). Josephus reserves mention of Siba's fellow "cultivators" to a later point in his presentation; see below.

³²The above phrase reads like a further clarification of (the opening element of) the L reading in 9:10bα, "and you shall bring bread(s) into the house of your lord *and they shall eat,*" specifying the location of Mephibosheth's "house," i.e., in Jerusalem. Compare MT ("and you shall bring and it will be to the son of your lord that he may eat it") and B ("and you shall bring breads to the son of your lord and he shall eat breads"), which lack an indication as to where Ziba is to "bring" what he is commanded.

³³Compare 9:10bα, "but Mephibosheth your master's son shall always eat at my table." Josephus' specification that Ziba is to "bring" Mephibosheth to the royal table has in view both the latter's crippled state and the fact of his being still a "lad" (παῖς), a designation twice previously applied to him by Josephus without biblical warrant as such; see above.

³⁴On Josephus' terminology for slaves and slavery, see J.G. Gibbs and L.H. Feldman, "Josephus' Vocabulary for Slavery," *JQR* 76 (1986): 281-310.

³⁵With this inserted indication Josephus, going beyond the Bible, places in parallel the responses of Mephibosheth (7.115// 9:8a) and Ziba (7.116) to David's respective words to them.

³⁶Compare the more expansive wording of 9:11a, "Then Ziba said to the king, 'According to all that my lord the king commands his servant, so will your servant do.'"

³⁷This verse-half poses another text-critical problem. In MT (and *Tg. Jon.*) it functions as continuation of Ziba's response begun in v. 9a: "and Mephibosheth is eating at *my* [i.e. Ziba's] table like one of the king's sons." Given the seeming contradiction between this affirmation and the statements of vv. 10 and 13a about the Saulide survivor's eating at *David's* own table, most scholars opt for the LXX reading, in which the "table" spoken of in v. 11b is that of David (so B) or "the king" (so L) such that the verse-half is to be understood either as a comment by the narrator (so RSV) or as an instance of courtly

and 13a. The combination runs: "So Jonathan's son[38] dwelt [κατῴκει = BL] in Jerusalem [// 9:13aα], sharing the king's hospitality [συνεστιώμενος, compare ὁμοτράπεζον, 7.114][39] *and receiving every attention* [θεραπείας][40] as though he were his own son [// 9:11bβ]."[41]

The story in 2 Sam 9:12-13 constitutes a kind of appendix/recapitulation to the story of David's gracing of Mephibosheth. From the items making up this appendix, Josephus elects to utilize only their one new element, i.e., the notice of v. 12a concerning Mephibosheth's own son: "There was also born to him a son [παῖς, BL υἱός],[42] whom he called Michanos [Μίχανον]."[43]

As noted above, Josephus introduces the biblical story of the favor shown Mephibosheth by David with an elaborate transitional formulation in 7.111 (compare the abrupt opening of 9:1, "and David said"). Now at the end of his version, the historian provides an equally elaborate closing notice (7.117a), which lacks any counterpart in the source, but which serves to highlight, one last time, David's magnanimity towards the dispossesed Saulides. This reads: "Such then were the honours [τιμῶν] which those who were left of the family [γένους, 7.111, 112] of Saul and Jonathan received [ἔτυχον, compare θεραπείας τυγχάνων, 7.116a] from David."[44]

Mephibosheth Accused

The triangular interaction involving David, Mephibosheth and Ziba,

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language by Ziba, making third-person reference to his addressee David, as in v. 11a. See n. 41.

[38]In both 9:11b and 13 the reference is to "Mephibosheth." Josephus' substitution, once again, highlights the figure of Jonathan: it is as Jonathan's son that Mephibosheth enjoys the privilege of the royal table.

[39]Josephus' remaining uses of the verb συνεστιάω are in *BJ* 1.331; *Ant.* 12.93; 15.77. The above phrase is Josephus' equivalent for the double reference to Mephibosheth's "eating" (BL ἤσθιεν) at the (royal) table in 9:11b and 13a.

[40]The above phrase has no equivalent in either 9:11b or 13a as such. It underscores the magnitude of David's benefactions to the son of his deceased friend.

[41]As will be noted, the above rendition of 9:11b + 13a aligns itself with the BL readings of the former verse with their reference to Mephibosheth's eating like one of the king's sons at *David's* own table, as opposed to the MT/*Tg. Jon.* wording wherein Ziba speaks of Mephibosheth's eating at "*my* table"; see n. 37.

[42]Note that Josephus' above designation for Mephibosheth's progeny is, somewhat oddly, the same one twice used by him for Mephibosheth himself (see 7.114,115): the "child" Mephibosheth himself begets a "child."

[43]MT "Mica," B Μειχά, L Μιχά.

[44]The above closing notice for Josephus' rendering of 2 Sam 9 (7.117a) is followed, in 7.117b-129a, by his version of 2 Sam 10 (David's victories over the Ammonites and Syrians).

commenced in 2 Sam 9 (// 7.111-117a), next resurfaces in the context of David's flight from Jerusalem prompted by the revolt of his son Absalom, in 16:1-4// 7.205-206. This new episode, in which Mephibosheth figures only as an offstage presence, opens when Ziba presents himself before David as the latter passes "beyond the summit" (MT 16:1 *mēhārōš*, BL, transliterating, ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρ(ο)ώς), i.e., of "the Mount of Olives"; see 15:30). Josephus, who does take over the earlier source reference to David's ascending the Mount of Olives in 7.202, leaves the site of the David-Ziba encounter indeterminate. On the other hand, he introduces an explicit reminiscence of the events of 2 Sam 9 as described by him in his rendition (7.205a) of 16:1: "Now David had gone a little further when he was met by Ziba, the servant [δοῦλος, BL παιδάριον] of Memphibosthos *whom David had sent to take charge* [προνοησόμενον; see προνοούμενον, 7.115] *of the property which he had given* [κτήσεων ἃς δεδώρητο, see δεδωρῆσθαι ... κτῆσιν, 7.115] *to the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul*." Having thus expatiated on 16:1a's reference to Ziba, Josephus drastically compresses the extended catalogue of items with which he approaches David, according to 16:1b: "Siba had with him a couple of asses [ζεύγους ὄνων] laden with provisions."[45] In 16:2a David initiates the exchange by asking Ziba the reason for his bringing the things just mentioned. Josephus leaves aside the king's question, directly linking mention of what Ziba brings (// 16:1b) with his word concerning these (// 16:2b)[46]: "[the provisions] from which he bade David take whatever he himself and his men might need."[47]

The narrative of 16:1-4 takes a critical turn in v. 3a with David asking about the whereabouts of "your [Ziba's] master's son." Josephus' indirect discourse rendition of the royal question (7.206a) eliminates the source's roundabout allusion to one about whom David queries Ziba: "And, when he was asked where he had left Memphibosthos."[48] In response to David's

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[45]Compare 16:1b, "with a couple of asses [BL ζεῦγος ὄνων = Josephus] saddled, bearing two hundred loaves of bread, a hundred [so MT B; L an ephah] bunches of raisins, a hundred [MT B, L 200] of summer fruits, and a skin [MT *nēbel*, BL transliterate] of wine."

[46]In so doing, Josephus accentuates Ziba's eagerness to ingratiate himself with the king: Not waiting to be asked, he immediately presents what he has brought to David.

[47]As he did with the catalogue of 16:1b, Josephus generalizes and compresses the more differentiated wording of Ziba's response as cited in 16:2b, "The asses are for the king's household to ride on, the bread [so MT *qere* and the versions, MT *ketiv* and for war] and summer fruit for the young men to eat and the wine for those who faint in the wilderness." The historian's handling of the two source sequences goes together in that, since he does not take over the particulars of the listing of 16:1b, it would not make sense for him to reproduce Ziba's evocation of those particulars in his version of the latter's word, 16:2b.

[48]In substituting the Saulide's proper name for the circumstantial designation of 16:3a, Josephus eliminates the seeming incorrectness of the source's wording, which continues to speak of Saul as Ziba's "master" (so 9:2), whereas according to 9:12 (// 7.115b) David had

question, Ziba tells him (v. 3b) of Mephibosheth's remaining in Jerusalem and his (alleged) reason for doing so, i.e., his hope that the Israelites would restore his father's kingdom to him. Josephus expatiates on the biblical Ziba's reply: "He said, 'In Jerusalem,' where he was waiting to be chosen king *in the midst of the prevailing confusion,*[49] *in recognition of the benefits* [εὐεργέτησεν, see εὐεργεσιῶν, 7.112] *which Saul*[50] *had conferred on the people.*"[51]

The Ziba-David exchange of 16:1-4 concludes in v. 4 with mention of the king's decision, inspired by what he has just been told, and Ziba's obsequious response to this. The historian's rendering (7.206b) prefaces a reference to the king's emotional state, provides a motivation for his decision, and transposes Ziba's words into a notice on the interior affect of the royal decision upon him. This concluding sequence runs: "*In his indignation* [ἀγανακτήσας] *at this,*[52] David made a present [χαρίζεται, see 7.115] to Ziba of all that he had granted to Memphibosthos, *for,* he said, *he recognized that he had a far more just claim* [δικαιότερον] *to possess them than had the other.*[53] And so Siba was greatly pleased [περιχαρής]."[54]

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made Ziba (and his household) the "servant" of Mephibosheth himself.

[49]Ziba's mention of the "prevailing confusion" in Jerusalem provides an initial explanation as to why the cripple Mephibosheth should have any hope of becoming king: In the current "confusion" anything might happen.

[50]In 16:3b Ziba "quotes" Mephibosheth's word about "the kingdom of *my father*." This formulation leaves the identity of the "father" in question ambiguous—is it Jonathan or rather Saul? Josephus' substitution of the proper name "Saul" resolves the matter. Cf. n. 48.

[51]The above phrase, "in recognition of . . . on the people," provides a further motivation for Mephibosheth's (alleged) expectation about his being made king. In appending such motivations to Ziba's claim about Mephibosheth's current hopes, Josephus renders that claim more plausible than it might appear in the Bible. Thereby too, he better accounts for David's immediate and drastic response to it as described in what follows.

[52]Such inserted psychological indications are a hallmark of Josephus' biblical paraphrase. The notice in question suggests that David took Ziba's "plausible" (see nn. 49,-51) allegations—which will subsequently be exposed as mendacious—at face value and so proceeded to act on them immediately.

[53]In supplying the above motivation for David's decision, Josephus further underscores the king's good-faith belief in Ziba's allegations, just as he plays down the apparent arbitrariness and precipitousness of the biblical David's initiative.

[54]With the use of the above term Josephus introduces a word-play on the verb χαρίζεται used previously in 7.206 of David's "grant." On the division of opinion among the rabbis as to whether or not David was guilty of listening to slander, given his response to Ziba's charges in 2 Sam 16:4a, see, e.g., *b. Šabb.* 56ab; *b. Yoma 22b.*

Mepibosheth's Self-Defense

Having been denounced *in absentia* by his servant in 16:1-4 (// 7.205-206), Mephibosheth reappears on the scene in 19:25-31 ([Eng. 19:24-30]// 7.267-271) in the context of David's return to Jerusalem following the suppression of Absalom's revolt.[55] The latter segment commences (19:25) with a description of the Saulide's appearance as he approaches David. MT and BL differ here in several respects, with Josephus' rendering (7.267a) reading like an elaborated version of the latter:

> And there also met him Saul's grandson[56] Memphibosthos, wearing a soiled garment (ῥυπαράν ... ἐσθῆτα περικείμενος)[57] and with hair (κόμην) long and unkempt,[58] *for*, after David's flight, *he had not, because of grief* (λυπούμενος),[59] *either cut his hair or washed his garment,[60] but had condemned himself to this unhappy state on the king's fall from power.*[61]

Before continuing with David's pointed question to the suppliant Saulide (// 19:26b), Josephus (7.267b) pauses to insert an editorial remark which resolves a matter left indeterminate in the source, i.e., in their respective claims and counterclaims to David, who is telling the truth—Ziba or Mephi-

[55]I leave out of consideration here the (intrusive) notices on the earlier, separate approach to the returning David by Ziba and his household as described in 2 Sam 19:18b-19// *Ant.* 7.263b-264a, since my concern in this essay is with the David-Mephibosheth interaction, not as such with Ziba.

[56]This designation for Mephibosheth corresponds to that found in B ("the son of the son of Saul") and L ("the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul") 19:25, as opposed to MT's "the son of Saul."

[57]Compare B (τὰ ἱμάτια ... οὐκ ἀπέλυνεν) and L (τὸν ἱματισμὸν ... οὐκ ἔπλυνεν) 19:25. In making Mephibosheth's soiled vesture the first item in his description, Josephus reverses the sequence of both MT and BL, where this item appears as the last in the series.

[58]This phrase appears to represent Josephus' equivalent to the second item in the listing of 19:25, "(Mephibosheth) had not trimmed [literally done] his beard [BL οὔτε ἐποίησεν τὸν μύστακα αὐτοῦ]." See, however, n. 60.

[59]This inserted notice on the emotions underlying Mephibosheth's mourning gestures has no biblical equivalent. As an editorial comment, it provides a first indication regarding the veracity of the Saulide's subsequent claims about his loyalty to David.

[60]The reiterated reference to Mephibosheth's neglect of his hair and vesture takes the place of the source's mention of a third mourning practice undertaken by the Saulide—one which, in all witnesses, appears as the first item in the listing of 19:25—i.e., "he had not dressed [MT literally made] his feet [BL οὐκ ἐθεράπευσεν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ὠνυχίσατο (L + τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ)]."

[61]The above "appendix" to the source notice on Mephibosheth's appearance as he meets David underscores the purposefulness of the Saulide's actions ("he had condemned himself") and the occasion for these, i.e., the king's (temporary) loss of power. Both points, made as they are by Josephus, *Ant.*'s reliable narrator, reflect positively on Mephibosheth as indeed a Davidic loyalist.

bosheth? Already before the latter opens his mouth, the historian makes clear that his story is the one we (and David) are to believe: "He (Mephibosheth) had moreover been unjustly [ἀδίκως, compare δικαιότερον, used of Ziba in David's word to him of 7.206] accused [διβέβλητο] by his steward Siba." He likewise inserts mention of Mephibosheth's respectful self-presentation to the king: "and so, when he greeted David and did obeisance [προσκυνήσαντος, see 7.114,115] to him."[62] With this, Josephus comes finally to his indirect-discourse rendering of David's question ("Why did you not go with me, Mephibosheth?," v. 26b): "[the latter] inquired just why he had not gone out with him *and shared his exile* (φυγῆς)."[63]

Mephibosheth's response to David begins (v. 27) with an accusation concerning Ziba whose wording—which differs in MT and BL—and line of thought appear obscure in several respects.[64] Aligning himself with the BL reading of Mephibosheth's charge, Josephus (7.268b-269a) both elaborates and clarifies its content:

> Whereupon he replied that this [i.e., Mephibosheth's failure to accompany David on his flight; see 7.268a] was Siba's fault [ἀδίκημα; see ἀδίκως used by Josephus of Ziba's accusation of Mephibosheth in 7.267], *for although he had been ordered to prepare for the departure,*[65] *he had paid no attention, but had disregarded him quite as if he had been a mere slave* [ἀνδραπόδου].[66]

[62]The above phrase takes the place of the resumptive reference to Mephibosheth's "meeting" David in 19:26a, thus picking up on the notice of 19:25a following the description of the Saulide's appearance in v. 25b. This resumption contains the problematic indication that Mephibosheth came "to Jerusalem" to meet David (in L the phrase "to Jerusalem" is attached as well to the mention of David's returning "in safety" at the end of v. 25). This indication seems to conflict with the overall context of chap. 19, in which David is still at the Jordan (see vv. 18-19), as also with the reference in v. 25a to Mephibosheth's "going down" (i.e., from Jerusalem to the lower-lying area around the Jordan) to meet David. Josephus disposes of the difficulty by leaving the location of the meeting unspecified.

[63]The above italicized phrase spells out (what would have been) the purpose of Mephibosheth's "coming with" David as cited in the latter's question of 19:26b.

[64]MT (and *Tg. Jon.*) 19:27 reads, "He answered, 'My lord, O king, my servant deceived me for your servant said, *I will* saddle an ass *for myself* and I will ride upon it and I will go with the king. For your servant is lame.'" BL makes the opening part of Mephibosheth's self-quotation rather a command by him directed to Ziba, thus: "your servant said *to him,* 'saddle the ass for me.'"

[65]With this phrase Josephus clearly reflects—while also generalizing—the BL reading in 19:27, where Mephibosheth quotes his previous order to Ziba, "Saddle the ass for me." See n. 64.

[66]The above formulation takes the place of the (self-evident) indications concerning the purpose of Mephibosheth's order that Ziba prepare his mount in BL 19:27, i.e., "that I may ride upon it and go with the king." By means of it, Josephus has Mephibosheth spell out the nature of Ziba's "offense," which in the source remains unclear.

"If indeed," he added, "I[67] had sound feet [βάσεις, see 7.113 *(bis)*] *and had been able to use them in flight* [φυγήν, see φυγῆς, 7.268], *I should not have been far behind you.*"[68]

Mephibosheth next proceeds (19:28a) to accuse Ziba of a further offense, i.e., "slandering" him to David, this alluding to the incident recounted in 16:1-4. Josephus prefaces the Saulide's new charge with an extended transitional phrase that accentuates Ziba's culpability which prevented him (Mephibosheth) from acting on his devotion to David. The sequence (7.269b) reads: "*But this is not the only way, my lord, in which he has wrongfully hindered* [ἠδίκησε][69] *my obedience* [εὐσέβειαν] *to you, for* he has also slandered [προσδιέβαλε][70] *and has maliciously lied* [κατεψεύσατο κακουργῶν] *about me.*"[71]

Having completed his denunciation of Ziba in vv. 27-28a, Mephibosheth goes on to address David with a high-flown word of flattery ("my lord the king is like the angel of God," v.28bα) and then urges him to "do what seems good to you" (v. 28bβ).[72] Josephus replaces both Mephibosheth's (excessive) exaltation of David as an "angel"[73] and his proposal to the king with an extended expression of confidence by Mephibosheth (7.269c): "I know very well, however, that none of these [calumnies] finds admittance into your mind, for it is just [δικαία][74] and loves [ἀγαπῶσα] the truth

[67]Note the shift here in Mephibosheth's word from the preceding indirect to direct discourse. Such shifts are not uncommon in the more extended speeches Josephus attributes to his characters.

[68]This is Josephus' expansion of Mephibosheth's concluding word in 19:27, "For your servant is lame," whose connection with his preceding charge against Ziba is not immediately obvious. The expansion underscores Mephibosheth's desire to have accompanied David on his flight.

[69]The verb ἀδικέω here echoes the adverb ἀδίκως of 7.267 and the noun ἀδίκημα of 7.268, all three terms qualifying the behavior of Ziba.

[70]The verb προσδιαβάλλω is hapax in Josephus; compare the related form used in Josephus' editorial comment that Mephibosheth had been unjustly "accused" (διεβέβλητο) by Ziba in 7.267.

[71]Josephus' double verb reinforces Mephibosheth's charge as cited in 19:28a, "he has slandered (B μεθώδευσεν, L κατηγόρηκε) your servant to my lord the king."

[72]Thus MT B. Compare L ("but my lord the king like an angel of God did the good before God") and *Tg. Jon.* ("and my master the king is wise like the angel of the Lord. And do what is good in your eyes").

[73]On Josephus' highly varied treatment of biblical references to angels, see M. Mach, *Entwickelungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1992), 300-332.

[74]With his use of this term for David, Josephus sets the king in sharp contrast to Ziba who is thrice qualified with terms of the ἀδικ-stem in 7.267-269. The term recurs in

[ἀλήθειαν],[75] which the Deity also wishes to prevail."[76]

Mephibosheth's *apologia* culminates in 19:29 with his recalling David's favor to him, which leaves him (Mephibosheth) with no right to make any further demand of the king. Here again, Josephus (7.270bc) expands considerably

> *And though you were exposed to great hardships at the hands of my grandfather, on which account*[77] our whole family was deserving of extinction [ὀφειλούσης . . . ἀπολωλέναι],[78] *you were, none the less, forbearing and kind* [μέτριος καὶ χρηστός][79] *in making yourself forget all these things at the very time when you might have remembered them and also had the power to take vengeance.*[80] But you considered me your friend [φίλον][81] and had me daily at your table [ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης], *and in no way was I less well treated than the most honoured of your relatives.*[82]

David's curt response to Mephibosheth's extended self-defense comes in 19:30: The king cuts the latter short with a question that is tantamount to a command that he desist ("why speak [so MT B; L multiply] any more of your affairs [words]?"), and then decrees that he and Ziba are to "divide

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Josephus' concluding assessment of David in 7.391 where he qualifies him as δίκαιος.

[75]The two attributes of David cited in Mephibosheth's word here in 7.269 echo Josephus' own editorial remark concerning David in 7.110: "He was of a just (δίκαιος) nature and, when he gave judgement, considered only the truth (ἀλήθειαν)."

[76]Marcus notes that in the codices RO the last part of Mephibosheth's statement reads rather, "for it [David's mind] is just and wishes the truth to prevail and loves the Deity" (*Josephus*, 5:502, n.a.).

[77]The above-inserted reference to Saul's long-running pursuit of David (see 1 Sam 21-26) serves to motivate the biblical Mephibosheth's following characterization (19:29a) of the Saulides as "men of death."

[78]With this phrase Josephus elucidates the meaning of the Semitic idiom "men of death [BL ἄνδρες θανάτου] before my lord the king" used by Mephibosheth in reference to his family in 19:29a.

[79]Josephus' one other use of this collocation—in reverse order—is in *Ant.* 6.33 where it is employed of "good, honest folk" who are themselves children of "knaves." The cognate noun to the adjective μέτριος is used in reference to David in 6.290, where, in his version of the story of David's sparing Saul in the cave (1 Sam 24), Josephus represents Saul as "amazed at the youth's [= David's] forbearance [μετριότητα]." The term χρηστός recurs in Josephus' final eulogy of David in 7.391.

[80]The whole italicized phrase above has no equivalent in Mephibosheth's closing word as cited in 19:29. It accentuates the magnanimity operative in the favor David had shown the grandson of his persecutor Saul.

[81]This item as well has no equivalent in the biblical Mephibosheth's closing words. Cf. Josephus' use of the noun φιλία in reference to the David-Jonathan relationship in 7.111.

[82]This conclusion to Mephibosheth's discourse harks back to 7.116, where Josephus states that the Saulide "received every attention as though he were his [David's] own son."

the land." Josephus tones down the abruptness of David's reaction with
an inserted transitional phrase (7.271a) which informs readers in advance
of the magnanimous royal decision regarding the disputants: "After this
speech of his, David decided neither to punish Memphibosthos nor to con-
demn Siba for having made false charges [καταψευσαμένου]."[83] Following
this aside on David's mental processes, he comes to report the king's actual
response to Mephibosheth. In so doing, he passes over the interruption/
question of v. 30a, while greatly expanding on David's "decree" (v. 30b),
investing this with a more positive tone toward the recipient. His indirect-discourse
rendition of David's reply thus runs: "But he told Memphibosthos that,
because he had not come to him with Siba, he had presented [χαρίσασθαι,
see 7.115,206] *all his substance to the latter,*[84] *however, he promised to forgive*
[συγγινώσκειν] *him*[85] and ordered that half the property [οὐσίας, see 7.114]
be restored to him."[86]

     The Mephibosheth-David exchange concludes in 19:31 with the former
averring that, given David's safe return, he is ready to let Ziba have the whole
of his erstwhile property. The Josephan scene ends similarly (7.271b): "Thereupon
Memphibosthos exclaimed, 'Let Siba have it all! As for me, it is enough that
you have recovered your kingdom.'"[87]

Conclusion

     By way of conclusion to this essay, I shall now briefly summarize my
findings regarding the three overarching questions with which it began. The
first of those questions asked about the text-form(s) of the material concerning
Mephibosheth used by Josephus. On this point, the foregoing study disclosed

     [83]This term echoes the wording of Mephibosheth's statement in 7.269, "[Ziba]
maliciously lied [κατεψεύσατο] about me." It likewise reinforces Josephus' own earlier
editorial remark (7.267) about Mephibosheth's having been "unjustly accused" by Ziba.
Josephus thus—in contrast to the Bible itself—leaves readers in no doubt as to which of the
parties, Ziba or Mephibosheth, is to be believed.

     [84]With this amplification of David's word in 19:30b Josephus has the king inform
Mephibosheth of his own earlier decision about the latter's property (see 7.206// 16:4a), a
decision he is now about to modify in Mephibosheth's favor.

     [85]This inserted phrase goes beyond the source in having David express a beneficent
attitude toward Mephibosheth personally at this moment.

     [86]Compare 19:30b, "I have decided [literally said] you and Ziba shall divide the land."
Josephus' use of the term "restore" here relates back to David's earlier decision transferring
all of Mephibosheth's property to Ziba, of which he has informed the former just
previously; see above. Jewish tradition records the statement, attributed to Rab, that David's
decision as cited in 19:30b evoked a heavenly announcement that, in like fashion, David's
grandson would have to divide the land with Jeroboam; see *b. Šabb* 56b; *b. Yoma* 22b.

     [87]Compare 19:31, "O, let him take it all, since my lord the king has come safely home."

a whole series of affinities between Josephus' version and readings of B and/or L against MT. Instances include: his form of the name of the Saulide protagonist (i.e., "Memphibosthos"), which stands closest to B's "Memphibosthe"; qualification of Saul as Mephibosheth's "grandfather" (7.114, so B 9:8 vs. MT L's "father") and of the latter as the former's "grandson" (7.267// BL 19:25 vs. MT "son"); specification of the "destination" of the harvested produce (7.115// L 9:10); nonmention of Mephibosheth's eating at Ziba's ("my") table (thus MT 9:11b); and Mephibosheth's "quotation" of his order to make preparations for flight (7.268// BL 19:27 vs. MT, where Mephibosheth claims to have announced that he would saddle his own ass). By contrast, we did not find clear-cut indications of Josephus' dependence on readings peculiar to MT in the material surveyed.[88]

My second opening question had to do with the rewriting techniques applied by Josephus to the biblical data and the distinctive features of his version that result therefrom. Our investigation brought to light a whole range of (interconnected) Josephan rewriting techniques in the passages treated. Thus, he omits, e.g., the source's preliminary question-and-answer sequence between David and both Ziba (9:2b, cf. 9:4a) and Mephibosheth (9:6b), the Saulide's self-deprecating word (9:8b), plus the closing reference to Mephibosheth's lameness (9:13b). Similarly, he drastically reduces the Bible's circumstantial opening notices on the interview between Ziba and David, 16:1-2, in his rendition of these in 7.205, and leaves aside both the problematic reference to Jerusalem as the site of the David-Mephibosheth encounter of 19:26a and the king's curt, interruptive question to the Saulide (19:30a). On the other hand, Josephus also repeatedly expatiates on the source's presentation. Among instances of this rewriting technique the following stand out: the "framework" he provides for his version of 2 Samuel 9 in 7.111 and 117a; the *Rückverweis* concerning Ziba's status in 7.205; the elaboration both of Mephibosheth's (purported) motivation for remaining in Jerusalem (7.206a; compare 16:3b) and David's response to Ziba's charge (7.206b; compare 16:4a); and, above all, his amplification of almost all elements of the narrative of 19:25-31 in 7.267-271.

Another of Josephus' rewriting techniques is his rearrangement of the source's sequence. The most notable example in the material studied is his "repositioning" of the story of Mephibosheth's laming, which, in all the biblical witnesses, stands within the account of the assassination of Ishbosheth in 2 Sam 4 (see v. 4), incorporating this within his version of 2 Sam 9— where, in fact, it does seem to fit better. In less dramatic fashion, he likewise

[88]For more on the text of Samuel used by Josephus, see E.C. Ulrich, "Josephus' Biblical Text for the Books of Samuel," in *Josephus, the Bible and History*, ed. L.H. Feldman and G. Hata (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 81-96.

brings together the Bible's three separate mentions of Ziba's "household," who become servants of Mephibosheth (9:10aαbβ,12b), into a single notice (7.115c); reserves mention of Mephibosheth's own son (9:12a) to the conclusion of his rendition of 2 Sam 9 (see 7.116c); and reverses the biblical order for Mephibosheth's mourning practices (7.267; compare 19:25). Finally, Josephus also modifies the source's data in various respects. On the stylistic level, he introduces historic present forms, replaces direct with indirect address, and substitutes hypotaxis for parataxis. With regard to content, he takes care to clarify several formulations in 16:1-4 which appear ambiguous or incorrect in light of the narrative of 2 Sam 9: David's periphrastic allusion to "your master's son" in his question to Ziba (16:3a) becomes a straightforward mention of "Memphibosthos" (7.206a), while the ambiguity of Ziba's own reference to his charge's hopes of regaining the "kingdom of *my* father" (16:3b) is eliminated in Josephus' evocation of "the benefits which *Saul* had conferred on the people" (7.206b). In the same line, Josephus' rewriting of 2 Sam 19:25-31 substitutes a statement about David's justice and love of truth (7.269b) for Mephibosheth's overly-effusive comparison of him to "an angel of God" (19:29bα), spells out the sense of the Semitism "men of death" (19:29a; compare "deserving of extinction," 7.270a), and recasts Mephibosheth's allusion (19:31) to David's safe arrival "home" (i.e., to Jerusalem) as a reference to his "recovering his kingdom" (7.271b), seeing that, at the moment, the king would appear to be still in the area of the Jordan.

What then are the distinctive features of Josephus' portrayal of the David-Mephibosheth interaction that result from the above rewriting procedures? Particularly in the case of the first two episodes (2 Sam 9; 16:1-4), Josephus streamlines the biblical account, eliminating much of its circumstantial detail and repetition. Throughout, he essays to improve on the source's style, via, e.g., the insertion of transitional phrases and employment of hypotaxis in place of the Bible's monotonous parataxis. Source ambiguities and discrepancies of various sorts—most strikingly the uncertainty as to whether it is Ziba or Mephibosheth whose story should be believed—are resolved, by way of reformulation, interpolated remarks, or simple elimination. The personages' emotional states receive more explicit attention,[89] as does the rationale for their words and actions.[90]

Scripture's characterization of each of the five figures cited by name

[89]See, e.g., 7.206 (David's "indignation," Ziba's "great pleasure"); 7.267 (Mephibosheth's "grieving").

[90]See the reason for Ziba's being brought to David (7.112; compare 9:2a), and for Mephibosheth's stay with Malchir (7.113; compare 9:4b), the (alleged) grounds of Mephibosheth's hope that he will be acknowledged as king (7.206a; compare 16:3b), and the basis for David's initial decision in Ziba's favor (7.206b; compare 16:4a; 7.271a; compare 19:30b).

in the material likewise undergoes greater or less nuancing in Josephus' re-
writing. Specifically, Saul's abusive treatment of David is underscored, one
last time, in the word he attributes to the former's grandson in 7.270. Conversely,
Jonathan and his earlier solicitude for David are highlighted. The Josephan
Ziba loses the moral ambiguity with which the Bible invests him, references
to his mendacity being inserted throughout the historian's version of 19:25-31.
By contrast, Josephus gives the story's two preeminent characters, David
and Mephibosheth, a positively enhanced treatment. The former emerges
as still more munificent in his requiting the kindness shown him by Jonathan
and magnanimous in response to the failures of both Ziba and Mephibosheth
in his regard (see especially 7.271a, and compare 19:30) than is his biblical
counterpart. Still more striking is the Josephan handling of Mephibosheth,
whom, going beyond the Bible itself, he depicts as unquestionably sincere
in his attachment to David, outrageously misrepresented and abused by his
own servant, but also as a speaker who evidences pronounced persuasive
capacities in making his case to David.[91]

My final question concerned what messages Josephus may have intended
his retelling of the David-Mephibosheth interaction to convey to his double
audience, i.e., (Roman) Gentiles and fellow Jews.[92] To the former audience,
his version presents in the person of David, a Jewish example of that "great-
souledness" ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda o\psi u\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$) so lauded by Aristotle.[93] Such a David would
effectively further Josephus' overarching aim of bringing Gentile readers
to the realization that his people did indeed have their great men, possessed
of all the qualities Greeks and Romans admired in the heroes of their own
history.[94] As for Jewish readers, Josephus' treatment of the David-Mephibosheth-
Ziba triangle is intended, I suggest, to present them with several points for
reflection. First, in depicting David magnanimously refraining from "punishing"

[91]In this connection, it is of interest to note that Mephibosheth is the only one of the
characters of the story whom Josephus allows to speak in his own voice, using direct address
(see 7.269-270,271b); in the case of both Ziba and David he speaks for them by recasting their
words in indirect address.

[92]On *Ant.*'s twofold intended audience, see L.H. Feldman, "Use, Authority, and
Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and
Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. M.J. Mulder
and H. Sysling, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, sect. 2, vol. 1
(Assen: van Gorcum, 1988), 455-518, esp. 470-471.

[93]On the point, see Feldman, "David," 154. Conversely, Josephus, as noted above (see
n. 27) leaves aside the self-denigrating words of Mephibosheth as cited in 9:8b, which might
seem to exemplify the opposite quality, derided by Aristotle, of $\mu\iota\kappa\rho o\psi u\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ("littleness-of
soul").

[94]On this aim and the contemporary claims about the absence of "great men" in Jewish
history which it is intended to address, see Feldman, "Saul," 54-55.

Ziba's lie to him (7.271a), while also "promising to forgive" Mephibosheth's
failure to accompany him into exile, Josephus offers fellow Jews a positive
alternative to the unrestrained, internecine conflict and pursuit of vengeance
which had so fatally marred the Great Revolt (and which of course remained
a temptation for those Jews who had survived it).[95] Secondly, on a more personal
level, Josephus' positively enhanced portrayal of Mephibosheth as the innocent
victim of slander by his compatriot Ziba may be intended as a kind of indirect
apologia for himself to his coreligionists who would have heard of the many
charges that had been made against him by his fellow Jews.[96] To Jewish readers
then the Josephan portrayal of Mephibosheth offers the cautionary reminder
that also exemplary biblical figures had been "unjustly accused" (so 7.267)
of wrongdoing in their day. With that realization in mind contemporary
Jews should, accordingly, not be quick to credit negative reports about Josephus'
activities that might reach them.[97]

In *Antiquities*, as in the Bible itself, Mephibosheth remains a quite minor
character and his story of limited significance. Still, as I hope this essay has
made clear, in his retelling of that story Josephus shows himself alert to its
problems and possibilities, and is inventive in his handling of both.

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[95]On the many reflexes of Josephus' experiences of the horrors of intra-Jewish conflict
during the Revolt in his presentation of Biblical history in *Ant.*, see, e.g., L.H. Feldman,
"Josephus' Portrait of Joab," *Estudios Bíblicos* 51 (1992): 323-351, 335-337.

[96]In this connection it is of interest to note that the *Vita* concludes (see ## 424-425, 428)
with repeated references to the "calumnies" to which Josephus was subjected by fellow Jews
(but which—as in the case of David and Mephibosheth—found no credit with his imperial
patrons).

[97]Josephus makes a similar use of the figure of David himself in his elaboration of the
story of the Ziphites' reporting David's whereabouts to Saul (// 1 Sam 23:19-23) in *Ant.*
6.277-280. On the historian's treatment of other biblical heroes for purposes of self-
legitimation in the eyes of fellow Jews, see, e.g.: D. Daube, "Typology in Josephus," *JJS* 31
(1980): 18-36; C.T. Begg, "Daniel and Josephus: Tracing Connections," in *The Book of Daniel
in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A.S. van der Woude (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum
Theologicarum Lovaniensium 106; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993), 539-545.

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS
AND THE BIBLICAL SANCTUARY

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1. Introduction

It is difficult to imagine a less likely subject than the one suggested by the title of this article. On one hand, philosophers may fail to see the connection between philosophical reflection and a building. Not that philosophy, particularly in its existentialist traditions, would shrink from reflecting on a building; after all, buildings are part of the reality philosophy studies. Yet, philosophers are not likely to relate the issue of philosophical foundations to the idea of building or to any concrete building. On the other hand, classical and modern theologians may wonder whether philosophical foundations are involved in the study of the biblical sanctuary. Even theologians studying the biblical text may find it difficult to see how philosophical foundations relate to the sanctuary depicted in the OT and NT. In short, the very connection this title suggests may appear problematic to most theologians and philosophers.

The purpose of this essay is to explore the way in which philosophical foundations relate to the theological interpretation of the biblical sanctuary. Specifically, the connection between philosophical foundations and biblical sanctuary will be explored in order to assess their role in the theological understanding of the biblical sanctuary motif.

I have organized this essay in six sections. Following this (1) introduction, (2) I will identify the connection between sanctuary and philosophical foundations and describe its nature. Immediately thereafter, (3) a brief reference to the nature of philosophical principles, their functions, and their classical and postmodern interpretations will be presented. Then, I will explore the way in which (4) classical and (5) modern foundations relate to the sanctuary. In the final section (6) I will ponder the question of philosophical foundations inherent in the sanctuary.

2. The Nature of the Connection

The connection between sanctuary and philosophical principles comes into view in Exod 25:8. In this passage God requests the building of the Israelite sanctuary. God tells Moses: "Have them [Israelites] make a sanctuary for me, that I may dwell among them." From the perspective of this pivotal text the sanctuary [*miqdaš*][1] appears as a building where God plans to dwell [*šakan*] among human beings [*btokam*]. Thus, the idea of sanctuary is not reduced to a building but emerges as a God-building-human-beings structure. This structure brings into view the inner connection that exists between sanctuary and philosophical foundations. The connection takes place through the ideas of God and human nature which are essentially involved in the notion of sanctuary.

Since early times, the study of philosophical foundations has been known under the general label of metaphysics. According to Aristotle, metaphysics studies the meaning of first principles of scientific knowledge.[2] To recognize that among generally accepted philosophical foundations we find the notions of human nature,[3] nature (the world),[4] God,[5] and Being[6] will suffice for the

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[1]In his study of sanctuary terms in Exod 25-40, Ralph E. Hendrix reports that "*miqdaš* (holy precinct), and *bayit* (house) in reference to the divine dwelling, each occurs only once, in Exod 25:8 and 34b:26 respectively" ("The Use of *Miškan* and '*Ohel Mo ëd* in Exod 25-40," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 30 [1992]: 5, n. 5). In these chapters two other words are used consistently to refer to the sanctuary. Concluding his word study, Hendrix suggests "that *miškan* is used in constructional contexts, primarily associated with commands to manufacture and assemble the Dwelling Place of YHWH, but secondarily in its generic sense as simply 'dwelling place.' The phrase *ohel mo ëd* appears in literary contexts where the cultic function of the habitation is the concern" (ibid., 13). In a more theological note he adds that "in all contexts within Exod 25-10 the biblical writer has masterfully controlled the use of *miškan* and *ohel mo.ëd* in order to clarify the dual nature of YHWH's habitation. That habitation was to be understood as a transient dwelling place, such as was consistent with the dwelling places of nomadic peoples; therefore the choice of *miškan*. But yet, that habitation also had the continuing function of fostering the cultic relationship, and this aspect was best expressed by the choice of *ohel mo ëd*" (ibid.). The variety in the use of words to describe the sanctuary contributes to underline its God-building-beings structure. In this article I am not addressing the complexity of the structure. The purpose of the essay only requires its identification. However, we should notice that the "building"component does not play a mediatorial role between God and human beings, but situates and articulates their relationships in space and time.

[2]Aristotle *Metaphysics* 1. 1-2, 981b26-983a11. Aristotle describes the science we call metaphysics as the study "that investigates the first principles and causes" (ibid., 1. 2, 982b9).

[3]Martin Heidegger underlines the role of human nature as principle of interpretation of reality (ontology) (*Being and Time*, trans. by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson [New York: Harper and Collins, 1962], 62).

[4]Aristotle recognized that our understanding of the world is a principle of science. If it were not by the existence of the science of God (theology), the science of the world would

limited purpose of this essay. Among philosophical foundations, Being is the last and grounding one beyond or besides which there is no other. Due to this unsurpassable universality, the notion of Being determines the general nature of reality of which human nature, world, and God are regional aspects. The meaning of Being, then, determines the general meaning of reality to which any specific reality belongs.

Once first principles are interpreted by philosophy, they become grounding hermeneutical principles for any science of reality. In simple words, the meaning of Being provides the hermeneutical principle necessary to interpret human nature, world, and God. Philosophical clarification on the general meaning of these areas, in turn, becomes directly involved as hermeneutical principles for the sciences of human nature (humanities), the world (the so-called factual sciences), and God (theology). Christian theologians should be aware that these principles are scientific in mode; that is to say, they come into play whenever we approach the study of reality technically. The same hermeneutical principles, however, are operative in everyday discourse, though in an implicit prescientific mode.[7]

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qualify as first philosophical principle (*Metaphysics*, 6.1, 1026a27-29).

⁵Philosophically speaking, the ideas of God and human nature are subject matters studied by regional ontologies. Thus, the ontological study of God, the world, and human nature qualify as philosophical foundations. Aristotle considered that "if there is an immovable substance [God], the science of this must be prior [to the science of nature] and must be first philosophy, and universal in this way, because it is first" (*Metaphysics*, 6.1, 1026a29).

⁶Regional ontologies are not the first foundation of philosophy. They rest on the overall view of reality interpreted by general ontology. General ontology has traditionally addressed the common characteristics or traits of Being as they refer to beings (ibid., 4.1, 1003a22). Among them, for instance, we find the ideas of matter and form and potency and act (ibid., 5.18, 1022a14-19; 4. 6, 1048a35-1048b9). Finally, regional and general ontologies spring from the discussion of what Martin Heidegger called "foundational ontology." Foundational ontology studies "the question of the meaning of Being in general" (*Being and Time* 31, 61). We should avoid confusing or fusing the God principle with the Being principle. In his later writings Heidegger calls the concept of Being to play the role that is usually played by the concept of God or the concept of the One. This usage not only replaces the God principle but also involves panentheism. For this reason, we should avoid mixing the God principle (the One) with the Being principle (the universal *notion* of Being) as Heidegger seems to do. On the contrary, we should understand the formal definition of the Being principle as playing a role in the epistemological realm as in Aristotle's analogical understanding of Being.

⁷Hans-Georg Gadamer describes the universality of hermeneutics by showing that everyday experience necessarily involves bias or prejudice. He has clearly underlined that our experience in its prescientific mode also involves principles; presuppositions; or, as he points out in the following statement, prejudices: "It can be shown that the concept of prejudice did not originally have the meaning we have attached to it. Prejudices are not

The interpretation of the meaning of the biblical sanctuary as a God-building-human-beings structure directly assumes a previous preunderstanding (philo-sophical principles or presuppositions) of God, human beings, and the world. Indirectly, however, it also requires a preunderstanding on the meaning of Being. Consequently, any exegesis of the biblical data on the sanctuary and their theological interpretation assumes the foundational hermeneutical role played by these principles.

3. Classical versus Postmodern Understanding of Being

Within the scientific mode of reflection, philosophical presuppositions stem from the interpretation of the first principle or ultimate presupposition, namely, the implicit or explicit meaning of Being. A cursory description of the two meanings in which the concept of Being has been understood in Western thought will suffice to our purpose.[8]

Aristotle understood the science of Being as the science of the universal which lays the ground and unity for all other sciences, including theology.[9] Aristotle did not explicitly reflect on Being per se. He assumed the epoch-making view of Parmenides, who advanced a timeless interpretation.[10] Plato, embracing Parmenides' view that Being—reality as such—was of a timeless nonhistorical nature, conceived a bipolar interpretation of beings as a whole (metaphysics). This bipolar interpretation of reality is known as the two-world theory,

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necessarily unjustified and erroneous, so that they inevitably distort the truth. In fact, the historicity of our existence entails that prejudices, in the literal sense of the word, constitute the initial directedness of our whole ability to experience. Prejudices are biases of our openness to the world. They are simply conditions whereby we experience something—whereby what we encounter says something to us" ("The Universality of the Hermeneutical Problem," in *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, ed. and trans. David E. Linge [Berkeley, CA: University of Califorina Press, 1976], 9). Bias and prejudice include all our accumulated personal experiences. The first principles of philosophy are biases or prejudices we implicitly assume in everyday discourse regarding Being, God, world, and human nature. Philosophical principles are the explicit and sophisticated definition of the meaning of Being, God, world, and human nature that determine the task of interpretation in all scientific enterprise.

    [8]For a detailed description of these two interpretations of Being, see my *A Criticism of Theological Reason: Time and Timelessness as Primordial Presuppositions* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987), 66-130.

    [9]*Metaphysics* 11. 1, 3, 7.

    [10]"Being has no coming-into-being and no destruction, for it is whole of limb, without motion, and without end. And it never Was, nor Will Be, because it Is now, a Whole all together, One, continuous" (Parmenides, *Fragments* 6, 7, in Kathleen Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers: A Complete Translation of the Fragments in Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948], 43).

which involves the intelligible and visible orders.[11] The heavenly-intelligible order is timeless and eternal, while the earthly-sensible order is temporal and moving.[12]

From Parmenides' intuition of the meaning of Being (foundational ontology), the interpretation of general ontology implicit in bipolar metaphysics, and Aristotle's conception of the science of first principles, the universality and absolute certainty that characterized the classical and modern minds came to shape the destiny of Western civilization. This frame of mind decided the scientific structure of Christian theology soon after the NT was written and has continued to be the foundation on which it is still constructed. As we will see later, the Platonic-Aristotelian understanding of the first philosophical principles has played a foundational hermeneutical role in the theological interpretation of the biblical sanctuary.

The relentless criticism of tradition that characterizes the postmodern mind has made possible an epochal change in the interpretation of the general nature of ultimate reality. I am referring to the switch from the classical and modern understanding of Being as timeless (as, for instance, in Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Whitehead, Barth, and Pannenberg) to its temporal interpretation in postmodernism. This change was anticipated by Nietzsche and articulated later in technical detail by Heidegger. In his opening statements in *Being and Time,* Heidegger gave explicit expression to this new understanding of reality: "Our aim in the following treatise is to work out the question of the meaning of *Being* and to do so concretely. Our provisional aim is the Interpretation of *time* as the possible horizon for any understanding whatsoever of Being."[13] The postmodern search for truth, therefore, presupposes a radically different concept of the ground on which reality as a whole is understood. This primordial presupposition affects not only philosophy, but also the whole scientific enterprise, including, of course, Christian theology. As a matter of fact, Heidegger's interpretation of the Being principle as temporality has already unleashed

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[11]Plato summarizes his "two worlds" theory in his *Republic* 6, 509d-511e.

[12]*Timaeus* 37d-38c.

[13]Translated by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper and Collins, 1962), 1. In the same general line of thought, Jean-Paul Sartre affirmed the "monism of the phenomenon," which departs from the classical and modern dualism between appearance and reality. According to Sartre, then, "the dualism of being and appearance is no longer entitled to any legal status within philosophy. The appearance refers to the total series of appearances and not to a hidden reality which would drain to itself all the *being* of the existent. This appearance, for its part, is not an inconsistent manifestation of this being" (*Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology,* trans. with introduction by Hazel E. Barnes [New York: Philosophical Library, 1956], xlv).

a theological revisionism of the God principle.[14]

Early in the third millennium Christian theologians will face the fact that during the twentieth century Western philosophy made the most radical turnabout since the days of Parmenides, Plato, and Aristotle. Some sectors of Christianity, building their theological perspectives on the philosophical foundations of classical and modern philosophy, will have a harder time dealing with this foundational intellectual change than Christian theologians attempting to develop Christian theology based on the Protestant *sola Scriptura* principle. In other words, the temporal understanding of Being calls for a deconstruction of Christian theology and its timeless conception of Being and God. The corresponding constructive phase and its repercussion in the task of doing Christian theology must wait for a more propitious time. Here we need only to show some examples of the way in which the classical and modern understandings of philosophical principles relate to the biblical sanctuary and what new ways the temporal-historical understanding of Being opens for the interpretation of the biblical sanctuary.

4. Sanctuary and Classical Foundations

In this section, my purpose is to show how classical interpretations of the sanctuary result from either explicitly or implicitly acquiescing to Platonic and/or Aristotelian philosophical foundations. As described in section 2, first philosophical principles include the Being, God, human nature, and world principles. For the purpose of this essay I will concentrate on the God principle, which in turn assumes the Being principle and the nature (world) principle.[15] In the God-building-beings structure of the sanctuary, the former relates to God and the latter to the building. In short, I will concentrate on the notions of God and/or nature (world) and their influence on the theological interpretation of the biblical sanctuary. For my purpose, I have surveyed

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[14]Among these attempts we find John Macquarrie's identification of the God and Being principles (*Principles of Christian Theology* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966], 115-122). Thus God becomes assimilated to the generality proper to Being and therefore is depersonalized. McQuarrie explains: "If we understand god as being, the relation is that of being to the beings rather that [sic] one being to another" (ibid., 121). Schubert Ogden has proposed a temporal understanding of God based on an analogy with Heidegger's notion of human temporality (*The Reality of God and Other Essays* [New York: Harper and Row, 1966], 144-163). For a summary of these and other ways of dealing with God's temporality stemming from Process Philosophy, see William J. Hill, *Search for the Absent God: Tradition and Modernity in Religious Understanding* (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 80-91.

[15] Throughout most of the history of Western philosophy and Christian theology, the question of the meaning of Being has remained implicit in the interpretation of the God principle. Explicit inquiry into the meaning of Being has taken place only recently in the writings of Heidegger.

the way Philo, Aquinas, and Calvin deal with the biblical sanctuary motif because they are influential representatives of the classical approach.

Philo of Alexandria (40/30B.C. - A.D. 40/50)

Philo is the most notable philosopher of Alexandrian Judaism. His syncretic approach juxtaposed Platonic, Stoic, Pythagorean, and Aristotelian elements. His reinterpretation of Platonism provided a metaphysical framework that, with few variations, was adopted by all forms of Neoplatonism and became influential until Scholasticism.[16] Regarding the God principle, Philo follows classical Greek philosophy by adopting the timelessness interpretation of God's being.[17] Consequently, God relates to creation timelessly.[18] The nature (world) principle unfolds in harmony with the God principle. Philo interprets the nature principle as following the two orders or levels of Platonic ontology. In creation (the nature principle), Philo sees two orders or realms: the intelligible and sensible universes.[19] Moreover, he places the intelligible universe in the Logos, a subalternate duplication of God.[20] The intelligible world, then, is not only timeless but also spaceless.

The nature principle causes Philo to understand the sanctuary as a symbolic representation of the intelligible and sensible orders.[21] Moreover, the God

[16]Guillermo Fraile, *Historia de la Filosofía*, 3 vols. (Madrid: B.A.C., 1965, 1966), 1:697.

[17]"But God is the maker of time also, for He is the father of time's father, that is of the universe, and has caused the movements of the one to be the source of the generation of the other. Thus time stands to God in the relation of a grandson. For this universe, since we perceive it by our senses, is the younger son of God. To the elder son, I mean the intelligible universe, He assigned the place of firstborn, and purposed that it should remain in His own keeping. So this younger son, the world of our sense, when set in motion, brought that entity we call time to the brightness of its rising. And thus with God there is no future, since He has made the boundaries of the ages subject to Himself. For God's life is not a time, but eternity, which is the archetype and pattern of time; and in eternity there is no past nor future, but only present existence" (Philo *Quod Deus immutabilis sit*, LCL, 31-32).

[18]"So shall they [those prone to follow old fables] be schooled to understand that with Him nothing is ancient, nothing at all past, but all is in its birth and existence timeless (*achronōs*)" (Philo *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, LCL, 76).

[19]"When He [God] willed to create this visible world He first fully formed the intelligible world, in order that He might have the use of a pattern wholly God-like and incorporeal in producing the material world, as a later creation, the very image of an earlier, to embrace in itself objects of perception of as many kinds as the other contained objects of intelligence" (*De Opificio Mundi*, LCL, 4. 16). See *also, Quod Deus immutabilis sit, 31-32.*

[20]Philo explicitly underlines that "to speak of or conceive that world which consists of ideas as being in some place is illegitimate" (*De opificio mundi*, 4. 17). Because of its nature "the universe that consisted of ideas would have no other location than the Divine Reason, which was the Author of the ordered frame" (ibid., 5. 20).

[21]It seems that Philo understands the most holy place as including symbols of the

principle leads him to an allegorical interpretation of Exod 25:8. What is
the meaning of God's intention to dwell in the tabernacle? Philo dismisses
the literal meaning in favor of a "deeper"one; that is, he interprets the text
as talking about God's dwelling in the sensible world.[22] Specifically, Philo
says that God dwells in the world when the soul[23]has an intellectual glimpse
of his intellectual manifestations.[24] According to the philosophical interpretation
of the God principle Philo adopts, God cannot dwell in the space-temporal
continuum of the OT tent. The allegorical interpretation is the process through
which the literal meaning of the text is deconstructed and reconstructed
in harmony with the dictates of the God principle. In Philo's allegorical
interpretation, the God-building-being sanctuary structure is translated into
a God-being structure taking place within the intellectual, nonhistorical side
of reality. The philosophical principles Philo embraces call for a herme-
neutical, deconstructive dismissal of the literal historical sense of sanctuary
texts in favor of an imaginative speculative construction of an alleged "deeper"
intellectual nonhistorical allegorical meaning.

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)

Aquinas follows the same overall interpretation of Philo's God principle.

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intelligible world, while the holy place refers symbolically to the sensible order.
Commenting on Exod 25:22, Philo opens his interpretation of the table in the holy place by
noticing that "having spoken symbolically of incorporeal things, when He was discoursing
divinely about the ark in the inner sanctuary, He now begins to speak of those things which
are in sense-perception, rightly and appropriately beginning with the table" (Questions et
Solutions in Exodus, LCL, 2. 69). In more detail, Philo explains that "the highest, and in the
truest sense the holy, temple of God is, as we must believe, the whole universe, having for
its sanctuary the most sacred part of all existence, even heaven, for its votive ornaments the
stars, for its priests the angels who are servitors to His powers, unbodied souls, not
compounds of rational and irrational nature, as we are, but with the irrational eliminated,
all mind through and through, pure intelligences, in the likeness of the monad. There is also
the temple made by hands; for it was right that no check should be given to the forwardness
of those who pay their tribute to piety and desire by means of sacrifices either to give thanks
for the blessings that befall them or to ask for pardon and forgiveness for their sins" (De
Specialibus Legibus, LCL, 1. 66).

[22]Ibid. 2. 51; cf. De Plantatione 12.50.

[23]Here Philo brings the anthropological principle to play a significant role in the
interpretation of the sanctuary.

[24]"Then will appear to thee that manifest One, Who causes incorporeal rays to shine
for thee and grants visions of the unambiguous and indescribable things of nature and the
abundant sources of other good things. For the beginning and end of happiness is to be able
to see God. But this cannot happen to him who has not made his soul, as I said before, a
sanctuary and altogether a shrine of God" (Questions et Solutions in Exodus 2.51).

According to Aquinas, God is eternal,[25] and eternity is timeless because in it there is no temporal succession.[26] Regarding the nature (world) principle, Aquinas abandons the Neoplatonic tradition in favor of a modified Aristotelian understanding. However, Plato's two-world theory is still operative in Aquinas's view, not as separate universes, but as always present components of the unified hierarchical universal order of reality (nature/world).[27] The nature (world) principle finds its ontological ground in the intellectual component of reality that Aquinas conceives in analogy to the timelessness of the God principle. In other words, Aquinas still conceives the real reality of the world as belonging to the invisible nature of the intellect. Despite Aristotle's and Aquinas' attempts at overcoming Platonic dualism, the visible historical side of reality remains a lesser and dependent level of reality.

The great systematizer of Roman Catholic theology provides, as usual, a clear synthesis of the general way in which theologians understood the biblical sanctuary until the thirteenth century. Because God is incorporeal while humans are corporeal (principle of nature), God cannot dwell in the sanctuary, as Exod 25:8 clearly states.[28] Consequently, the God-building-beings structure is deconstructed and reconstructed as a God-beings intellectual relation of spiritual worship. God did not need the sanctuary for himself or for his work of salvation. God willed the OT sanctuary for two reasons that relate to humans. On the practical side, the sanctuary was needed for worship and, on the theological side, for the prefiguration of Christ.[29]

Aquinas also has a metaphorical understanding of biblical language on

[25]*Summa Theologiae* 1.10. 2.

[26]*Summa Theologiae* 1.10.1 and 4.

[27]Aquinas developed his understanding of this principle in the brief booklet *On Being and Essence*, trans. and notes, Armand Maurer (Toronto: Pontificial Institute of Medieval Studies, 1949).

[28]"From this [1 Kgs 8: 27, 29, 30] it is evident that the house of the sanctuary was set up, not in order to contain God, as abiding therein locally, but that God's name might dwell there, i.e., that God might be made known there by means of things done and said there; and that those who prayed there might, through reverence for the place, pray more devoutly, so as to be heard more readily" (*Summa Theologiae* 1a-1ae. 102. 4. obj. 1).

[29]*Summa Theologiae*, 1a-2ae. 102.3. "The divine worship regards two things: namely, God Who is worshiped; and men, who worship Him. Accordingly God, Who is worshiped, is confined to no bodily place: wherefore there was no need, on His part, for a tabernacle or temple to be set up. But men, who worship Him, are corporeal beings: and for their sake there was need for a special tabernacle or temple to be set up for the worship of God, for two reasons. First, that through coming together with the thought that the place was set aside for the worship of God, they might approach thither with greater reverence. Secondly, that certain things relating to the excellence of Christ's Divine or human nature might be signified by the arrangement of various details in such temple or tabernacle" (*Summa Theologiae* 1a-2ae. 102. 4 obj. 1).

heavenly sanctuary texts.[30] The reason for the metaphorical understanding of the heavenly sanctuary is the consistent application of the God and nature principles. Since Christ (simultaneously being God and glorified human nature) ascended above all corporeal heavens,[31] where there is no place, biblical statements placing God in a heavenly sanctuary must be read metaphorically.[32] Conversely, texts placing God above the heavens (where there is neither time nor place) can be interpreted literally.[33] Heavenly sanctuary (priesthood) language is a metaphor pointing to divine being and action. For instance, Christ's sitting at the right hand of the Father "in the heavenly realms" (Eph 1:20) metaphorically signifies (1) the glory of the Godhead, (2) the beatitude of the Father, and

[30]The study of the nature and function of metaphor in human discourse and theology is very complex. For the limited purposes of this article I will use the notion of metaphor as those utterances functioning "in two referential fields at once. This duality explains how two levels of meaning are linked together in the symbol. The first meaning relates to a known field of reference, that is to the sphere of entities to which the predicates considered in their established meaning can be attached. The second meaning, the one that is to be made apparent, relates to a referential field for which there is no direct characterization, for which we consequently are unable to make identifying descriptions by means of appropriate predicates" (Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*, trans. Robert Czerny with Kathleen McLaughlin and John Costello [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977], 299). "Most simply, Sallie McFague explains: a metaphor is seeing one thing *as* something else, pretending 'this' is 'that' as a way of saying something about it. Thinking metaphorically means spotting a thread of similarity between two dissimilar objects, events, or whatever, one of which is better known than the other, and using the better-known one as a way of speaking about the lesser known" (*Metaphorical Theology: Models of God in Religious Language* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982], 15). In this broad sense, the notion of metaphor overlaps the ideas of symbol and figurative language (cf. Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* [Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976], 45-69; McFague, 10-14). From these descriptions, it follows that when we read a text metaphorically, we assume the meaning of its subject-matter or referent. As I will argue in the following pages, Christian interpretations of OT and NT sanctuaries usually flow from the philosophical interpretation of the God principle used to decide the metaphorical nature of the texts, thereby opening the meaning of the texts to the free play of the creative imagination of the reader. Of course, metaphors do not require timeless transcendence as referent. Metaphors do play a cognitive illuminative role in common discourse referring to the *Lebenswelt* (cf. Anthony C. Thiselton, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics: The Theory and Practice of Transforming Biblical Reading* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992], 351-358).

[31]Aquinas recognizes the existence of seven corporeal heavens. However, when applied to God, he understands heaven metaphorically (*Summa Theologiae* 1.68.4).

[32]As, for instance, "The Lord is in his holy temple; the Lord is on his heavenly throne" (Ps 11:4); cf. *Summa Theologiae* 3.57.4.

[33]For instance, "He who descended is the very one who ascended higher than all the heavens in order to fill the whole universe" (Eph 4:10 and Ps 8:2). Cf. *Summa Theologiae* 3.57. 4, and obj. 1-2.

(3) judiciary power.[34] Here the biblical notion of sanctuary and its God-building-beings structure is deconstructed to a God-only referent.

John Calvin (1509-1564)

Protestantism made Scripture play a greater role in its theological formulations[35] than Roman Catholicism had during the scholastic period. Even though Calvin's theological synthesis closely follows biblical language, the God and nature principles still rest on the classical understanding of God's timeless eternity[36] and spacial ubiquitousness.[37] The latter involves the notions that "no place can be assigned to God" and that "his presence, not confined to any region, is diffused over all space."[38] Heaven, therefore, is not a place where God lives, acts, and enters into relationship with his creatures, but is a metaphor for God's ineffable glory.[39]

Following in Philo's and Aquinas' paths, Calvin understood the OT sanctuary as a twofold metaphor facilitating real worship[40] and pointing

[34]*Summa Theologiae* 3.58.2..

[35]Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971-1989), 4:118-119.

[36]*Institutes of the Christian Religion* 1.13.7-8; 14.3.

[37]*Institutes* 1. 11. 2.

[38]Commenting on the Lord's Prayer statement, "Our Father which art in heaven," Calvin asserts, on the basis of 1 Kgs 8:27 and Isa 66:1, "that his [God's] presence, not confined to any region, is diffused over all space." From this basis Calvin immediately asserts that "as our gross minds are unable to conceive of his ineffable glory, it is designated to us by *heaven*, nothing which our eyes can behold being so full of splendor and majesty. While, then, we are accustomed to regard every object as confined to the place where our senses discern it, no place can be assigned to God; and hence, if we would seek him, we must rise higher than all corporeal or mental discernment. Again, this form of expression reminds us that he is far beyond the reach of change or corruption, that he holds the whole universe in his grasp, and rules it by his power." On this ground, Calvin interprets the Lord's prayer statement "Our Father which art in heaven" metaphorically because the God principle, not allowing God the ontological capacity of being in time or a place, demands a metaphorical, figurative sense. Thus, the text cannot mean what it says regarding place. Calvin assures us that the meaning of the text is "the same as if it had been said, that he is of infinite majesty, incomprehensible essence, boundless power, and eternal duration. When we thus speak of God, our thoughts must be raised to hear the highest pitch, we must not measure him by our little standards, or suppose his will to be like ours" (*Institutes* 3.20. 40).

[39]Ibid.

[40]Commenting on God's command, "let them make me a sanctuary," Calvin warns that "we must beware of imagining anything inconsistent with the nature of God [the God principle], for He who sits above the heavens, and whose footstool is the earth, could not be enclosed in the tabernacle; but, because in His indulgence for the infirmities of an ignorant people, He desired to testify the presence of His grace and help by a visible symbol,

to Christ.[41] The heavenly sanctuary, likewise, becomes a metaphor for the spiritual efficacy that emanates from Christ's spiritual body (the real sanctuary) to us.[42]

Calvin's hermeneutical principles (God and nature principles) demand that sanctuary texts be understood as metaphors for true worship and the eternal efficacy of Christ's salvation for us. By the application of philosophical principles originating in classical Greek philosophy, the God-building-beings sanctuary structure of the biblical texts becomes reconstructed as the God [Christ]-beings pattern of theological discourse.

The cases included in this section have been few and cursorily addressed. However, they may help us to see how the philosophical foundations of theology become hermeneutical principles guiding the interpretation of the biblical sanctuary motif. Philo, Aquinas, and Calvin, belonging to widely diverse theological traditions, yet work within the same Platonic-Aristotelian interpretation of the God and nature principles. These principles have hermeneutically determined their reading of the OT and NT texts on the sanctuary. The timeless, spaceless interpretation of the God principle, unable to fit the temporal spatial meaning of the texts, calls for allegorical,

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the earthly sanctuary is called His dwelling amongst men, inasmuch as there He was not worshiped in vain. And we must bear in memory what we have lately seen, that it was not the infinite essence of God, but His name, or the record of His name, that dwelt there" (*Commentaries on the Four Books of Moses Arranged in the Form of a Harmony*, trans. C. William Bingham [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950], 4:150).

[41]"When we would seek the body or substance of the ancient shadows, and the truth of the figures, we may learn them, not only from the Apostle, but also from the Prophets, who everywhere draw the attention of believers to the kingdom of Christ; yet their clearer explanation must be sought in the Gospel, where Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, shining forth, shows that their fulfilment exists in Himself alone. But, although by His coming He abolished these typical ceremonies as regards their use, yet at the same time He established the reverence justly due to them; since they have no claim to be held in esteem on any other ground, except that their completion is found in Him; for, if they are separated from Him, it is plain that they are mere farces" (ibid., 154).

[42]Commenting on Heb 9:11, Calvin assures us that he has no doubt that in this passage the author "means the body of Christ; for as there was formerly an access for the Levitical high priest to the holy of holies through the sanctuary, so Christ through his own body entered into the glory of heaven" (*Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. John Owen [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948], 202). Moreover, Calvin argues that "the word sanctuary is fitly and suitably applied to the body of Christ, for it is the temple in which the whole majesty of God dwells" (ibid.). In the following paragraph Calvin, rigorously applying the God principle to the interpretation of the text, explicitly explains that it does not refer to Christ's "material body, or of what belongs to the body as such, but of the spiritual efficacy which emanates from it to us. For as far as Christ's flesh is quickening, and is a heavenly food to nourish souls, as far as his blood is a spiritual drink and has a cleansing power, we are not to imagine anything earthly or material as being in them" (ibid., 203).

figurative, or metaphorical interpretations.

Thus, the philosophical interpretation of God, working as hermeneutical principle, requires the deconstruction of the literal meaning of the text. Specifically, the God and nature principles cannot accommodate the reality of the God-building-beings structure characteristic of sanctuary passages. Classical theology achieves this theological deconstruction of the biblical text by way of a metaphorical, figurative, or allegorical reconstruction beyond the meaning of the text itself. One end result of this process is the replacement of the God-building-beings structure of biblical texts with either a God or God-beings pattern akin to the spacelessness and timelessness of the God principle.

5. Sanctuary and Modern Foundations

Can we modify the philosophical foundations of Christian theology? Of course, we can. Not infrequently, new theological trends can be traced back to alterations in the understanding of philosophical foundations. In a very real sense modern theology results from Kant's adjustment of reason's role to the limits of space and time.[43] It can be argued that Kant's epistemological position is only a modification by limitation of the classical interpretation of the principle of reason[44] which leaves the classical timeless interpretation of God unchallenged.[45]

Almost a century before Kant, we can find some traits of what will become the modern approach to theology in Baruch Spinoza. Spinoza's panen-

[43]Kant concludes: "It is therefore not merely possible or probable, but indubitably certain, that Space and Time, as the necessary conditions of all our external and internal experience, are merely subjective conditions of all our intuitions, in relation to which all objects are therefore mere phenomena, and not things in themselves, presented to us in this particular manner. And for this reason, in respect to the form of phenomena, much may be said à priori, while of the thing in itself, which may lie at the foundation of these phenomena, it is impossible to say anything" (Critique of Pure Reason, tr. J.M.D. Meiklejohn [Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1990], 39). Thus, Kant rejected the Aristotelic-Thomistic understanding of reason as "active intellect," able to reach timeless objects, and replaced it with his "transcendental reason" capable of reaching only spatio-temporal objects.

[44]The principle of reason is another philosophical foundation of theology. In the classical tradition it was subsumed, as theory of knowledge, under the human nature principle. Modern philosophy, under Kantian leadership, addressed it as "criticism." In more recent times theologians have come to address the same philosophical issue under varied headings: for instance, epistemology and hermeneutics.

[45]After careful analysis Kant feels that we may "determine our notion of the Supreme Being by means of the mere conception of the highest reality, as one, simple, all-sufficient, eternal, and so on—in one word, to determine it in its unconditioned completeness by the aid of every possible predicate. The conception of such a being is the conception of God in its transcendental sense, and thus the ideal of pure reason is the object-matter of a transcendental theology" (ibid., 325).

theistic interpretation of the God principle[46] leads him to review the classical concept of revelation and inspiration of Scripture. Since all human beings know God directly through reason,[47] and the necessary order of nature[48] (God principle and Nature principle are identical), Spinoza believes that the activity of the prophet takes place in his imagination.[49] Thus, the human locus of revelation-inspiration switches from reason to imagination. This momentous turn will become instrumental in the theological adoption of the historical-critical method of Bible interpretation, where miracle becomes a general term designating "any work whose cause is generally unknown,"[50] and historical narratives do not reveal God but "are very profitable in the matter of social relations."[51] Not surprisingly, Spinoza interprets the ceremonial observances of the OT as referring to the historical-social reality of the commonwealth of Israel.[52] Moreover, the very content of biblical language on cultic ceremonies originates "only from contemporary custom."[53]

With time, the modern trend foreshadowed by Spinoza came to classify biblical thought under the category of myth. Early in the nineteenth century Ernst Cassirer described the nature of "myth" from a Kantian perspective as a consciousness that "knows nothing of certain distinctions which seem absolutely necessary to empirical-scientific thinking."[54] According to Cassirer, mythical thinking confuses "representation" with "real" perception, wish

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[46]*Ethics* 1.16 3; 2.3. 4. 8.

[47]*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, trans., by Samuel Shirley with intro. by Brad Gregory (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 70.

[48]Ibid., 126.

[49]"God's revelations were received only with the aid of the imaginative faculty, to wit, with the aid of words or images, hence it was not a more perfect mind that was needed for the gift of prophecy, but a more lively imaginative faculty" (ibid., 65).

[50]Ibid., 124, 130.

[51]Ibid., 105.

[52]Due to his panentheism and revisionism of revelation and inspiration, Spinoza believed that "ceremonial observances served to strengthen and preserve the Jewish state" (ibid., 112).

[53]"Thus the Patriarchs sacrificed to God not through some command imposed on them by God, nor because they were instructed by the universal principles of the Divine Law, but only from contemporary custom. And if they did so by anyone's command, that command was simply the existing law of the commonwealth in which they were dwelling, by which they, too, were bound" (ibid., 116).

[54]*The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, vol. 2, *Mythical Thought*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), 36.

with fulfillment, and images with things.[55] Moreover, mythical thought "does not begin when the intuition of the universe and its parts and forces are merely formed into definite images, into the figures of demons and gods; *it begins only when a genesis, a becoming, a life in time, is attributed to these figures*."[56] Thus, myth, thinking of God in time and space, becomes another specific way to describe metaphorical thought.

We have seen how the classical interpretation of the God principle rules out the notion that God may directly relate with space and time. Modern theology has not introduced significant changes in this regard. However, the decisive tilt toward historicity that, since the Enlighten-ment, has been taking place in some philosophical quarters (notably in historicism and pheno-menology) has moved philosophers and theologians to question the classical notion of God's absolute timelessness. Process Philosophy is a notable ex-ponent of this trend.

Process Philosophy has not only criticized the notion of timelessness but has proposed a new view of God, according to which time and space become part of God's dipolar nature.[57] However, this introduction takes place at the expense of replacing the personal notion of God's nature with a panentheistic one. How does the reinterpretation of the God principle proposed by Process Philosophy play when applied to the biblical sanctuary? Specifically, does the introduction of time in God's nature as proposed by Process Philosophy, recognize the God-building-beings structure of sanc-tuary texts? Not at all. Although Process Philosophy's revision of the God principle calls for the reinterpretation of major Christian doctrines,[58] its appli-cation to the sanctuary requires the same metaphorical understanding required by the classical view. One reason for this similarity is that in a panentheistic view of God, God becomes the place where beings exist.[59] Therefore, God

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[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid., 104 (emphasis mine). Cassirer continues, "Only where man ceases to content himself with a static contemplation of the divine, where the divine explicates its existence and nature in time, where the human consciousness takes the step forward from the figure of the gods to the history, the narrative, of the gods—only then have we to do with 'myths' in the restricted, specific meaning of the word" (ibid).

[57]Alfred N. Whitehead affirms that "the consequent nature of God is conscious; and it is the realization of the actual world in the unity of his nature" *(Process and Reality: An Essay in Cosmology* [New York: Macmillan, 1929], 524).

[58]Notably, the doctrine of God (cf. John J. O'Donnell, *Trinity and Temporality: The Christian Doctrine of God in the Light of Process Theology and the Theology of Hope* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983], 53-107).

[59]Whitehead writes, "The actuality of God must also be understood as a multiplicity of actual components in process of creation. This is God in his function of kingdom of

cannot relate to beings from their outside but from their inside. God is the place of beings. Consequently, the God-building-beings structure essential to the biblical sanctuary must be taken to be God-beings. Specifically, the sanctuary as a building and the divine activities associated with it must be read metaphorically.[60]

From the perspective of the new historical-exegetical approach to Biblical Studies originating in modern times, biblical literature on the sanctuary sheds some light on our understanding of OT and NT cultus and rituals because the sanctuary was obviously central to Israel's cultus. However, from the theological perspective of Christian dogmatics, the sanctuary continues to play no role. Theologically, the sanctuary becomes a myth because the biblical writings on the sanctuary attribute to God a life in time and space. Therefore, the sanctuary probably refers to human religious experience in the context of a panentheistic understanding of reality.

Nevertheless, one should not forget that during the modern period the classical approach to the interpretation of the sanctuary continues exercising its influence not only on dogmatic interpretations but, at times, also on exegetical ones.[61] Some exegetes, however, have begun to convey the meaning of sanctuary

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heaven. Each actuality in the temporal world has its reception into God's nature" (ibid., 531).

[60]In the next to the last paragraph of his *Process and Reality* Whitehead uses the word "heaven" as a metaphor for God's primordial nature: "What is done in the world is transformed into a reality in heaven, and the reality in heaven passes back into the world. By reason of this reciprocal relation, the love in the world passes into the love in heaven, and floods back again into the world" (ibid., 532).

[61]Within the Protestant tradition, for instance, F. F. Bruce tells us that the heavenly sanctuary, the "'real sanctuary' belongs to the same order of being as the saint's everlasting rest of [Hebrews] chs. 3 and 4" (*The Epistle to the Hebrews* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964], 163). Since, according to Bruce, the order of being of the saint's everlasting rest is the immortality of the soul (ibid., 78-79), Platonic ontology still shows up playing its hermeneutical role. In my opinion, the same classical interpretation of the God principle is operative in his rejection of the historical understanding of the Atonement and the typological interpretation of the sanctuary (ibid., 200-201; fn. 82). From the Roman Catholic tradition, Aelred Cody goes a step further when he sees the Platonic interpretation of the God and nature principles working not from the reader's hermeneutic assumptions but from the author's: "The theology of the economy of salvation in Christ is presented by the Epistle's author in the form of a symbolic parable using the categories of Alexandrian dualism" (*Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews: The Achievement of Salvation in the Epistle's Perspectives* [St. Meinrad, IN: Grail, 1960], 155). Norbert Hugedé warns us against "une interprétation simpliste, qui ferait se figurer un Christ matériellement assis à droite de Dieu le Père, sur un trône d'or, comme on l'a vu, hélas, par des représentations pieuses, coiffé d'une couronne et revêtu d'un manteau d'apparat" (*Le Sacerdoce du Fils: Commentaire de l'épître aux Hébreux* [Paris: Fischbacher, 1983], 237-238). To help us avoid a naive reading of "Christ sitting at the right hand of God" (Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; and 12:2), Hugedé quotes directly, in an authoritative manner, from the metaphorical

texts without calling on philosophical categories to interpret their referents.[62] Tacitly, these exegetes replace the notion of a timeless-spaceless God with the biblical notion that the reality of God is free to relate personally and directly with time, history, and space.[63] In so doing they implicitly point

interpretations of Augustine and Aquinas (ibid., 238).

[62]Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., understands the OT tabernacle as primarily embodying the theology of worship. The sanctuary "assumes that God is the Great King who reigns and is therefore worthy of our praise and adoration. Even more specifically, the meaning of the tabernacle is that God has come 'to dwell,' 'to tabernacle' in the midst of Israel, as he would one day come in the Incarnation (John 1:14) and will come in the Second Advent (Rev 21:3). The Lord who dwelt in his visible glory in his sanctuary among his people (Exod 25:8) will one day come and dwell in all his glory among his saints forever" ("Exodus," *Expositor's Bible Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan: 1973], 2:452). William L. Lane recognizes that the word *skenē* is used in Heb 8-9:10 "consistently in a local sense to designate the heavenly sanctuary (8:2) or the desert sanctuary (8:5), or to denote the front or rear compartments of the tabernacle (9:2, 3, 6, 8). The thrust of the argument is that the tabernacle with its division into two chambers was constructed according to the pattern or model shown to Moses on Mount Sinai (see on 8:5). The writer appears to have held a realistic understanding of Exod 25:40 and related texts, according to which a spatially conceived sanctuary consisting of two compartments existed in heaven and had provided the pattern for the desert sanctuary" (*Hebrews 9-13*, WBC, 47b [Dallas: Word, 1991], 237-238).

[63]Exegetical interpretations, however, do not, per se, inform theological discourse. Frequently, theologians summarily dismiss them as amusing possibilities that they, of course, cannot take seriously in the realm of dogmatic discourse. Biblical exegesis, after all, is supposed to fit the system dictated by the philosophical interpretation of theological principles. However, some less recognized and studied traditions seem to have entertained a more literal reading of the biblical sanctuary motif. For instance, according to Bryan W. Ball, seventeenth-century Puritan theology follows Aquinas' and Calvin's views regarding the interpretation of the OT sanctuary as a metaphor of Christ's work (*The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* [Cambridge: James Clarke, 1981], 107-109). At the same time, however, his study seems to imply that, regarding the understanding of the heavenly sanctuary and Christ's ministry, an incipient departure from tradition begins to take place in some Puritan writers. On the one hand, Puritan theology seems to follow the classical approach. Ball summarizes his findings regarding the Puritan interpretation of the biblical heavenly sanctuary texts by saying that "it is only necessary to open the relevant literature at the appropriate pages to discover that Puritan writers saw no valid reason to depart from a literal interpretation of those passages of Scripture which referred to the existence of a sanctuary in heaven" (*The English Connection*, 110). Although some Puritan writers recognize that the "form and matter" of the heavenly sanctuary are "of a different kind than the "form and matter" of the earthly sanctuary, they still understand heavenly sanctuary texts as disclosing the reality of a building in heaven where Christ performs His ministry. Ball describes the Puritan view of the reality of the heavenly sanctuary by saying that for Puritan writers "the heavenly sanctuary, real as it undoubtedly is, according to the clear testimony of Scripture, is of a far more excellent nature than its copy constructed on earth by men" (ibid.). The "matter and form" of the heavenly sanctuary "is of another kind, far more fair, pure, sublime, and stable than this which we see. And to this building pertains that heavenly tabernacle of Christ our high priest, which is the temple and residence of the Most High God" ([Thomas Lushington], *The Expiation of a Sinner: In*

to the need of deconstructing the philosophical interpretation of God and
its role as hermeneutical principle of theological discourse.

Changes in the interpretation of the God principle necessarily involve
substantial modifications in the understanding of the Being principle. What
is the significance of this incipient and seemingly inconsequential departure
from theological tradition?

6. Sanctuary and Biblical Foundations

Classical and modern philosophical foundations have consistently required
a metaphorical interpretation of the God-building-beings structure present
in the biblical texts that unveil the reality and meaning of the sanctuary.
Working as hermeneutical principles, they have set the ontological stage
to which the sanctuary refers. Apparently, the meaning of the God-building-
beings sanctuary structure depends on the nature of its central component,
God. The understanding of the God principle, then, determines the ontological
referent of sanctuary language.

In sections 4 and 5 we have seen that when theologians embrace the
timeless interpretation of the God principle, an unbridgeable incompatibility
between the building (world principle) and the God components of the sanctuary
structure takes place. The plain literal sense of sanctuary texts cannot be
incorporated into theological discourse because God is assumed to exist in
timelessness while the notion of building stands in time and space. Consequently,
a metaphorical-figurative reading becomes imperative. The metaphorical
sense applies, primarily, not to God or humans but to the sanctuary as building.
By extension, however, the metaphorical sense reaches the whole God-building-
beings structure of sanctuary texts both in OT and NT. Metaphorical approaches

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a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrews (1646), 167; this work appears to be largely
a translation from a Latin commentary on Hebrews by Johannes Crellius (1590-1633),
quoted in Ball, *The English Connection*, 110). On the other hand, if Ball's assessment of
Puritan theology is correct, some Puritan writers' views of Christ's postresurrection
priestly ministry are closely related to their recognition of the God-building-beings structure
of the sanctuary as a literal reality in heaven. For some Puritan writers Christ's heavenly
ministry is no longer a metaphor pointing to his eternal salvific grace (Aquinas), or the
spiritual efficacy of Christ's spiritual body (Calvin). Instead, they conceive Christ's
postresurrection heavenly ministry as a necessary continuation of his salvific activities
initiated at the cross. Cross and heavenly ministries are consecutive, complementary salvific
acts of Christ without which our salvation cannot be accomplished. "The death and blood
of Christ is [sic] not enough to the cleansing of our souls, unless the blood be sprinkled, the
death of Christ applied to us. There must be a work of application as well as of redemption.
All the precious blood that Christ hath shed will not save a sinner, unless this blood be
effectually applied and sprinkled on the soul. Application is a great and necessary part of our
recovery and salvation, as well as the blood of Christ itself" (Samuel Mather, *Figures or Types*,
318; quoted in Ball, 104). For further discussion and sources see Ball, 103-107.

to the sanctuary texts require a transposition[64] of the building notion from its immediate spatio-temporal setting to the realm of divine timeless eternity. Unfortunately, this transposition alters the God-building-beings structure to a buildingless God-beings relation. This way of interpreting sanctuary texts has the advantage of producing a coherent understanding, yet theological consistency is attained at the expense of dismissing substantial facets of the texts and the realities they illumine.

Classical and modern theologies are right in insisting that our reading of the sanctuary texts be consistent and that consistency assumes that the subject matter about which the texts speak (the God-building-beings structure) stands on a unified understanding of reality. Theological interpretations of biblical texts, then, always assume a philosophical understanding of reality that they leave unthought and unsaid. Precisely because Scripture does not explicitly address the interpretation of Being, God, human nature, and nature principles, theologians have consistently drawn their understanding of them from philosophy.

Modernism and postmodernism have increasingly questioned the timeless view of classical theology. However, they have come short of abandoning the timelessness of God. They see classical timelessness as lacking proper balance as it relates to temporal historical realities. Consequently, modern and postmodern views are inclined to correct this imbalance by introducing time into the notion of God.[65] Methodologically, new interpretations are usually constructed by the free play of philosophical speculation and imagination.

Is it possible to reach a theological understanding of the biblical sanctuary that, while mindful of conceptual consistency, may preserve the God-building-beings structure essential to the subject matter uncovered by the texts? I think it is. I would like to suggest an alternate way to reach a consistent theological interpretation of the sanctuary, probably in harmony with some Puritan and some Biblical Theology readings of the sanctuary. A consistent theological interpretation of the sanctuary that does not require the metaphorical translation of its God-building-beings structure starts with the reinterpretation of the God principle. Such an alternate view requires two basic steps: the deconstruction of the classical and modern interpretations of the God principle and the selection of a starting point from which to think anew and formulate a reconstruction of the God principle in harmony with the biblical text.

The starting point

Is there another way to reinterpret the meaning of the God principle

[64]Ricoeur, 17-18.

[65]Hegel takes the lead in this regard. Process philosophy is another example of this trend (see section 5).

besides the free play of philosophical speculation and imagination? Regarding
the understanding of God, are we bound by the imagination (reason)-silence
alternative? Contrary to the opinion of most philosophers and theologians,
Heidegger believed that on the question of God, philosophy must keep silent
while nursing an expectant mood waiting for the revelation of God within
the horizon of Being.[66] In short, it seems that Heidegger thought that God
should reveal himself just as Being does in the experience of *Dasein* (concrete
human existence). Theologians are supposed to wait for God to present himself
against the background provided by the general principle of Being and then
be prepared to attune themselves to it. We may speculate why Heidegger
did not develop a philosophical reflection on God.[67] It seems reasonable to
suspect that Heidegger did not develop an explicit philosophy on the being
of God because he was unable to find a starting point where the being of
God would present itself within the realm of *Dasein*.

I have argued elsewhere that the starting point for the Christian interpretation
of the God principle is Scripture.[68] Throughout the history of Christian thinking,
Exod 3:14-15 has been recognized as the *locus classicus* where the being of
God is brought into language. After changes in interpretation, biblical exegesis
has come to recognize that this text speaks of the presence of God in history

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[66]James L. Perotti's study on Heidegger's notion of the divine reports that Heidegger
recognizes the existence of past disclosures of God but, since in the present time God does
not reveal himself, philosophers must keep silence and an attitude of expectation for the
future revelation of God. "In the essay, *Das Ding*, Heidegger cites three past manifestations
of the divine: in the gods of ancient Greece, in the Jewish prophets, and in the sayings of
Jesus. But these manifestations are no longer present to man; they are no longer meaningful
to us, no longer capable of religious influence. Therefore, Heidegger is silent about these past
manifestations; his thinking takes no account of them, i.e., is god-less" (*Heidegger on the
Divine: The Thinker, The Poet, and God* [Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1974], 95). It
is interesting to notice that Heidegger did not choose to seek the knowledge of God by way
of analogy but through the more biblical revelatory approach. Unfortunately, his
philosophical method required him to start from the revelation of God. Although God did
not reveal himself to Heidegger, or for that matter to other humans in his time, he chose not
to deny the possibility of the existence of God. On the contrary, he decided to wait for his
revelation in the future. In an arbitrary way Heidegger thought some poets were closer to
the divine or Holy than the philosophers. He himself speculated on the area of disclosure
of the Holy by way of commenting on some poems written by Hölderin. I see no
intellectual hindrance to replacing the writings of poets with the writings of OT and NT
writers. Of course, I am willing to recognize the obvious limits of philosophy on the
question of God.

[67]A detailed study of the question of God in Heidegger's work has been produced by
George Kovacs, *The Question of God in Heidegger's Phenomenology* (Evanston, IL:
Northwestern University Press, 1990).

[68]*A Criticism of Theological Reason*, 285-387.

but does not address the issue of his being.[69] Yet, if we recognize that the text is disclosing in words the presence of God, we have found the necessary starting point for a philosophical reconstruction of the God principle. This starting point is, in the realm of theology, analogous to *Dasein* as a philosophical starting point in Heidegger's philosophy.[70] Biblical texts bring to light the revelation of God's being in his historical presence.[71] As biblical texts on

[69]The tendency to disassociate God's presence from his Being shows up, for instance, when Th. C. Vriezen comments on Exod 3:14-15. "In this name Yahweh reveals His Being only in its 'formal aspect' by speaking of His actual presence. This is not a real qualification of Yahweh's Being, for *Yahweh does not mention His name*; but at the same time He does more than this: He gives man the most solemn assurance of his presence. For him who understands this there is no more need to ask about His name. Taken in this way this word of God to Moses typifies as shortly and essentially as possible all that Israel believes and knows concerning God. This name Yahweh, thus taken to mean 'He who is' without any further qualification of His Being, is therefore of fundamental importance. God can only be denoted as the Real One according to the functional character of His Being, not in His Being itself" (*An Outline of Old Testament Theology* [Oxford: Basil, 1958], 236).

[70]The main difference between the approach I am suggesting and Heidegger's relates to the selection of the starting point for phenomenological reflection. Heidegger starts from *Dasein* as appearance; from *Dasein* he goes to the interpretation of the ground of Being; and from the ground of Being he interprets God. The movement of biblical intelligibility, which I suggest Christian theology should follow, is different. The starting point is not the appearance of *Dasein* but the appearance of God. It is only from the appearance of God that we can settle the issue of the Being principle and the interpretation of all philosophical foundations.

[71]This starting point comes to light only when we place the traditional philosophical understanding of "appearance" in phenomenological *epoche* (see below, nn. 72 and 73). Heidegger provides a summary description of the traditional meaning of "appearance" we should discard by way of phenomenological bracketing. "At first sight [explains Heidegger], the distinction seems clear. Being and appearance means: the real in contradistinction to the unreal; the authentic over against the inauthentic" (*An Introduction to Metaphysics*, trans. Ralph Manheim [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987], 98). This understanding originates with the Sophists and Plato, who declared appearance "to be mere appearance and this degraded. At the same time, being as *idea* was exalted to a suprasensory realm. A chasm, *chorismos*, was created between the merely apparent essence here below and the real being, somewhere on high. In that chasm Christianity settled down, at the same time reinterpreting the lower as the created and the higher as the creator (ibid., 106). This notion of "appearance" was adopted by Christianity as a result of the classical interpretation of the God principle I described in sections 3 and 4. Heidegger has shown how, on the basis of early "Greek interpretation of being as *physic, and only on* this basis, both *truth* in the sense of unconcealment and *appearance* as a definite mode of emerging self-manifestation belong necessarily to being" (ibid., 109). Appearance, then, is the manifestation of being. This manifestation becomes the source of what shows itself in the phenomenon. Heidegger summarizes his view by concluding that '*phenomenon*,' the showing-itself-in-itself, signifies a distinctive way in which something can be encountered. '*Appearance*,' on the other hand, means a reference-relationship which is an entity in itself, and which is such that what *does the referring* (or the announcing) can fulfil its possible function only if it shows itself in itself and is thus a '*phenomenon*'" (*Being and Time*, 54).

God articulate the meaning of his past, present, and future presence, the being of God is brought into the clearing of consciousness by way of thought and words. The real ontic presence of God in space and time becomes the ground for biblical reflection on his being and actions. Consequently, biblical texts open a new way from which to search for the meaning of the God principle. This way does not stand on the basis of philosophical speculation or imagination, but rather on the recognition that our own access to the Christian understanding of any being, including God, is a careful listening to the way in which they present themselves to us through the linguistic mediation of biblical writers.

Deconstruction-reconstruction

Once we come to the point of recognizing the philosophical import of biblical text, we are in a position to assess classical interpretations of the God principle. To do that we need to place all previous scientific interpretations of the God principle under Husserlian *epoche*,[72] that is, in methodological brackets. In other words, we should explicitly and systematically avoid using them while reflecting on the meaning of God opened before us by the original reflection on the Christian God.[73] As we do that, we will discover that biblical texts on God and on the sanctuary reveal that the God principle is compatible with our space, time, and history. On this basis, we should deconstruct the classical and modern understandings of the God principle and replace them

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[72]In search of the scientific foundations of philosophy in the tradition of Descartes, Husserl introduces the phenomenological methodology which includes *epoche* as the methodological "bracketing," or "disconnecting," of traditionally received teachings of sciences (*Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*, trans. W. R. Boyce Gibson [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1952], 109). Thus, he writes that "*all sciences which relate to this natural world*, though they stand ever so ·firm to me, though they fill me with wondering admiration, though I am far from any thought of objecting to them in the least degree, *I disconnect them all, I make absolutely no use of their standards, I do not appropriate a single one of the propositions that enter into their systems, even though their evidential value is perfect, I take none of them, no one of them serves me for a foundation*—so long, that is, as it is understood, in the way these sciences themselves understand it as a truth *concerning the realities of this world. I may accept it only after I have placed it in the bracket.* That means: only in the modified consciousness of the judgment as it appears in disconnection, and *not as it figures within the science as its proposition, a proposition which claims to be valid and whose validity I recognize and make use of*" (ibid., 111). According to Husserl, "the phenomenological *epoche* includes *all the sciences natural and mental,* with the entire knowledge they have accumulated" (ibid., 171). *See also* Edmund Husserl, *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1970), 135-137. Emphasis original.

[73]This is a methodological procedure similar to the one Heidegger's investigation of the meaning of the Being principle applied to the ontological tradition. Heidegger used a modified version of Husserl's phenomenological *epoche* not only to suspend judgment, but also to destroy (deconstruct) traditional ontology (*Being and Time*, 44, 49).

with a technical formulation of the biblical understanding of God. We should deal with the other philosophical principles in the same manner.

The critical analysis of the theological understanding of philosophical principles I have briefly sketched becomes the methodological condition for overcoming the metaphorical interpretation of the sanctuary in Christian theology.[74] As we recognize the hermeneutical role of philosophical principles in Christian theology, and interpret them on the basis of biblical reflection, a consistent theological interpretation of the sanctuary that preserves its God-building-beings structure becomes possible.

7. Summary and Conclusion

Philosophical foundations relate to the biblical sanctuary motif because they play the role of hermeneutical principles operative in its theological interpretation. Among the philosophical principles called to play a foundational role in Christian theology we identified the Being, God, human nature, and nature (the world) principles. Because in the biblical texts the sanctuary consistently reveals a God-building-beings structure, the God principle (in close relation to the nature [world] principle) directly conditions its theological interpretation. Philosophical principles work, for instance, by determining the nature of the reality to which the biblical texts refer, thereby determining whether the passage addresses its subject matter in a plain literal or in a more imaginative metaphorical sense. In theology, metaphorical discourse is usually called to fit the parameters of reality dictated by the philosophical interpretation of its subject matter.

Classical and modern theological traditions, usually embracing the timeless view of the God principle originated by Parmenides and Plato, interpret the sanctuary metaphorically. The timelessness of God, which makes no room for the notion of building or the notion of a succession of divine actions, requires a metaphorical interpretation. Consequently, sanctuary texts cannot speak of God directly but only metaphorically. Thus, the metaphorical interpretation of the sanctuary involves a transposition of the historical and spatial preunderstanding of the biblical texts to the timeless understanding dictated by the God principle. In the process, theologians are forced to achieve consistency by reducing the God-building-beings structure of the biblical texts to either a God-beings or a God structure of which the sanctuary texts can only speak metaphorically.

I have argued that a critical approach to the interpretation of traditional philosophical principles may open an alternate way to interpret the biblical

[74]Apparently, sanctuary texts assume that God is capable of relating directly to humans in a building. Specifically, the idea of God does not rule out his direct relational involvement with created beings within the limitations of space and time.

sanctuary, to help us overcome the metaphorical approach. A theological view of the sanctuary texts that, while preserving theological consistency, will not be compelled to deny the God-building-beings structure of biblical thinking requires a reinterpretation of philosophical principles, particularly of the God principle. The possibility of reinterpreting the philosophical understanding of the God principle hinges on the existence and identification of a starting point for reflection. The starting point, fortunately, is given to us in the prescientific understanding of God's presence expressed in biblical thinking. When we recognize that biblical reflection on God simultaneously reveals not only his historical presence but also his being, a view of the God principle compatible with our space and time comes into view. We need only formulate that view in technical categories and use it as hermeneutical principle for the interpretation of the biblical sanctuary. This interpretation of the God principle eliminates what has forced classical and modern theologies to various metaphorical interpretations.

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF THE HYMNS IN THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

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One can state unequivocally that, except for the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse of John is the most liturgical book in the NT canon. This is obvious from its frequent references to the temple or sanctuary, once to the ark of the covenant, to the altar, to the lampstands, the libation bowls, the thurible, incense[1] and its smoke, and the trumpets. The liturgical character can also be seen in the cultic words and phrases that John uses, e.g., "Glory and dominion, ... Amen" (Rev 1:7); "on the Lord's day" (Rev 1:10).[2] However, it is above all in the hymns that we find the most interesting and dynamic of the liturgical elements.[3]

All the hymns occur in the main body of the text (Rev 4-20); they are Jewish-Christian in character and are placed at most strategic positions in the structure of the Apocalypse. Most of them are located in heaven and are sung by heavenly beings. In fact, Rev 6:10, the cry of the martyrs under the altar, appears to be the only prayer offered by human beings who do not enjoy eternal felicity. Hence it is somewhat misleading to speak about

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[1] Incense *per se* is only mentioned in the list of commercial goods in Rev 18.

[2] See S. Läuchli, "Eine Gottesdienststruktur in der Johannesoffenbarung," *TZ* 16 (1960): 359-378, especially 359-366; and Jon Paulien, "Hebrew Cults, Sanctuary, and Temple," *AUSS* 33 (1995): 245-264. Paulien argues that there are important detailed allusions to the Hebrew cultus in Rev 4-5, probably in the service of inauguration; in 8:2-6 (the *tamid* services); in 11:19 (the ark); in 15:5-8 (the language of "de-auguration"); in 19:1-10 (the throne, worship, the Lamb); in 21:1-8 (God's immanence). The implied reader shares this symbolic world with the author.

[3] See J.-P. Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Rev 16, 17-19, 10* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 184-189; for further reflections on the liturgical characteristics of the Apocalypse see Ugo Vanni, "Liturgical Dialogue as a Literary Form in the Book of Revelation," *NTS* 37 (1991): 348-372. For example, he suggests as follows: Lector 1:4-5a; Hearers 1:5b-6; Lector 1:7a; Hearers 2:7b; Lector 1:8. He proposes that liturgical dialogue is the literary form of the Apocalypse.

the earthly liturgy *per se* in the Apocalypse.[4] As we shall see below, our author directs our attention, not to an earthly synagogue or Christian community center, but to the heavenly sanctuary. The hymns are often antiphonal and sometimes accompanied by liturgical gesture(s) and music. Most are addressed to God but some—and this is most significant—are addressed to the Lamb. As I hope we will see in the following essay, the hymns carry the "story line" of the Apocalypse, and through them the work gradually moves into a crescendo and reaches a climax which becomes the proclamation of the establishment of the Kingdom of God and the enthronement of the Lamb.

The Setting of the Hymns[5]

The liturgy which the author of the Apocalypse shows us is no ordinary worship, either in the Temple of Jerusalem, the synagogue, or the Christian assembly. John has revealed to us a situation similar to the *Merkabah* mysticism of Jewish apocalyptic and the *Hekhalot* literature.[6] Gruenwald conjectures the process of the mystical experience of the *Merkabah* vision. The mystic sits on a bench with ten chosen persons sitting in front of him and the rest of the people standing behind them. Only the mystic who is "a sort of public emissary on behalf of the other mystics" can explain the throne vision and God's revelation. The scribe writes down his words. The focus of the session is mission on behalf of the congregation.[7]

Similarly John is invited to ascend to the throne and is told to commit his experience to writing. In this way he communicates with the seven churches, and they, on their part, participate in the hymns and some of the dialogues.

The Heavenly Liturgy

The Qumran Texts

"As the liturgy above so is the liturgy below," states Rabbi Hiyya ben Abba.[8] The earthly and heavenly worship are inextricably bound together.

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[4]E.g., M. H. Shepherd, *The Paschal Liturgy in the Apocalypse*, Ecumenical Studies in Worship, 6 (London: Lutterworth, 1960); L. Mowry, "Revelation 4-5 and Early Christian Liturgical Usage," *JBL* 71 (1952): 75-84.

[5] David Aune finds a number of affinities between the ceremonies associated with the imperial court and the throne scenes in the Apocalypse ("The Influence of Roman Imperial Court Ceremonial on the Apocalypse of John," *Biblical Research* 28 [1983]: 5-26).

[6] Classical works on the subject include G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Traditions* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965).

[7] I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkabah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); 172-173.

[8] *Shemoth Rabbah*; text from F. W. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und*

In the Hebrew Scriptures where we hear of the heavenly liturgy; it is always performed by angels and takes the form of praise or intercession but never expiation (Ps 29; Pss 103; 148; Isa 6; Zech 1:12; Job 33:23-24 and Tob 12:12). However, the Qumran texts that shed considerable light on the heavenly liturgy as follows.[9] Eight manuscripts concerning heavenly worship[10] were found in cave 4 (4Q 400-407), some fragments in cave 11, and a fragment in Masada.[11] They comprise angelic praises to God and "imply the simultaneity of the heavenly and earthly worship."[12] Strugnell says:

> Of great significance for the study of postbiblical liturgies is the manner in which the motif of the angelic cult in the Heavenly Temple is, to say the least, meditated upon in the context of the Essene Sabbath liturgy. This is no angelic liturgy, no visionary work where a seer hears the praise of the angels, but a *Maskil*'s composition for an earthly liturgy in which the presence of the angels is in a sense invoked and in which ... the Heavenly Temple is portrayed on the model of the earthly one and in some way its service is considered the pattern of what is being done below.[13]

The fragments show the heavenly sanctuary, the throne and various angelic groups; some words of blessing are also included.[14] They are heavily influenced by Ezek 1-10 and 40-48 and, to some extent, Isa 6.[15] Vermes, Strugnell, and Schiffman date these fragments to mid-first century B.C.E.[16] In 4Q 400 we read of "ministers of the Presence in his glorious innermost Temple chamber"; they are to offer expiation for those who repent. Strugnell avers that there is no explicit reference to heavenly, priestly, or sacrificial cult before the

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verwandter Schriften, 2 ed. (Leipzig: Dörftling & Franke, 1897), 203, cited by A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (St. Meinrad: Grail, 1968), 50.

[9] See J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran-4Q Serek Sîrôt 'Ôlat Haššabbāt," *VT* 7 (1959): 318-345. L. H. Schiffman, "Merkavah *Speculation at Qumran:* The 4Q Serekh Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat," in *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians,* ed. J. Reinharz and D. Swetschinski (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982), 15-47. Both authors print the text and translation of 4Q Sl 39 and 40. They also give a detailed commentary.

[10] Strugnell opines that there might have been a belief in the existence of seven heavens, but this is not explicit (328). However, there was probably speculation about this.

[11] Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English,* 3 ed. (New York: Penguin, 1987), 223-225.

[12] Vermes, 221.

[13] Strugnell, 320.

[14] It is comparatively rare to find the actual words of the angelic liturgy recorded in texts.

[15] Strugnell observes that the influence of Isa 6 is slight (343).

[16] Vermes, 221; Strugnell, 319, 343; Schiffman, 46.

Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse of John.[17] However, at Qumran, where the community members disdained the sacrifices offered in the Jerusalem Temple, there was an interest in the celestial sacrificial cult,[18] the priestly role of angels, and the structure of the heavenly temple.[19]

More importantly, these beings praise the *kingship* of God. Indeed, the theme of God's *majestic kingship* runs throughout the fragments, as do the references to the Holy of Holies and the innermost Temple, e.g., 4Q405 20 ii 21-22, which says, "The cherubim bless the image of the throne-chariot above the firmament, [and] they praise [the majes]ty of the luminous firmament beneath his seat of glory."[20] Q400 2 speaks of "marvelous psalms" which they sing; 4Q403 1, i mentions different forms of songs of praise which are arranged in groups of sevens. The throne itself and its entourage are described as follows:

> And as the *wheels* move so do the holy angels of the sanctuary return and there come forth from amid His glorious *hubs* as it were an appearance of fire, the Spirits of the Holy of Holies. Round about there is an appearance of *rivers* of fire in the likeness of Hasmal[21] and shining creatures, in gloriously variegated and wondrously dyed garments *salted* and pure, the Spirits of the Living God walking continually beside the glory of the wondrous chariot.[22]

Strugnell suggests that the clothing of the angels indicates that they are priests.[23]

Schiffman summarizes the importance of these documents as follows: They have themes and expressions which show affinity to the *Hekhalot* literature—the belief in the seven archangels and in regular angelic praise in heaven and the notion of God's glory,[24] the heavenly sanctuary with its cult, the association

[17] Strugell, 335.

[18] See also Schiffman, 18, note 25.

[19] Strugnell, 335. Compare Yigael Yadin, "The Excavation of Masada-1963/4, Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal* 15 (1965): 107, n. 84. Yadin identifies the Chief Princes (4Q403 1, i, 1-29 = Masada Fragment) with the seven archangels and opines that this fragment pertains to sacrificial worship in the heavenly temple.

[20] Cf. Exod 24:9-11. Note, however, that there is a tradition which speaks of silence in the throne room; see Schiffman, 37.

[21] Electrum.

[22] Strugnell, 337.

[23] Strugnell compares Exod 39:29; 1QM 7:11; Ezek 9-10 (340). Cf. the angels with the bowls in Rev 15-16.

[24] The members of the Qumran community believed that there would be a vision of God's glory in the eschatological period (*Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, 1, 154; cf. Isa 40:5). Schiffman remarks: "This is in consonance with tannaitic traditions regarding the splitting

of angels with fire, and the military aspect of the heavenly hosts.[25] The Qumran texts may provide a better—or, at least, complementary—background to the liturgy in the Apocalypse. They tend to be overlooked in favor of OT texts.

I emphasize this heavenly worship, which in these texts is centered on God alone. At the conclusion of the Apocalypse we see that the Lamb shares these privileges.

The Apocalypse

The heavenly hymnic liturgy in the Apocalypse falls into two parts: (1) hymns celebrating delivery from temporal evils (4:6-11; 5:6-14; 7:9-12; 8:3-5; 11:15-17; 14:1-5; 15: 2-4; 19:1-5; 19:6-8) and (2) worship in the eschatological age (21:1-22:5).[26] The catastrophes—namely, the seals, trumpets, and bowls—occur through the command of God or one of his entourage and the agents of these chastisements are angels and/or cosmic bodies. It is the Lamb who inaugurates them. The consequence of the sins of humankind is the disturbance of the celestial bodies: the sun is darkened, the moon becomes bloody, the stars deviate from their fixed courses. The presence of God manifested through these phenomena is clearly dynamic, not spatial; it constitutes the realization of judgment and salvation. Hence it is not surprising that *all the major events* in the Apocalypse are accompanied by heavenly *hymns*. They are usually sung in the heavenly court, although some of them are joined by beatified mortals. Like the Greek choruses, the hymns of the Apocalypse are essential to its very plot. They occur at key points within the drama. They are a commentary on the events which are implemented,[27] the affirmation by spirits and humankind that God's justice has been executed and the eschato-logical events have reached their climax. Most importantly, they show how the author of the Apocalypse has added a christological interpretation to Jewish traditions.

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of the Sea of Reeds and the theophany at Sinai" (28).

[25] Schiffman, 45.

[26] Some scholars cannot discern any liturgy here, but Comblin argues that this portion of the text must be seen against the background of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, when the pilgrims go to Jerusalem; "La liturgie de la nouvelle Jerusalem, Apoc 21:1-22:5," *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 29 (1953): 5-40. But, although this material reflects Isa 60, John shows the nations walking *in*, not *towards*, the light; the sacrifices of Isa 60:7 are omitted; and the "priesthood is ignored for the concept of royalty" (Apoc 22:5). The themes of water and light are consonant with the Feast of Tabernacles. See also E. Peterson, *Le Livre des anges* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1954), 65.

[27] For the interweaving of visionary material and historic events, see Daria Pezzoli-Olgiati, *Täuschung und Klarheit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

Hymns in the Apocalypse

There are no hymns *per se* in the prologue of the Apocalypse, in Rev 2-3, or the epilogue—precisely, I think, because these do not narrate the *magnalia Dei*.[28] The main hymnic portions are as follows: (1) Rev 4:8b, 11, which constitutes the climax of the seer's *merkabah* vision; (2) Rev 5:9-10, 12, 13b, which heralds the Lamb as the one worthy to open the seven-sealed scroll; (3) Rev 7:10, 12, 15-17, which occurs after the sealing of the twelve tribes; (4) Rev 11:15, 17, 18, which ushers in the seventh trumpet; (5) Rev 12:10-12, which celebrates Satan's expulsion from heaven; (6) Rev 14:3 (or 3-5), where the followers of the Lamb sing a new song; (7) Rev 15:3-4, which is a prelude to the outpouring of the bowls of wrath; (8) Rev 16:5-7, after the third bowl; (9) Rev 18:2-3, 4-8, 10, 14, 16, 19-23, which triumphs over the destruction of Babylon; and (10) Rev 19:1a-8, which comprises the celebration of the final eschatological victory of God over evil forces so that he reigns supreme. It must be noted that references to the Lamb/Messiah occur in sections 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10. The only exceptions are section 1 before the Lamb has appeared, and sections 8 and 9, which are focused entirely on the destruction of Babylon.

Although the hymns may not be in chronological order, one can trace a developing Christology through these hymns if one considers them in the light of the various eschatological figures anticipated by different Jewish groups in the second-temple period. These include: (1) a Davidic Messiah, (2) a priestly Messiah, (3) one like a Son of Humanity, (4) a prophet like Moses, (5) Elijah *redivivus*, (6) Melchizedek, (7) a Teacher of Righteousness, (8) the Servant of the Lord. The title "The One Who Comes" could comprehend these "messianic" figures and I think it can be shown that the Lamb fulfills the role of most of these personages. I shall try to show this in the second part of this paper.[29]

1. *John's Merkabah Vision and Its Hymn* (Rev 4:8b, 11)

The hymns in Rev 4 and 5 have the same setting—that is, the throne room. God on the chariot-throne is the center of attention and the Lamb stands nearby, in the midst of the courtroom (Rev 5:6). Our author obviously wishes to place his seer not only within the classical prophetical tradition but also within the apocalyptic and, more especially, the mystical tradition. The seer, being granted a throne vision, is admitted, as it would seem, into

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[28] Läuchli argues for liturgical elements in these chapters (361-366), but not hymns as such. He lists the actual hymnic material on p. 367. See also J. J. O'Rourke,"The Hymns of the Apocalypse," *CBQ* 30 (1968):399-408. He refers briefly to the liturgical details of the prologue (399-400).

[29] For the varied expectations in the Scriptures, Qumran material, and Pseudepigrapha, see J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (New York: Doubleday, 1995).

the heavenly council, which appears to include both angels and beatified human beings. The hymn in Rev 4 originates with the living creatures, who are described as giving ceaseless praise to God, and is sung antiphonally with the twenty-four elders. But what is of greatest significance in this context is the liturgical gesture executed by the 24 elders. They prostrate themselves and cast off their crowns before God. This action, which is not repeated elsewhere in the Apocalypse, is important because it dramatically symbolizes that all sovereignties will submit to the Divine Sovereignty. Jörns observes that this action is unique in the NT. He finds the origin of the custom in Oriental courts of the Greco-Roman world.[30] Tacitus records Tiridates performing a similar gesture.[31] The conflict between the two kingships, that of God and the kings of the earth together with the harlot who has sovereign sway over them (Rev 17:18), forms the core of the Apocalypse.

This casting down of the crowns is the pivotal point in Rev 4, but elements in the hymnic material elaborate on this theme. The author has redacted the *trisagion*, which we know from both Jewish and Christian liturgies.[32] The words are, of course, taken from Isa 6:3, but John has redacted them in an important way.[33] The hymn is addressed ONLY to God under two special titles, the "Lord God" and the "Omnipotent."[34] *Pantokratōr* (almighty)

[30] Klaus-Peter Jörns, *Das Hymnische Evangelium* (Gotersloh: G. Mohn, 1971), 33. David Aune gives a number of references to the bestowal of crowns on gods and men but not actual casting of one's own crown before a dignitary (*Revelation*, WBC 52a [Dallas: Word, 1997], 308-309).

[31] See Lohmeyer, 49; Grundmann, 530, note 82; Aune, 13-14. The pertinent passage reads: "It was then arranged that Tiridates should lay the emblem of his royalty (*insigne regium*) before the statue of the emperor, to resume it only from the hand of Nero. . . . After a few days' interval, came an impressive pageant on both sides: on the one hand, cavalry ranged in squadrons and carrying their national decorations; on the other, columns of legionaries standing amid a glitter of eagles and standards and effigies of gods which gave the scene some resemblance to a temple: in the centre, the tribunal sustained a curule chair, and a statue of Nero [*sic*]. To this Tiridates advanced, and, after the usual sacrifice of victims, lifted the diadem from his head and placed it at the feet of the image; arousing among all present a deep emotion increased by the picture of the slaughter or siege of the Roman armies which was still imprinted on their eyes." (Tacitus *Annals* 15.29.2).

[32] In Isaiah and in the *Merkabah* texts it is the angels, not human beings, who recite these words. For a discussion of the Jewish and patristic texts with reference to the *trisagion*, see D. Flusser, "Sanctus und Gloria," in *Abraham Unser Vater*, ed. O. Betz, M. Hengel, and P. Schmidt (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 129-152.

[33] Similar adaptation is seen in the *Targum of Isaiah* : "Holy *in the heavens of the height, his sanctuary,* holy *upon earth, the work of his might,* holy *in eternity is* the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is filled with the *brilliance* of his glory" Another redaction is found in 1 Enoch 39:12-13: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of the Spirits; the spirits fill the earth; . . . blessed are you and blessed is the name of the Lord of the spirits forever and ever."

[34] Delling thinks that the second title comes from Hellenistic Judaism, and this would

is found in the NT only in the Apocalypse, except for 2 Cor 6:18, which is a quotation. It denotes sovereignty over all other divinities and earthly rulers. The second line of the hymn is vital for the plot of the drama. God is addressed as "Who was and is and is to come." The first ("Who was")[35] and second ("Who is") appellations are relatively easy to explain.[36] It is the phrase "who is to come" which is arresting. The present participle has a future sense[37] and points to a new theophany. One notices that not only *erchomenos* has a future meaning but the future tense is found in *dōousin* (v. 9), *pesountai*, *proskunēousin* and *balousin* (v. 10). One could argue that these futures replace the subjunctive after *hotan*.[38] However, the future tenses are exceedingly meaningful as one sees the drama developing. Jörns thinks that they augur a special moment in the future. He cites patristic texts to support this.[39] Lohmeyer interprets *ho erchomenos* as the Jewish paraphrase of the name of God used eschatologically. He avers that it looks forward to the eschatological coming of Christ. He finds 36 similar examples.[40] Further, Jörns compares *ho erchomenos* to Isa 24:23 (the Apocalypse of Isaiah), which describes God's coming to judge and punish the kings of the earth (this exact phrase occurs eight times in the Apocalypse).[41] God will reign in Zion (cf. Rev 14:1-5) and be glorified before the elders. The message of the Apocalypse of Isaiah is directed against those who have transgressed the law, and it warns them that God will visit ills upon them. However, God will safeguard the righteous, and "They will celebrate new *'prodigies'* of redemption which are as marvelous as the events surrounding the exodus" (vv. 14, 16, 18; cf. 10:22, 26, Chilton, 47-48). Moreover, according to Isa 24, a new song of thanksgiving will be sung to celebrate the eschatological events when God's kingdom will be established (cf. Rev

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be consonant with the Asia Minor audience and with Aune's theory of the heavenly court counterbalancing the Greco-Roman imperial cult ("Zum gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannes-Apokalypse," Gerhard Delling, "Zum Gottesdiensstlichen Stil der Johannes-Apokalypse," *NovT* 3 [1959]: 127-134.

[35] "Who is" may refer to Exod 3:14.

[36] Cf. Targ. Jer. Dt 32:39, which reads: *"See now that* I AM HE WHO IS AND WHO WAS and I AM HE WHO WILL BE" (M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, Analecta Biblica, 27 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966], 111).

[37] For a discussion of the tenses, see Jörns, 28-30.

[38] Or they may represent the Hebrew imperfect in the sense of "whenever they give."

[39] Jörns, 28.

[40] Cited by Jörns, 27. I was unable to procure a copy of Lohmeyer's commentary.

[41] Rev 1:5; 6:15; 17:2; 18:3, 9; 19:19 and 21:24; there are also variations of this phrase, e.g., just "kings" or "kings of the universe."

5:9 and 14:3). Thus the title *ho erchomenos* is exceptionally portentous.

The ominous future is continued in the antiphonal response of the elders in v. 11. They profess God worthy[42] to receive glory, honor and power. They declare this on account of his unique creative power. Jörns claims that we have only one other example of a strophe being introduced by *axios*, namely, the *Hymnos Epilychnios* 3,9f of the Greek church.[43] *Axios* is found to be an acclamatory cry from the people.

Thus Rev 4 sets the stage for the coming drama. Is there another who is intimately related to God and perhaps worthy of equal laud? If so, who is this One who comes?

2. *The Lamb as Davidic Messiah and Redeemer* (Rev 5:9-10, 12, 13b)

When we consider the complex, symbolic figure of the Lamb, we may remark that "Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David" (v. 5) is comparatively easy to explain. It points to the Davidic Messiah. The epithet "Lamb" may be understood against the background of the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85-90), where kosher animals symbolize the Chosen People, non-kosher the Gentiles. The head of the flock is the belligerent bellwether. However, the Lamb "as though slain" appears to reflect the Isaian Servant Songs, but it is the seven horns, eyes, and spirits indicating omnipotence, omniscience, and plenitudes of spiritual powers which arrest our attention, as does the repetition of "worthy" (v. 2) already predicated of God (Rev 4:11). This seems to augur a supernatural being.

Prior to the discoveries at Qumran, scholars had little or no evidence of the expectation of a supernatural eschatological figure. However, among the Qumran scrolls are several fragments of interest.

1. 4Q 243 (4 Qps Dan. Aa), an Aramaic fragment, which Fitzmyer translates:

[But your son] shall be great upon the earth, 8 [O King! All (men) shall] make [peace], and all shall serve [him. He shall be called the son of] the [G]reat [God], and by his name shall he be named. Col II 1 He shall be hailed (as) the Son of God, and they shall call him Son of the Most High.[44]

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[42] See Foerster, "*axios*," *TDNT*, 1: 379-380, literally "bringing up to the other beam of the scales," "bringing into equilibrium." This meaning might be significant when one considers the proclamation that the Lamb as "worthy."

[43] Jörns 34; 35, note 67.

[44] J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament." *NTS* 20 (1974): 382-407; this quotation, 393. I have not quoted the whole of Fitzmyer's translation. The part quoted may be compared with the words of Gabriel to Mary (Lk 1:32-35) (ibid., 394). See also E. Puech, "Fragment d'une Apocalypse en Araméen (4Q24b=pseudo-Dan⁴) et le Royaume de Dieu," *RB* 99 (1992): 98-131; and J. A. Fitzmyer," 4Q246: The 'Son of God' Document from Qumran," *Bib* 74 (1993) 153-174.

In discussing this text Collins summarizes five interpretations: The text refers to a historical king (*Milik*), to the Messiah in his relationship to God (Cross cited by Nock), to an enthroned Jewish king (Fitzmyer and Kim), to the Antichrist (Flusser); and to the figure elsewhere designated as Melchizedek (Martínez). Collins himself would favor an interpretation in the light of Dan 7.[45]

2. Some scholars have asked whether 1QSa 2:11 should read: "When [*Adonai*] will have begotten the Messiah among them" rather than "when [*Adonai*] will have led forth the Messiah among them."[46]

3. 11 QMelch certainly regards Melchizedek as a supernatural (but not divine) figure. Thus there might be some suggestion that the Qumran community or some Jewish traditions looked for a supernatural eschatological figure. He would not necessarily be "Messiah" or divine.

However, on account of this complexity of eschatological expectation and the symbols employed therein among the Jews, it is convenient to use the appellation "He That Cometh" of the Designated Figure whom God would send in the last days.[47] In the light of this it should not cause too much *admiratio* if we find in the figure of the Lion/Lamb in Rev 5 a fulfillment of the title "He that cometh" in the threefold appellation of God in Rev 4:8, "Who is and was and is to come." "He that cometh" is the title used in Ps 118:26 (117:25; cf. Matt 21:9 and Lk 19:38) and is also used of the Expected One by John the Baptist (Matt 11:3; Lk 7:19-20). It could certainly be used in an eschatological sense of the coming of God or the Anointed One,[48] either prophet or Messiah (cf. Rev 1:7).[49] I suggest that the Lamb is the One who Comes. He stands "in the midst" of the throne surrounded by the living creatures and the 24 elders (Rev 5:6) and approaches the right hand of God. He is thus in a position of high honor. We may compare the One like the Son of Humanity in Dan 7:13-14 and to the Elect One in *1 Enoch*. The Lamb's role is introduced with considerable panache. The concept of "worthiness," predicated of God, is taken up immediately from Rev 4:11 by the mighty angel, who asks who is worthy to open the scroll which the Enthroned One holds in his right hand. The mourning over the absence of one who is worthy

[45] Collins, 154-164.

[46] See Collins, 164-165, for a discussion of this text and of 4Q 369, "you made him a firstborn son to you."

[47] Cf. S. Mowinckel, who selects his title to avoid using "Messiah." *He That Cometh*, ed. and trans. G. W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954).

[48] See the discussion in J. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, vol. 1, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 666.

[49] See Schneider, "*erchomai,*" *TDNT*, 2: 666-684, esp. 670.

is accentuated in vv. 2-4, where there is a strong rhythm in 5:3 with the threefold *oude . . . oude . . . oude*, the division of the universe into three, and the echo of the wailing throughout these regions (v. 4). There follows a rather fulsome description of the Lamb, which includes an implicit reference to his death. When he takes the scroll, an egregious act occurs (contrast Rev 19:10 and 22:8-9). The elders prostrate themselves before him and accompany this with music and incense. At this point they sing the "new song." This new song declares the Lamb (cf. God as worthy, in v. 9) to be worthy. It appears to be the christological interpretation of the new Exodus events. As the Passover Lamb was slain and its blood was used apotropaically to render the Israelites immune from the death of the firstborn in Egypt and thus to be redeemed from slavery and formed into a new kingly-priestly people (Exod 19:6), so the Lamb effects a new "exodus" and redemption with his own blood. This Lamb brings universal redemption rather than just that of only the Chosen People. Those who are redeemed will gain sovereignty (v. 10, future).[50]

This hymn to the Lamb is antiphonal. The first part (vv. 9-10) is sung by the living creatures and the 24 elders; the second part by angels (vv. 11-12); a third chorus takes up the last refrain, which is sung to both God *and* the Lamb (vv. 13-14). This is followed by the affirmative "Amen" of the living creatures and a second prostration of the elders (vv. 13-14). Aune has pointed out the importance of antiphonal hymns, of vast throngs, acclamations, and sacrificial offerings in the cult of dignitaries and argues that this may account for similar features which appear in the Apocalypse.[51]

The hymn to the Lamb is characterized as a "new song." It is egregiously "new" in that it predicates divine attributes of the Lamb. Just as God is *axios* in his capacity of Creator, so, correspondingly, the Lamb is *axios* because of his role in redemption.[52] Just as the hymn to God the Creator was prefaced by the gesture of casting down the crowns, so here the hymn in honor of the Lamb is preceded by the prostration of the elders (5:14b), their music from the lyre (harp), and their offering of incense—that is, the prayers of the saints (cf. Rev 15:3 and contrast Rev 8:3-5). It ascribes seven elements in praise to the Lamb and four elements to God and the Lamb together.

So the drama has moved to another stage. The Lamb is now declared "worthy." The whole multilevel choir of angels, living creatures, and elders confirms this. Further, it is to be noted that the content of this hymn to the Lamb corresponds very closely to the prologue to the entire book of Revelation (Rev 1:4-8). The common elements are:

[50] Although some variants give the present and some versions have "we will reign."

[51] Ibid.

[52] Aune, 16-20.

He that cometh (v. 4, cf. 7),
the freeing from sin (v. 5b),
the making of kings and priests (v. 6),[53]
and the giving of power and glory to Jesus (v. 6b),
who is to come (v. 8).[54]

So far the drama has moved swiftly. In Rev 4 God alone receives honor and glory. In Rev 5 the Lamb shares in these attributes and appears to be placed on the same level as God.[55]

3. *The Lamb as Mosaic Figure and Shepherd* (Rev 7:10, 12, 15-17)

Rev 7 opens dramatically with the four angels holding back the noxious winds. The atmospheric tension is accentuated by the fourfold repetition of *tessaras* and by the same persistent, plangent rhythm which occurred in Rev 5.

Rev 5:3	Rev 7:1
neither in heaven	not on the earth
nor earth	not on the sea
nor underworld	not on the trees

The same sequence is repeated in v 3 with *mē ... mēte ... mēte.*

The mood gathers strength with the rigid and exact enumeration of the persons sealed from each tribe. This list is enclosed in an *inclusio (esphragismenoi)*. The list itself has an unrelenting rhythm. However, significantly, there is no hymnic celebration at the end of the list of tribes; rather, John delays this until he has introduced what would seem to be the Christian element. The tribes cannot sing the "new song" *per se*, for only those who also acknowledge the Lamb can learn the new melody. The sealing is obviously based on Ezek 9:4, which is set in the context of protecting the faithful when Jerusalem falls to Babylon in the sixth century B.C.E. Jörns asserts that the tribes must be on earth. Otherwise their sealing would be meaningless, whereas

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[53] On this see the detailed study of E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Priester für Gott: Studien zum Herrschafts- und Priestermotive in der Apokalypse,*. Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 7 (Münster: Aschendorf, 1972).

[54] On the quotation from Zech 12:10 O'Rourke observes: "The traditional nature of the material and the parallelism of the line based on Zech are both indications that a poem of the Semitic pattern was used in a community expecting the second coming of Christ. The eschatological orientation is futuristic" (400).

[55] O'Rourke avers that if "to the Lamb" were omitted from Rev 5:13, the "resulting doxology would be a recasting of Ps 47(46), 8b.6; 48(47)" (10).

the innumerable crowd is in heaven. Perhaps this is another reason why they cannot sing the new song[56].

Rev 5 hinted at the redemption wrought by the Lamb. It is brought into full play in Rev 7, which gives a (proleptic) vision of the achievement of the Lamb—that is, salvation for all his people. Bornkamm sees the sealing of the twelve tribes as the climax to the catastrophes provoked by the breaking of the seals. It spans the whole period from the beginning of judgment to the perfecting of the redeemed. He compares it to an overture. Indeed, this vision is obviously an answer to the question at the end of Rev 6:17: "Who can stand before their wrath" (or his wrath)?[57] In Rev 7 we find people who can "stand," who need not fear the wrath of God and the Lamb: They are not destroyed but win the fullness of life.

The christological element is introduced by a further reference to the Lamb. The international[58] crowd who stand before the Throne (God) and the Lamb sing a victory song in which the Lamb is praised and saluted together with God.[59] The phrase "Salvation to God" is Hebraic (cf. Ps 3:9); it expresses praise to God, who comes to people's aid in times of distress. There is a certain parallel in 1 QM 4:13, where eight attributes are noted.

> When they return from battle, they shall write on their standards: Salvation of God, Victory of God, Help of God, Support of God, Joy of God, Thanksgiving of God, Praise of God, Peace of God.

Pss Sol 10:8 and 12:5 speak about the salvation of God being on the faithful. In Rev 7 the salvation is predicated of God *and* the Lamb, although the attribute is usually reserved for God. The fact that "salvation" is not anarthrous seems to point to a particular occasion, namely, an eschatological crisis or the event of the cross and resurrection.[60] This seems readily apparent in the light of the role of the Lamb.[61] There is another important aspect to this hymn. It is the first time in the Apocalypse that the author has shown humankind joined with the heavenly community, and this accounts for the dialogue between the seer and the elder (vv. 13-14). The innumerable crowd does not

[56] Jörns, 77.

[57] I am inclined to accept the plural *autōn*, for the author's intent is obviously to link the Lamb with God.

[58] Compare Dan 7:12-14.

[59] Compare the Son of Humanity in Dan 7:13-14.

[60] Jörns, 82.

[61] In the Greek there is indication that preexisting material is used here, for *arniō* could be the object of *epi* although obviously the author intends that it be taken as parallel to *theō*. Thus there is an indication that the reference to the "lamb" was added to a praise of God. The use of *sōteria* as a translation of *yešu 'ah* is an obvious Semiticism (O'Rourke, 401).

seem to be only martyrs. Jörns notes that the white robes are a symbol of perfection, not of martyrdom *per se*, and that the "great tribulation" could be the eschatological conflict in general rather than martyrdom.[62] This is an important statement in the light of the demolition of the Domitian persecution theory. It is generally accepted now by scholars that Domitian had no organized persecution of the Christians and did not directly demand veneration as a god.[63]

In the hymnic material in Rev 7, in contrast to Rev 4 and 5, the song is begun by the glorified righteous and then joined by the angels; then the angels of the presence, the elders, and the living creatures all prostrate themselves. The prostration is important because so far only the elders have performed an act of prostration. They give seven attributes[64] to God, ending with an "Amen." The Lamb is not included in this hymnic portion in v. 12, but vv. 14-17 form an intercalaction which celebrates the redemptive work of the Lamb. In this way his power is given a special emphasis. These verses appear to be a poem by one of the elders. They are introduced by an explanation of the innumerable multitude and the expiatory character of the blood of the Lamb. They then blend together the theme of redemption in the Hebrew Scriptures by the use of the Exodus motif and Isa 49:10. The righteous now worship in the heavenly sanctuary, and God "tabernacles" over them (Exod 13-14) and they will be saved from hunger, thirst, and scorching heat. This is an allusion to God's giving of the manna and quails, the water from the rock, and the cloud protecting the people by day, although the quotation is actually from Isa 49:10. Further, it is the Lamb like a second Moses who leads them to the waters of life, and God takes away their sorrow.

So the antiphonal hymn functions as the climactic point of the praise for the eschatological work of the Lamb (vv. 14-17). We note that he is in the midst of the throne (v. 17). The opening of the seventh seal occurs only after the acknowledgment of the work of the Lamb. Jörns observes that the hymn shows partial realization of salvation but also is proleptic in nature.[65] The fight against the evil powers begins, but the faithful are apprised that the Lamb will secure the victory.

[62] Jörns, 78.

[63] For the most recent discussion of this see Leonard L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation, Apocalypse and Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), esp. 9-114. See also the informative article by A. A. Bell, "The Date of John's Apocalypse," *NTS* 25 (1978): 98.

[64] Cf. 4Q403 Ii,1-29 = Masada Fragment (Vermes, 223-225).

[65] Jörns, 89.

4. *The Establishment of the Kingdom.*
The Lamb as Co-regent (Rev 11:15, 17-18)

Our author has now shown both the salvific and castigating aspects of the judgment of God and the Lamb. His main intention in Rev 11 is to show that the Kingdom of God has been established. This coincides with the blowing of the seventh trumpet[66] (Rev 11:14). It may not herald a sudden, single event but a series of events of long duration. The hymn associated with 11 (vv. 15-18) is antiphonal, sung first by loud voices in heaven and then by the elders. Once again we have the liturgical gesture of prostration (v. 16). The themes of the hymn are: kingdom, reigning, judgment, and reward. It resumes the theme of the wrath of God and the Lamb found in Rev 6:17.

This hymn intensifies the drama. The proclamation (v. 15) falls into two parts: (1) what has been accomplished already (aorist *egeneto*, v. 15c); and (2) what is yet to come (future *basileusei*, v. 15d).

In this hymnic material we note:

a. The kingdom of this universe (*kosmos*) which has been established belongs to God and his Anointed One. In other words the unique sovereignty jealously portrayed in Rev 4 is now shared.

b. The third person singular with the future tense seems to have the Anointed One as its antecedent. It may point to future activity on his part, but the emphasis might also be on "forever and ever"—that is, the Anointed One's reign will be in perpetuity like God's.

c. Our attention is drawn to the epithet *pantokratōr*[67] again, but this time the crucial phrase "who is to come" is omitted; only "who is and who was" remains. Presumably God has come in the Anointed One, the Lamb; thus the participle is unnecessary. Paulien suggests the context of the parousia: "The dropping of 'is to come' [*ho erchomenos*] indicates that the consummation has arrived."[68]

d. We note also the perfect (*eilēphas*) "you have assumed your power" and "begun your reign" (*ebasileusas* inceptive aorist) and the aorists again in v. 18. Jörns points out that our author (v. 18) does not use a *hoti* clause with consecutive aorist but a threefold infinitive corresponding to a Semitic structure and emphasizing the dependence of the infinitive phrases on the events of the coming of the wrath of God and eschatological compensation.[69]

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[66] For a study of the first four trumpets, see Jon Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987).

[67] R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 58.

[68] Paulien, 333.

[69] Jörns, 101.

Kairos in the same verse is nominative and stands as the common subject of the sentence, a time of judgment for both the good and the wicked. The time has come, but the judgment is not yet implemented. Jörns points out that already in Exod 15:18; 1 Sam 12:12; Ps 145:11ff.; 146:10 past and future are brought under the reign of God[70]. Most importantly, we note that the (Lamb) Messiah is Co-regent with God.

A portentous sign from heaven follows the hymn. It is twofold: The sanctuary or tent of meeting and the ark of the covenant, part of the war paraphernalia of the Divine Warrior and symbols of his immanent and dynamic presence within the Exodus tradition, appear. This is complemented by the symbols of the theophany on Mount Sinai when the Covenant was given: thunder, lightning, rumblings (*brontai*), earthquake, and hail.

Thus the seventh trumpet ushers in the rest of the eschatological events. In the Hebrew Scriptures trumpets were associated with the Day of the Lord (Isa 27:13; cf. Joel 2:1; Zeph 1:16; 4 Esdr 6:23; cf. also *Apoc. Mos.* 22; *Sib. Or.* 8.239), the election of a king (2 Sam 15:10ff., cf. also Ps 17:6; Zech 9:14),[71] and important liturgical feasts, especially the Day of Atonement.

5. The "Incarnation" and Spiritual
Combat of the Lamb (Rev 12:10-12)

This hymn, uttered by a great voice from heaven, takes up the theme of the *kairos* (v. 12d) in Rev 11:18, for it is now time to glimpse the salvific work of the Anointed One. It is placed after the defeat of the dragon by Michael and within the context of the Christ's work for humankind, and it lauds his authority (v. 10). The hymn in Rev 12 elaborates the themes of 11:15b, the Christ will reign, and of 11:17-18, the presence of the Christ which brings judgment with it. Its Jewish background is clear.[72] The mother of the Anointed One is the Jewish community. An important parallel is found in the *Hymn Scroll*:

> For the children have come to the throes of Death,
> and she labors in her pains who bears a man.
> For amid the throes of Death
> she shall bring forth a man-child,[73]

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[70] Cf. Isa 24:23:33:22; Mich 4:7; Zeph 3:15 Ob 21; Zech 14:16f, where this is still expected.

[71] We might also note the use of trumpets in the eschatological war described in the *War Scroll* from the Qumran documents.

[72] Rev 12 does not have a pagan background, *pace* A.Y. Collins, *The Combat Myth in Book of Revelation*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion 9 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).

[73] In the sense of *gbr*, warrior.

and amid the pains of Hell
there shall spring from her child-bearing crucible
a Marvelous Mighty Counselor
and a man shall be delivered from out of the throes. (1 QH III)

Through him God implements his plan of salvation.[74]

It may be significant that Rev 11:15 uses "Anointed One" instead of "Lamb"[75] and states that he will reign, that is, in the future—forever and ever. The first indication of this is found in Rev 12:10, where his authority is realized. The Anointed One is probably to be identified with the male-warrior child who is snatched up to heaven (Rev 12:5). Whether he was involved in the overthrow of the dragon is not entirely clear, but his authority is celebrated in connection with this in 12:10. The fourth noun in the hymnic material in v. 10, "authority," is associated only with the Anointed One. It is important that it is not anarthrous. It is not authority in general but the authority won through his blood and which inspires the martyrs (v. 11). The authority of Christ and the fall of Satan are closely connected. They complement the vision of the seer in 5:5 (the victory of the Lamb; cf. 7:14), but from these texts we see that the victory and authority of the Anointed One are not limited to victory over Satan but are also a victory over the first and second death.[76] Importantly, this hymn shows that close union of the martyrs, the church, with the Christ: Their victory should be celebrated by the entire universe.

6. *The Lamb as Warrior-Messiah* (Rev 14:3-5)

This hymn takes up the victory theme just mentioned (Rev 12:11)[77] and would seem to celebrate the victorious wars, or Messiah under the symbol of the Lamb. It is a proleptic victory paean sung either on earth by the followers of the Lamb; on Mountain Zion (v. 1); or in heaven, before the living creatures and the elders (v. 3). It is definitely christological because the cantors have the names of both the Lamb and his Father on their foreheads. As their number is 144,000, they may be identified with the sealed tribes of Israel from Rev 7. The actual content of the "new song" is not revealed, and this may be significant because in the Apocalypse there is only one hymn attributed to human beings (Rev 18). However, as a victory hymn Rev 14:3-5 may well point toward Rev 19. Jörns finds the following parallels:

[74] Jörns sees Rev 12 as a Christianization of Rev 11:15, 17-18 (120). However, the events are still in the future, and the community is warned that the devil is in their midst.

[75] "Anointed One" is found only in Rev 1-3 and from Rev 11 onwards.

[76] But the hymn is also paranaetic—that is, a warning to the community.

[77] It is difficult to decide whether vv. 4-5 should be counted as part of the hymn. If they are, again we have the theme of redemption and the close association of the Lamb with God.

14:1-5 with 19:1-8;
14:6-12 with 15-18; and
14:14-20 with 19:11-21 (cf. also 14:2f. with 5:9f).[78]

This means that the concept of the Warrior-Messiah reaches its climax in Rev 19 and that this verse anticipates the theme. There is also an implicit contrast between the virgins (male) in Rev 14 and the harlot in Rev 17-18. It is important to observe that this pericope shows a close correlation between events on earth (Mount Zion) and events in heaven. The new song receives a great deal of emphasis. Whereas the hymn in Rev 12 is sung by a "loud voice" (v. 10), this hymn is sung by a voice like many waters and like loud thunder and is, apparently, accompanied by a chorus of harps. The rhythm is noteworthy:

> hōs phōnēn hudatōn pollōn kai
> hōs phōnēn brontēs megalēs, kai
> . . .
> hōs kitharōdōn kitharizontōn en tais kitharais autōn.

The Lamb's comilitants are chaste on one level because they observe military continence; on the other, because they are innocent of the deceit of Satan and his followers (cf. Apoc 7:17).

7. *The Lamb as the New Moses* (Rev 15: 3b-4)

Rev 15 is an exceptionally long prelude to the pouring out of the bowls of wrath, which is the last chastisement by God (v. 1). The author of the Apocalypse presents the scene as an elaboration of the Song of the Sea in Exod 15, which celebrated the first redemption, from the Egyptian slavery. However, here the sea is the heavenly sea, and the song is predicated of the Lamb as well as Moses. The cantors are those who have conquered the beast and his image. The sea that the seer witnessed is the sea in the heavens but, of course, it reminds us also of the Reed Sea. Those who maintained their faith, even in the face of the beast, his image, and the number of his name, have taken up their stand by the sea and hold the harps of God. Similarly, Moses, the agent of God, delivered the chosen people from the bondage of the Egyptians and God "got himself glory" at the Reed Sea; so the Lamb redeems those enslaved by the beast. The song praises the *magnalia Dei*[79]—that is, the great deeds of God, of which the most important is the delivery from Egypt. We note again the use of the phrase "Lord God Omnipotent" (*kurie ho theos ho pantokratōr*). But God is now seen as King, not only of the Jewish

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[78] Jörns, 124.

[79] Cf. Exod 15:11; Ps 92:5; 111:2; 139:14.

people, but of the nations. This phrase *ho basileus tōn ethnōn* occurs only in Jer 10:10 (Theodotion) and in Tobit 13:7, 11.[80] This theme is elaborated in v. 4, which mentions the fear and glory of God and predicts that all nations will come and bow down (*proskunēsousin*) before him. Rev 14-15 imply that the Lamb is the Teacher/Counselor and Mosaic Prophet.

8. *After The Third Bowl* (Rev 16:5-7)

This section forms a prelude to the dirge over Babylon and is sung antiphonally by the angel of the waters, presumably on earth, and a voice from the altar, presumably in heaven. It is an affirmation by heaven and earth that God's judgment is just.

9. *The Destruction of Babylon* (Rev 18:2-3, 4-8, 10, 14, 16, 19-23)

We have an abrupt and arresting change of tone in the hymn in Rev 18, which precedes the collapse of Babylon. It exhibits a powerful crescendo in that it is sung first by the angel with great authority (vv. 1-2),[81] then by another voice from heaven (v. 4), then by the kings of the earth (v. 9-10) then by the merchants and seafarers (vv. 17-19) and finally by the angel who hurls the great stone (vv. 21-24).[82] Ruiz proposes that the hymn comprises three "dramatic monologues."[83]

This hymn differs from the others in the Apocalypse in that its cantor descends from heaven (v. 1), it is an audition rather than a vision,[84] and it does not presuppose a liturgical setting.[85] Most importantly, it is the only hymn which is explicitly said to be sung on earth. Further, it forms a contrast to the former hymns in that it is a dirge rather than a song of praise. Mounce compares it to a prophetic taunt song and quotes Moffat, who proposes a Jewish Vespasian source which "breathed the indignant spirit of a Jewish apocalyptist against the proud empire which had won a temporary triumph over the city and people of God."[86] This was taken over by John. Minear notes that this dirge begins and ends with angels who possess great power. With the exception of vv. 4-8 and 20,

[80] Cf. also *1 Enoch* 9:4; 25:5; 27:3.

[81] The earth filled with his "glory" is a clear reference to Ezek 43:2, where God's glory returns to the Temple.

[82] Strangely Jörns does not include the hymns in Rev 18 and Rev 19 in his analysis.

[83] Ruiz, 393.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., 392.

[86] R. H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 321.

the prophet utilizes a dirge-like rhythm, in vss. 2, 3 stressing by six lines
of synonymous parallelism the accusations against the city, and in vss.
21-24 describing her desolation in terms of five parallel couplets followed
by the repetition of the basic charges which justified her destruction. Between
are the poignant laments and curses of those groups who have been polluted
by the city's adulteries.[87]

One would certainly agree with this. Verses 3-4 are a dirge and take up the
themes: (1) of Rev 10:11, the prophet commissioned to preach against nations
and kings; (2) of Rev 11:14, the third woe; and (3) of Rev 14:8, the fall of
Babylon, the great harlot. Ruiz points to the affinity between Isa 21:9 (MT)
and Rev 18:2;[88] both texts use the language of lament,[89] but it is important
to note that they also contain victory songs. Further, Ruiz states: "Both 14,8
and 18,2 relate eschatological visions of events that have not yet occurred,
but which can be spoken of in the 'proleptic past' because of the inexorable
certainty with which God's purpose is to be accomplished."[90]

   "Babylon" may not be a historical reference but rather a symbolic use
of the name to encompass in general the enemies of Israel. Our author is
influenced by the prophetic oracles in Isa 13-14; 21; 47 and Jer 50-51, where
Babylon is the symbol of a world hostile power against Israel.[91] The impurity
of Babylon is in direct contrast to the purity of those who were on Mount
Zion with the victorious (Rev 14) and to those who are qualified to enter
the New Jerusalem.[92] Our author has combined the oracles against Babylon
from Isaiah with the Ezekiel oracles against Tyre. Ruiz calls this a "reactual-

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[87] P. S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington: Corpus, 1968), 145.

[88] Ruiz, 382.

[89] Cf. K. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, ed. and trans. H. White
(Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967), 169-205.

[90] Ruiz, 384.

[91] In my Anchor Bible Commentary on Revelation I argued that the harlot might well
be identified with Israel rather than Rome (*Revelation* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday,
1975]). This is the constant tradition of the Hebrew Scriptures and of the Qumran
community. A. J. Beagley is sympathetic to my interpretation, although most scholars have
rejected it, without, however, examining thoroughly the Qumran material *(The 'Sitz im
Leben' of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the Role of the Church's Enemies* [New
York: de Gruyter, 1987], 93-102). I should be prepared to follow the argument of C.H.
Hunzinger, who sees Babylon as the symbol of a decadent society in general ("Babylon als
Deckname für Rom und die Datierung des 1 Pt," in *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land*, Festschrift
W. Hertaberg, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht], 1965,
67-77).

[92] Ruiz, 387; cf. Rev 21:8.

ization by recombination."[93] The dirge or taunt[94] uses the metaphors of sexual license and drunkenness to describe Babylon's sins. Three groups of people participate in them: the nations, the kings of the earth, and the merchants. The guilt of Babylon lies in the fact that she glorified herself rather than God (18:7).[95]

10. *The Lamb as Enthroned Bridegroom and Victor* (Rev 19:1-8)

One might ask why the author of the Apocalypse has spent so much time and space on the prostitute and the fall of Babylon. None of the hymns pertaining to this section have christological material. Yet from a dramatic stance John's emphasis here throws all the next theme into the highest relief.

Rev 19:1-4 comprises the victory song over the righteous judgments of God. It is characterized by the threefold proclamation of "Alleluia," similar to the use of that acclamation in the Hebrew psalms (e.g., Pss 113 and 147-150). Deichgräber observes that it is the first Christian occurrence of this word.[96] Indeed, Rev 19:1, 3, 4, and 6 are the *only* occurrences of "Alleluia" in the New Testament, and this is the *first* reference in the Apocalypse. So our author has reserved this cry of salvation until the last antiphonal hymn. The structure of the hymn is symmetrical, but it does not appear to be liturgical in character but rather a literary composition of the author.[97] The cantors of the hymn comprise a circle round the throne, which begins with those farthest away and ends with those nearest, and then with the voice from the throne itself. After this comes one last voice: the shout of the multitude, which is likened to cascading water and sevenfold thunder. The voice intones the last strophe.

Thus we find that the first voice of the great multitude praises God for his righteous judgments; the second voice proclaims the perpetuity of the harlot's fate; the third is that of the 24 elders and the living creatures, who pronounce the succinct "Amen, Alleluia." The fourth voice comes from the throne itself and bids all of every station to praise God. The last voice makes a reprise with the opening voice of the crowd (v. 1), but it is rendered more awesome by the similes mentioned above (cf. Ezek 1:24; 43:2; Rev

[93] Ruiz, 389.

[94] See A.Y. Collins, "Rev 18: Taunt-Song or Dirge?," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Duculot, 1980), 18-204.

[95] Ruiz, 380.

[96] Deichgräber, 56, n. 6.

[97] Ibid., 58.

1:15; 14:2). It is this last voice which declares that the Lord God Omnipotent has established his rule. The epithet *pantokratōr* occurs seven times in the Apocalypse, this being the sixth.

After this there is an abrupt change of person. For the first time we hear the first person plural imperative "Let us rejoice." It is an arresting invitation for the lectors and audience of the Apocalypse to join the heavenly liturgy. Further, the expressed cause for this rejoicing is a clear Christian reference, namely, the advent of the marriage feast of the Lamb and the approach of the bride clad in white linen. The nuptials symbolize the New Covenant union of God and the faithful.

On this note of the faithful spouse, the author closes his section about the harlot and her destruction. Sweet observes that the establishment of God's kingdom by the destruction of the harlot has been a negative aspect of this kingdom but the positive aspect is portrayed in the bride.[98] Her clothing is the deeds of the faithful, whose garments were washed in the blood of the Lamb (cf. Rev 7:14). She herself anticipates the New Jerusalem which comes down from heaven (Rev 21:2).

The sudden appearance of the victorious cavalier (vv. 11-16) might seem an intrusion into the nuptial scene. It is, however, an integral part of John's developing Christology. It is tempting to see the influence of Ps 45, the royal epithalamion which lauds first the groom and then the bride. The groom is praised for his martial prowess, he is described in terms consonant with the "splendor and majesty" of God, he is addressed as "God," and his throne is said to be eternal. We have all the features of divine kingship in a royal court. Some parallels may be made.

Ps 45	Rev 19
Gird on your sword (v. 3)	from his mouth a sharp sword (v. 15)
ride triumphantly in the cause of truth (v. 4)	seated on a white horse Faithful and True (v. 11)
God has enthroned you (v. 7)	many diadems (v. 12)
scepter of kingdom is scepter of equity (v. 6)	in righteousness he judges and makes war (v. 11)
people under the King (v. 5)	smite nations, King of kings, Lord of lords (vv. 15-16)

[98] J.P.M. Sweet, *Revelation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979), 277.

Although this passage is not hymnic material, it brings together much of the Christology of the hymns. Like God on his chariot-throne, the warrior wages war for justice. The diadems (in the plural) bespeak his multiple sovereignty. His name, like the divine name, is to be kept hidden. He is the very Word of God. He is followed by his hosts like the Lord of hosts. Like God (Isa 63), he treads the winepress. But, most significantly he is declared King of kings and Lord of lords, a title only God may possess. Like God, his throne is in the New Jerusalem (Rev 22:3), and he and God are the Temple of the Holy City. In these points we have a metamorphosis or sophistication of the *Merkabah* vision with which we began in Rev 4. There is no temple or throne because God and the Lamb are both. The spiritual presence of God and the Lamb replaces the symbolism of Rev 4 and 5.

David Aune has argued that Rev 4-5 are an implicit polemic against the imperial cult.[99] If this is so, John finds no hindrance in making the Lamb equal to God. We have shown that the hymns draw on the anticipated eschatological figures. In this way John interweaves the humanity and divinity of Christ and shows both to be compatible with the claim of prophetical circles in the early Christian communities that Jesus is both human and divine. The last hymn (Rev 21:3-4) jubilantly confirms this in the nuptials of the Lamb amidst resounding Alleluias.

[99] See Aune, 308-313.

SCHEDULES FOR DEITIES:
MACROSTRUCTURE OF ISRAELITE, BABYLONIAN, AND HITTITE SANCTA PURIFICATION DAYS[1]

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The ancient Israelite Day of Atonement, the fifth day of the Babylonian New Year Festival of Spring (Akītu Festival), and the fourth day of the Hittite Ninth Year Festival of Telipinu featured purification of sacred places and/or sacred objects. In spite of the fact that they belonged to different ancient Near Eastern ritual traditions and varied in such factors as the nature of evils removed, objects of purification, and specific forms of ritual activity, these ritual days had similar approaches to scheduling their major blocks of activities. To show this similarity of overall structure, which suggests some conceptual common denominators, I will analyze the structure of each ritual day and then draw comparisons between the structures.

The Israelite Day of Atonement

The Pentateuch prescribes major blocks of ritual activity to be performed on the Day of Atonement, the tenth day of the seventh month. These blocks, which constituted the macrostructure of the ritual day, were clearly differentiated in that they related to the Israelite cultic calendar in three distinct ways: regular rituals were performed every day of the year, festival rituals were also performed on other festival occasions, and special rituals were unique to the Day of Atonement.

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[1]This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the 1994 Society of Biblical Literature national meeting in Chicago entitled: "Macrostructural Comparisons Between Israelite, Babylonian and Hittite Ritual Days of Sancta Purification." The paper was based upon part of my 1992 University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. dissertation, "Ritual Dynamic Structure: Systems Theory and Ritual Syntax Applied to Selected Ancient Israelite, Babylonian and Hittite Festival Days."

Regular Rituals

"Regular" (*tamîd*) rituals were to be performed morning and evening[2] on every day of the year. These rituals included a burnt offering with its accompanying cereal and drink offerings (Num 28:1-8); an independent cereal offering of the high priest (Lev 6:12-16; Eng. verses 19-23); and ceremonies inside the sacred Tent, including an independent drink offering (Num 28:7), an incense ritual (Exod 30:7-8), and a ritual of tending the lamps (Exod 30:7-8).[3] Notice that the twice-daily burnt offering was regarded as "food" (*leḥem*) of YHWH (Num 28:2).

Festival Rituals

Festival offerings, supplementing the regular burnt offering, were to be performed on several festival occasions throughout the year (Num 28-29), including the Day of Atonement. On this day, the festival offerings were to consist of nine burnt offerings with their accompanying cereal and drink offerings, plus a purification offering (Num 29:8-11).

Special Rituals

A special complex of rituals prescribed in Leviticus 16 was unique to the day. This complex began with preparatory purification of the high priest's whole body and a lot ritual to determine the respective ritual roles of two goats. Then moral faults and ritual impurities were cleansed from the two apartments and outer altar of the sanctuary by application of blood from two elaborate purification offerings (so-called "sin-offerings")[4] performed by the high priest. These offerings utilized a bull on behalf of the priestly household and a goat on behalf of the lay community. Elsewhere this pair of sacrifices is referred to as *ḥaṭṭa't hakkippurîm*, "the purification offering of atonement" (Exod 30:10; Num 29:11). Following the purification offerings

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[2]At twilight, literally "between the evenings" (Num 28:4, 8). Cf. J. Milgrom, *Numbers*, JPS Torah Commentary Series (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 239.

[3]I do not include the "bread-of-the-presence" ritual (Lev 24:5-9), which was performed weekly on the Sabbath. This ritual took place on the Day of Atonement only when the day fell on the seventh day of the week. Neither do I include the blowing of the Jubilee trumpet, which occurred only at the commencement of each 50th year (Lev 25:8-10).

[4]The *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices were offered not only for purification from sins, i.e., moral faults (e.g., Lev 4:2,13,22,27), but also for purification from ritual impurities, which were not sins (e.g., Lev 12:6,8). Therefore the translation "sin offering" does not do justice to the semantic range of the word *ḥaṭṭā't*. Rendering "sin offering" in passages dealing with ritual impurity conveys the misimpression that ritual impurities were sins. See J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16* (New York: Doubleday. 1991), 253-254; cf. N. Kiuchi, *The Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature: Its Meaning and Function*, JSOT Supplement Series 56 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 161.

and a second purification of the high priest, the moral faults of the Israelites were removed from their camp by the banishment of a goat (so-called "scapegoat") to the wilderness, after which two burnt offerings were performed along with their accompanying cereal and drink offerings. Final activities included burning the suet/fat of the purification offerings on the altar, incinerating the carcasses of the purification offering animals, and personal purification of the ritual assistants who led the scapegoat away and who disposed of the carcasses. On the Day of Atonement, the cleansing of the sanctuary and the camp resulted in the moral purification of the Israelites themselves (Lev 16:30).

The fact that the regular, festival, and special calendric types were to be performed together on the Day of Atonement is confirmed by Num 29:11, which lists festival offerings for the Day of Atonement *milbad*, "in addition to," "the purification offering of atonement" and the daily burnt offering and its accompaniments. The Pentateuch does not explicitly specify the order in which the three types of rituals were to be performed. However, this order can be deduced:

1. The regular morning and evening rituals framed each ritual day. In Lev 6:2 (Eng. v. 9), if the burnt offering which remains on the altar all night is the evening regular burnt offering, the verse implies that this was the final sacrifice of each day. In any case, there is no indication in the biblical texts that any ritual activity at the sanctuary was to take place earlier in the morning or later in the evening than the regular rituals.

2. Festival offerings were to be performed "in addition to" *(ʿal/milbad)*, i.e., as a supplement to, the regular burnt offering of the morning (Num 28:23). This implies that the additional offerings came just after the morning burnt offering and its cereal and drink accompaniments. The Mishnah agrees that the more frequent regular offerings preceded the less frequent additional offerings (*Zebahim* 10:1). We can assume that following the additional festival offerings, the remaining regular rituals would have been performed.[5] Thus the festival offerings would have been integrated into the morning block of regular rituals.

3. The rituals special to the Day of Atonement (Lev 16) would have been assigned to the part of the ritual day which was left: between the morning regular + festival block of rituals and the evening regular rituals.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, the macrostructure of the Israelite Day of Atonement can be represented as follows:

regular + festival —> special —> regular

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[5]See Gane, "Ritual Dynamic Structure," 333.

The Fifth Day of the Babylonian New
Year Festival of Spring

Partially preserved Akkadian tablets prescribe the rituals of the Babylonian New Year Festival of Spring (Akītu Festival), which was to take place during the first 11 or 12 days of the month of Nisannu. Although the tablets are late, dating to the Seleucid period, the ritual procedures "may go back to a much earlier time."[6] The text which is relevant to days 2-5 was published in cuneiform, transliteration, and French translation by F. Thureau-Dangin.[7] An English translation by A. Sachs is readily available in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by J. Pritchard.[8] My own translation is included in my 1992 dissertation.[9] Even more recently, M. Cohen has included a translation in his 1993 book entitled *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*.[10]

Since the text which deals with the rituals of Nisannu 5, the fifth day of the festival, is one of the best preserved portions, the macrostructure of this day is accessible to us. The rituals of the fifth day prepared for the climactic events of subsequent festival days[11] by purifying the sacred precincts of Marduk/Bēl, the city god of Babylon, and Nabû, Marduk's son, and by reconfirming the king's relationship to Marduk. Like the rituals of the Israelite Day of Atonement, the Babylonian rituals of Nisannu 5 were of three types with regard to the ritual calendar: regular, festival, and special.

Regular Rituals

Regular rituals included personal purification of the high priest with water preparatory to his officiation, prayers,[12] and morning and afternoon

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[6]*ANET*, 331.

[7]F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* (Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, 1921), 127-154.

[8]*ANET*, 331-334.

[9]"Ritual Dynamic Structure," see throughout chapter 5 (229-275).

[10]M. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993), 441-447.

[11]Having arrived in Babylon on Nissanu 5, the god Nabuû went the next morning to Ehursagtila, the temple of the god Ninurta, where he symbolically slew two rival deities. Then he made his way to the Esagila temple, where his triumph was celebrated. The climax of the festival took place during Nissanu 8-11, when the gods hailed Marduk as their king and went in procession to the *akītu*-chapel on the outskirts of the city of Babylon, where they spent several nights before returning. See K. van der Toorn, "The Babylonian New Year Festival: New Insights from the Cuneiform Texts and their Bearing on Old Testament Study," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 43 (1991): 335-336.

[12]Contents of prayers varied from day to day.

"meal" ceremonies which were to be performed daily for Marduk and his spouse, Zarpanitu/Bēlet.[13]

Festival Ritual

While the god Nabû was undoubtedly provided with meals at his home temple in Borsippa during the rest of the year, he was fed in Babylon while visiting there on festival days, including the afternoon of Nisannu 5 just after he arrived in Babylon. With regard to the ritual procedure in Babylon, Nabû's afternoon meal on Nisannu 5 can be regarded as a festival offering. Just as the festival offerings of the Israelite Day of Atonement supplemented the regular burnt offering to YHWH (see above), the afternoon meal of Nabû came just after the regular afternoon meal of Marduk and was closely linked to that meal, as shown by the fact that following the meal of Marduk, his table was brought to Nabû (lines 405-406).[14]

Special Rituals

On Nisannu 5, cultic functionaries purified the Esagila temple of Marduk by sprinkling it with water, sounding a copper bell, and carrying around a censer and torch inside the temple. The Ezida, the guest cella of Nabû, was also purified in preparation for his arrival from the town of Borsippa. This purification was quite elaborate, including not only sprinkling holy water and carrying a censer and torch, but also smearing the doors with cedar oil and wiping the cella with the decapitated carcass of a ram. A second phase of purification of the Ezida included setting up a kind of canopy called "the golden heaven" and reciting a "loud cry," an incantation by which demons were exorcized from the temple.[15] Later the same day, the king purified himself by washing his hands with water and then went before (the image of) Marduk in the Esagila without his crown and royal insignia. The high priest humiliated the king before Marduk by striking his cheek, pulling him by the ears and making him kneel down to the ground. The king affirmed his righteousness, and the high priest expressed the favor of Marduk toward him, following which the king received his crown and insignia and was struck again by the high priest to make tears flow as an omen of Marduk's favor.

[13]Cf. *ANET*, 343-345, on "Daily Sacrifices to the Gods of the City of Uruk" (translation by A. Sachs), and A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 188-189.

[14]Whereas the morning meal of Marduk is only mentioned in the text (lines 338-339), the afternoon table ceremony of this god is presented in detail (lines 385-403), probably because there were modifications conditioned by the special festival context.

[15]Ironically, in Revelation 18:2 a mighty voice (or "loud cry") announces that "Babylon" is fallen and has become a dwelling place of demons.

In the evening, the king lit a special burnt offering of honey, ghee, and oil, which had been placed in a pit, while a white bull stood in front of the pit. While the offering burned, the king recited a speech addressed to the bull, which apparently represented a heavenly deity.

Because the rituals of the fifth day of the Babylonian New Year Festival of Spring are presented in the order of their performance in a single text, no reconstruction of this order is necessary. The rituals are listed below along with their text line numbers. In some cases the lines listed for a given ritual include preparatory actions relevant to that ritual, e.g., line 287—removing the linen curtain before prayers to Marduk and Zarpanitu, lines 366-368—summoning personnel, and line 414—bringing the king into the Esagila temple.

Regular
  personal purification of high priest (lines 285-286)
  prayers to Marduk and Zarpanitu (lines 287-333)
  regular morning meal for Marduk and Zarpanitu (lines 334-339)

Special
  purification of Esagila temple (lines 340-345a)
  purification of Ezida cella of Nabû (lines 345b-365)
  second purification of Ezida cella (lines 366-384)

Regular
  regular afternoon meal for Marduk (lines 385-403)

Festival
  afternoon meal of Nabû (lines 404-412)

Special
  personal purification of king (line 413)
  humiliation and restoration of king (lines 414-452)
  burnt offering (lines 453-463—broken off)

On this basis, the macrostructure of the fifth day of the Babylonian New Year Festival of Spring can be represented as follows:

regular — > special — > regular + festival — > special

The Fourth Day of the Hittite
Ninth Year Telipinu Festival

The rituals of the Ninth Year Festival[16] of the god Telipinu in the Anatolian

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[16]While the festival is referred to as that of the ninth year (see tablet Nr. 3 Obv. I 1), the text does not indicate whether this means that the festival was to be performed every nine years or in the ninth year of a monarch, or something else. See V. Haas and L. J.-Rost, "Das Festritual des Gottes Telipinu in Hanhana und in Kašha: Ein Beitrag zum hethitischen Festkalender," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11 (1984): 15-16. In any case, there were other Telipinu festivals: those of the third year, those of every year (autumn and spring), and those

cities of Hanhana and Kašha are prescribed on partially preserved Hittite tablets dating to the second millennium B.C.[17] Twenty tablet pieces (Nrs. 1-20) pertaining to the festival, including a considerable amount of duplicate material, have been assembled, transliterated, and translated into German by V. Haas & L. J.-Rost.[18] My English translation of the Ninth Year Festival texts, with some discussion of text reconstruction, appears in Appendix II of my dissertation.[19] Of the points covered in that discussion, two are especially relevant for analysis of the fourth-day rituals:

1. Following Taracha, the order proposed by Haas and Rost for the fragments prescribing the core of the third and fourth days is to be reversed.[20]

2. Tablet Nr. 12 does not pertain to the Ninth Year Festival. However, the side of this tablet tentatively taken by Haas and Rost to be the obverse[21] and by Taracha to be the reverse[22] bears significant similarities to part of the description of the fourth day of the Ninth Year Festival.

The Ninth Year Festival was performed during six days in the autumn and included special cult renewal ceremonies on the third, fourth, and fifth days. On the third day, a fresh evergreen tree was acquired, apparently through a trip to a mountain, to replace a relatively older cultic oak tree. On the fourth day, images of Telipinu and other deities were ceremonially washed in a river. On the fifth day, the roof of Telipinu's temple was ritually plastered.

The fourth day, with which we are concerned here, was like the Israelite and Babylonian ritual days discussed above in that it included rituals of three types with regard to the cultic calendar: regular, festival, and special.

Regular Rituals

Daily offerings constituted the two regular "meals" of the god Telipinu.[23]

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of every month (Nr. 5 Obv. 7'-10'; Nr. 7 Rev. IV 10-12).

[17]One tablet belongs to the Old or Middle Hittite period, and the others are from the Late Hittite period, which ended c. 1180 B.C. See P. Taracha, "Zum Festritual des Gottes Telipinu in Hanhana und in Kašha," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 13 (1986): 180.

[18]*Altorientalische Forschungen* 11 (1984): 10-91, 204-236.

[19]Gane, 391-423.

[20]See Taracha, 183.

[21]Haas and Rost, 68-70.

[22]Taracha, 182 n. 9.

[23]Food offerings of various kinds were to be performed on other days of the Ninth Year Festival and it is probable that Telipinu was fed throughout the year on a regular, daily basis. On the daily care and feeding of Hittite gods, see A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), 162-163.

In the morning of the fourth day, he received meat and drink. In the afternoon, upon the return of his image to the temple, his meal consisted of meat, bread, and drink.

Festival Ritual

A ceremonial feast at the end of day four, taking place in the presence of Telipinu, honored him and his fellow deities. This feast constituted a separate event; it was not simply an addition to the preceding regular offering to Telipinu. Such feasts also took place at other times, including Telipinu festivals other than that of the ninth year.[24]

Special Rituals

Special to the fourth day was the purification of sancta, including images of Telipinu, Hatepinu (his consort), the sun god, and the weather god, as well as a cult pedestal. For the purification to be accomplished, several kinds of activity were necessary: first, the sancta were to be carried on a carriage from the temple of Telipinu[25] to a river, with a procession accompanying them. The entourage included the crown prince and musicians playing harp and tambourine in front of the carriage and maidens who sang behind the carriage. Upon arrival at the river, the images and pedestal were washed in the river while some kind of "replicas" were made and a "washing song" was sung in Hattic. Following this, the morning regular food offering to Telipinu was performed (see above). At this point it is possible that some additional ritual activities are lost in the lacuna between Tablet Nr. 7 Obv. I and Nr. 8 Obv. II. After eating the livers and hearts from Telipinu's regular offering, four priests recited a speech to "the lord of Hanhana" (= Telipinu?). Then the sancta were conveyed in procession back to the temple with music and various other activities, including wrestling as entertainment for Telipinu.[26]

Since portions of Hittite text preserved on tablet pieces overlap, it is possible to reconstruct the order in which the ritual events of the fourth day were to be performed. The rituals are listed below in order of performance along with text references. Notice that the regular morning offering to Telipinu took place at the river between the special purification of the sancta and

[24]See Nr. 5 Obv. 7'-12'.

[25]This temple was probably located in Kašha (Nr. 7 Obv. I 5').

[26]The processions on this day were quite similar to the Israelite procession by which David began bringing the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem on a wagon (2 Sam 6:3-5; see M. Weinfeld, "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh and in Jerusalem," *Shnaton* 10 [1990]: 110-114, Hebrew). However, while a Hittite priest properly held the image of Telipinu in place on the carriage (Nr. 7 Obv. I 4'), Uzzah was smitten by YHWH for attempting to steady the Israelite ark of the covenant on its wagon (2 Sam 6:6-7).

the continuation of special activities, consisting of a speech and the processional return of the sancta to the temple.

Special
  procession from temple to river (Nr. 6 Obv. I 18'-23'; Nr. 7 Obv. I x + 2-16')
  washing of sancta in river (Nr. 7 Obv. I 17'-21'; Nr. 8 Obv. II 4'-6')

Regular
  offering to Telipinu (Nr. 7 Obv. I 22'-26'; Nr. 8 Obv. II 7'-9'; Nr. 1 Rev. III 14'-15')

Special (continued)
  speech (Nr. 1 Rev. III 15'-17'; Nr. 8 Obv. II 10'-12')
  procession (Nr. 1 Rev. III 18'-27'; Nr. 8 Obv. II 12'-26'; Nr. 14 Rev. IV x + 1-7')

Regular
  afternoon offering to Telipinu (Nr. 8 Obv. II 27'-30'; Nr. 14 Rev. IV 8'-14')

Festival
  ritual feast (Nr. 13 Rev. IV 3'-13'; Nr. 14 Rev. IV 15'-22')

On this basis, the macrostructure of the fourth day of the Hittite Ninth Year Telipinu Festival can be represented as follows:

> **special —> regular —> special (cont.) —> regular —> festival**

Macrostructural Comparisons Between the Three Ritual Days

The above analysis has yielded the following macrostructural outlines of Israelite, Babylonian, and Hittite ritual days of sancta purification:

Israelite Day of Atonement

> **regular + festival —> special —> regular**

Fifth day of the Babylonian New Year Festival of Spring

> **regular —> special —> regular + festival —> special**

Fourth day of the Hittite Ninth Year Telipinu Festival

> **special —> regular —> special (cont.) —> regular —> festival**

Now we are ready to compare the ritual days in terms of their similarities and differences:

Similarities

Macrostructural similarities between the three ritual days include the following:

1. Each of the days included two blocks of regular/daily ritual activities.

2. Each of the days included a segment of one or more rituals such as those which were performed on other festival days as well.

3. Each of the days included cyclical sancta purification rituals special to that day.

4. The blocks of regular rituals were separated from each other by special rituals.

5. The festival rituals were close to the regular rituals, either following the regular rituals (Babylonian and Hittite) or integrated with them (Israelite).

The similarities between these structures appear to result from shared ideas and the combination of those ideas. As is well known, ancient Near Eastern peoples believed that a deity should be provided with service, including food offerings, twice every day;[27] should receive additional offerings on festival days;[28] and should have his/her cult purified periodically.[29] Thus, a special sancta purification day necessarily included two segments of regular service, plus festival offerings, as well as rites of sancta purification which comprised the special business of the day. Combining these components, it is logical that morning and afternoon or evening regular service should provide the basic framework of the day, supplementary feast ceremonies should follow one of the regular segments, and special activities should be performed between them. Special activities could also be performed before the first regular segment (Hittite) or after the second regular segment (Babylonian and Hittite).

The kind of schedule just described is not unlike that of a human monarch, who would eat regular meals during a day on which he participated in special events. Like kings, deities did not stop receiving "meals" just because they were involved with other business on a given day. Even YHWH, the deity of Israel, did not stop receiving his regular offerings on the Day of Atonement, in spite of the fact that he commanded the Israelites to practice self-denial, which included fasting, on that day (Lev 16:29,31; 23:27,29,32; Num 29:7).

The basic ritual scheme described here is evident in the three ritual days in spite of the fact that they did not belong to the same ritual tradition and in spite of significant differences between them (see below).

Aside from structural similarities, there are other kinds of similarities. For example:

1. The Israelite, Babylonian, and Hittite cults contained anthropomorphic elements such as the idea that a deity could dwell in an earthly residence and receive service, including "meals," such as was provided for a king.[30]

[27]See, e.g., *ANET*, 343-344; Oppenheim, 188-189.

[28]Cf., e.g., Cohen, 411.

[29]Cf., e.g., Cohen, 322.

[30]On this aspect of Israelite cult, see M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient*

2. The purification of sancta was a serious matter directly involving only cultic personnel.

3. As part of the purification of Nabû's Ezida cella in Babylon, a cultic functionary wiped the cella with the decapitated carcass of a ram (line 354). As is well known, the Akkadian verb "wipe" here is *kuppuru* (D stem), which is the cognate of Hebrew *kipper* (Piel stem), "atone," the verb used in Leviticus 16:16,18,20,33 to describe the cleansing of the Israelite sanctuary on the Day of Atonement.

4. J. Milgrom points out several similarities between the fifth day of the Babylonian New Year Festival of Spring and the Israelite Day of Atonement:

> On both occasions, (1) the temple is purged by rites that demand that the high priest rise before dawn (*m. Yoma* 1:7), bathe and dress in linen, employ a censer, and perform a sprinkling rite on the sanctuary; (2) the impurity is eliminated by means of slaughtered animals; (3) the participants are rendered impure; and (4) the king/high priest submits to a ritual of confession and penitence.[31]

Differences

Macrostructural differences between the three ritual days include the following:

1. Relationships between regular and festival segments varied: Israelite festival rituals were incorporated into a regular segment. The Babylonian festival ritual immediately followed a regular ritual and was linked to it. The Hittite feast followed a regular segment but represented a separate event.

2. The festival rituals occurred at different points: near the beginning (Israelite), near the middle (Babylonian), or at the end (Hittite). Thus, YHWH preferred a bigger "breakfast," but Telipinu feasted in the evening. The Babylonian festival ritual segment did not provide more food for Marduk; it provided a "meal" for his guest, Nabû.

3. Whereas the Israelite day had one special segment, the Babylonian and Hittite days had two special segments. On the Hittite day, the second special segment was clearly a continuation of the first, due to the need for a processional return to the temple after the purification of sancta at the river.

4. Only the Hittite day began with a special segment, so that the first daily offering came *after* the purification of the sancta had already taken place.

Israel (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 218-221. On Babylonian cult, see Oppenheim, 186-193. On Hittite cult, see G. Beckman, "The Religion of the Hittites," *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989): 102, 107.

[31]Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1068.

5. The three days ended with different kinds of segments: regular (Israelite), special (Babylonian), and festival (Hittite).

Aside from structural differences, there were other kinds of differences. For example:

1. Whereas the Israelite and Babylonian festival days were to be performed yearly, the Hittite ritual day took place only in the ninth year.[32]

2. The Israelite and Hittite festival days occurred in autumn, but the Babylonian day was in spring.

3. The Babylonian and Hittite days belonged to festivals lasting several days, but the Israelite Day of Atonement stood alone. However, the Day of Atonement may have been regarded as the climax of the awesome ten days which began with the blowing of trumpets on the first day of the seventh month (Lev 23:23-25).[33]

4. Whereas all of the special segments belonging to the Israelite and Hittite days were involved with the purification of sancta, the Babylonian day also included a special reconfirmation of the king to prepare for his role on subsequent ritual days.

5. While the Israelite, Babylonian, and Hittite cults contained anthropomorphism (see above), the Israelite cult was careful to avoid conveying the impression that YHWH is really dependent upon human food. Since his regular offerings at the outer altar were burned, he received them in the form of smoke, hardly a human mode of consuming food. Of the "bread-of-the-presence" offering laid out before him inside the sacred Tent and changed every Sabbath, he appropriated for himself only the incense, assigning the bread itself to his priests (Lev 24:7,9).[34]

6. Whereas plurality of deities and sacred locations was a factor in the multiplication of ritual activities on the Babylonian and Hittite festival days, such plurality did not affect the Israelite Day of Atonement due to the monotheistic nature of the normative Israelite cult.

7. The Day of Atonement and the fourth day of the Telipinu festival appear to have been climactic events within their respective cults, but the fifth day of the Babylonian New Year Festival of Spring was not a climax; it prepared for the climax which came later in the festival.

8. The Israelite and Babylonian prescriptive texts show no evidence of gaiety on their respective sancta purification days,[35] but the Hittite day

[32]On the meaning of the "ninth year," see note 17, above.

[33]Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16,* 1069.

[34]See R. Gane, "Bread-of-the-Presence' and Creator-in-Residence," *Vetus Testamentum* 42 (1992): 179-203. Cp. Haran, 221.

[35]However, Milgrom points out that joy would have been appropriate on the Day of

involved persons such as musicians and entertainers in gala processions to and from the river where the purification was performed.

9. Evils removed by purification rituals were not the same.[36] For example: Impurity in Babylon came from nonhuman sources such as demons, and there was no purification/atonement for sins committed by the Babylonian people. The king of Babylon, whose relation with the gods affected the Babylonian people, affirmed his innocence before Marduk (lines 422-428), but he admitted no need of forgiveness. In Israel, on the other hand, impurity came from the people themselves,[37] and it was cleansed from the sanctuary along with moral faults which they had committed (Lev 16:16; cp. verse 21). The Hittite texts prescribing the Telipinu festival do not indicate the nature of the defilement which necessitated the purification of the sancta.

10. Objects of purification differed. The Israelite Day of Atonement was concerned with purification of sacred precincts, sancta, and persons; the Babylonian day with purification of sacred precincts; and the Hittite day with purification of sacred objects.

11. Each ritual day had its own specific forms of ritual activity. Israelite sacred precincts and sancta were purged by sprinkling and daubing blood. The Babylonian sacred precincts were purified by sprinkling water, ringing a bell, carrying a torch and censer, and wiping a carcass. The Hittite sancta were purified by being washed in a river.

12. Impurity resulting from ritual participation varied. Hittite ritual participants were not affected at all. Israelite assistants who led the scapegoat to the wilderness and disposed of the purification offering carcasses contracted minor impurity which lasted only until they laundered their clothes and bathed, after which they could reenter the camp (Lev 16:26,28). Babylonian functionaries who participated in the purification of the Ezida with a decapitated ram were much more severely affected: They had to remain outside Babylon for the rest of the festival, i.e., until the twelfth day of Nisannu (lines 361-363).

Conclusion

There is no question that the Israelites, Babylonians, and Hittites had distinct ritual and theological systems. However, they shared some basic ideas regarding their obligations to their deities, including the need to provide

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Atonement, particularly when the Jubilee year began on that day every fiftieth year (Lev 25:9; *Leviticus 1-16*, 1066-1067).

[36]For a thorough study of impurities and their removal in the context of Israelite, Hittite, and Mesopotamian cults, see D. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987).

[37]See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1068-1069.

twice-daily regular offerings and additional offerings on festival occasions
and the need to periodically purify sacred objects and/or precincts pertaining
to those deities. Furthermore, as shown in this article, the Israelites, Babylonians,
and Hittites had a similar approach to scheduling the various components
of days on which special sancta purification rituals were performed. Regular
"meal" ceremonies took place as usual; additional feast ceremonies followed
or were integrated with one of the regular meals; and special purification
activities were performed during the remaining part of the day, i.e., between
the regular offerings, or before the first regular "meal," or after the second
regular "meal."

The parallels analyzed here carry some additional historical significance.
Jacob Milgrom has argued for the antiquity of the Israelite Day of Atonement
partly upon the basis of parallels with the Babylonian New Year Festival[38].
This argument is strengthened by the fact that the basic macrostructural
scheme described in the present article is found not only in the Israelite
and Babylonian sancta purification days, but also in the Hittite Festival
of Telipinu, which is indisputably dated to the second millennium B.C.

[38]*Lev 1-16*, 1067-1071

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 1997
EXCAVATIONS AND RESTORATION
WORK AT TALL HISBAN
(JUNE 18 TO JULY 11, 1997)

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The summer of 1997 found Andrews University once again in Jordan for archaeological excavations.[1] Though under the auspices of the Madaba Plains Project, this season did not command the usual large group of people that the Project is noted for, but rather a much smaller contingent of fewer than 30 archaeologists, students, and volunteers, practically all from Andrews, as well as about 20 Jordanian specialists and workers.[2] This "off-season"

work was made possible in part by a grant from the National Geographic Society. Besides those working at Tall Hisban and the regional survey, there was another group, about the same size, excavating at Azraq.[3] This expedition, also connected with the Madaba Plains Project, is a continuation and extension of the environmental survey begun in the 1996 season.

In 1996 cleaning and restoration work was begun at Tall Hisban under the direction of Øystein S. LaBianca and Lawrence T. Geraty.[4] This site, which had been excavated by Andrews University between 1968 and 1976, with preliminary reports published in *AUSS*,[5] had greatly deteriorated since its last season of excavation some twenty years ago. Though plans had been made for its restoration in 1976, the site had never since received any such work. Its importance and long occupational history make it a good candidate for restoration and the idea of finally starting such a project received strong support from the director of the Department of Antiquities and the mayor of the town of Hisban. Although the restoration of the site and its development as a tourist attraction were the primary reasons for returning to the site, it was also felt that there were a number of unanswered questions left over from the earlier excavations, and that the site no doubt still held a number of secrets that could benefit from further excavation. The 1997 season at Tall Hisban, therefore, represents a preliminary or exploratory campaign of a new (phase 2) series of excavations at the tall. The objectives for the

season were (1) to try to answer some questions remaining from the earlier (phase 1) excavations; (2) to pursue further excavations in selected areas, and (3) to preserve both previous and currently excavated features deemed interesting for tourists. In addition, two other objectives were to continue the new regional survey around Tall Hisban and the deforestation study within the project area, both begun in 1996.

1. The Regional Survey[6]

Though there had been an earlier Heshbon survey (1973-1976), the Madaba Plains Project has since developed more sophisticated survey techniques. It was felt that our knowledge of the area around Tall Hisban could benefit by the newer methodology. The 1997 season was spent examining the remaining 50 of the 100 randomly selected 200 x 200 m squares generated by Geographic Information Systems (GIS) for the five km radius around the tall. Although a number of new sites were noted, in addition to the 20 sites located in 1996, these were left to be followed up in 1998.

2. Deforestation Study

A grant from National Geographic Society enabled continuation of field research begun in 1996 concerned with reconstructing the history of deforestation in the Hisban Project Area. The study built on previous research on the historical environment of the Hisban region by the Hesban Environmental Survey.[7] Methods used included an arboreal survey to ascertain the current and potential state of the forest, and an archaeological survey to deepen understanding of long-term changes in settlement patterns and technologies for managing soil and water resources, geoarchaeological research in selected wadies to determine patterns of erosion and soil loss, and a reexamination of faunal data on hand from earlier excavations at Tall Hisban to search for clues that might help fill out the picture regarding long-term environmental change. The survey succeeded in establishing a link between episodes of food system intensification and abatement, and cycles of environmental degeneration and regeneration in the project area.[8]

[6]Gary Christopherson was in charge of the random survey. Other staff members included Tisha Entz, Eric Christopherson, Erik LaBianca, and Richard Haglund.

[7]Øystein S. LaBianca and Larry Lacelle, *Environmental Foundations: Studies of Climatical, Geological, Hydrological and Phytological Conditions in Hesban and Vicinity* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986).

[8]Øystein S. LaBianca, "A Forest that Refuses to Disappear: Cycles of Environmental Degradation and Regeneration in Jordan" (Unpublished Report to the National Geographic Society, Research Grant 5758-96, 1998); see also http://www.andrews.edu/BHSC/ngs.

3. Tall Hisban Restoration Project

Although Tall Hisban is a well-known and relatively frequently visited archaeological site in Jordan, very little has been done to highlight for the visitor its most important archaeological features. As mentioned above, this situation began to change during the summer of 1996. The effort to clean up the site was continued in 1997, resulting in an improved presentation of a number of archaeological features. To bring these features into focus for the visitor, viewing platforms were constructed in selected locations throughout the mound, and paths were constructed leading the visitor from the bottom of the tall to each of the viewing platforms. On each viewing platform signs were mounted to explain the ruins in clear view.

A deliberate effort was made to involve village residents in this effort. To this end the cooperation of the village mayor was sought and obtained. The local iron smith was hired to make the signs and a local school teacher painted them. Tours were provided on a daily basis for village visitors to the site and the workmen were empowered through daily instruction about the site's history to teach their family and friends about the history and significance of the village. One local resident was trained to serve as a guide for tourists visiting the site throughout the year. New road signs were also made (free of charge) and mounted by the Ministry of Public Works along the Amman-Naur-Madaba road to make the site easier to find.

4. Tall Hisban Excavations

This season concentrated on two as yet unresolved problems remaining from the earlier excavations at the site, as well as a follow-up excavation of a preliminary exploration and mapping of a large cave complex begun in 1996. Both of the former involved the interpretation of Iron Age features. In order to deal with these, two new soundings were made on the southern and western terraces of the tall. Four additional soundings were made in and adjacent to the cave complex, also located on the southern shelf.

Iron Age I

Probe D.7[9] was 6 x 2 m trench opened to intercept the eastern extension of a bedrock trench, originally excavated on the southern shelf (in Areas B and D) in the 1974 and 1976 seasons and reencountered, while cleaning up a small cave, in 1996. The feature as originally excavated averaged 2-2.5 m in width and 4 m in depth. Though the excavators were unable to reach the bottom of this new section of the bedrock trench (7 m below the current

[9]The area supervisor was Lael Caesar. He was assisted by Michael Russell, Gabriella Kunze, and Rachael Whittaker.

ground surface) before the end of the short three-and-a-half-week season, excavation revealed its southern edge (**Plate 1**) and the 1.5 m depth of material that was exposed within it included vast quantities of Iron I sherds, among which were some very similar to those found in the central hill country of Cisjordan.

Among the possible explanations for this feature after the original excavations was that it was either a dry-moat or a water channel. The latter explanation would seem to be unlikely in that the water channels found along with the Iron Age reservoir, excavated earlier at Hisban, were considerably shallower (15-55 cm deep) and narrower (20-65 cm wide). Iron Age moats are now known to exist at several sites in the region. All of these are found only on the most vulnerable side of the tall. Their other sides, as at Hisban, were naturally defensible due to deeply cut wadis. Although there is a lack of "exact" parallels, and the trench is narrower and located high up on the tall instead of at its base, as are the dry moats at other sites in the region, the feature nevertheless appears to have successfully cut off the tall from its approach from the southwest.

Iron Age II

Excavations were renewed in Area C, Square 3, on the western shelf of the tall.[10] The original excavations revealed a north-south wall, which zigzagged or offset to the west and continued south into Square C.7 (**Plate 2**). This section of walls was founded on a bedrock shelf. Further to the west, a large wall founded in a bedrock crevice was stepped up for 3.5 m, abutting the above-mentioned wall near the point of offset. Running parallel to and underneath this wall was a line of large unhewn boulders, partway down in the crevice (**Plate 3**). While the walls in Square C.3 were originally dated to the Iron IIC/Persian period, the section which ran into Square C.7 not only produced sherds from the same period on bedrock immediately below the first course on both sides of the wall, but also Hellenistic sherds underneath the upper courses when they were dismantled. In addition, two phases of a more poorly-built wall, originally thought to be part of, and unfortunately given the same numerical designation as the offset wall, abutted it on the west and extended into Square C.2. This wall dated to the Hellenistic/ Early Roman period. As a result, the overall wall system has been dated anywhere from Iron II to the Roman period in the literature.[11]

    [10]The area supervisor was Phil Drey. He was assisted by David Jarnes, Kristy Kline, and Erik LaBianca.

    [11]Henry O. Thompson, "Andrews University Heshbon Expedition: The Third Campaign at Tell Hesban (1973) Area C," *AUSS* 13 (1975): 179-180; and Larry A. Mitchel, *Hellenistic and Roman Strata: A Study of the Stratigraphy of Tell Hesban From the 2d Century*

In his dissertation, one of the authors (Ray) had tentatively redated
this wall system to the Iron IIC/Persian period with later rebuilds in the
Hellenistic/Early Roman period. In order to test this hypothesis, a 7 x 2
m trench was laid perpendicular to the main part of the wall in Square C.3
at the edge of a subbalk left by the original excavators. Within it, a 1 x 2
m probe along the western (outer) face of the wall was excavated (**Plate
4**). As no stratigraphy was located due to the rocky nature of the sediment,
pottery pails were changed every 30 cm in order to gain control of datable
pottery. The top 30 cm yielded sherds from Iron II through the Umayyad
periods. The remaining 60+ cm, however, yielded pure Iron IIC/Persian
pottery (including burnished black-ware sherds).

An attempt to find a foundation trench on the east (or inner) side of
the wall yielded only large stones laid up against another cut in the bedrock
shelf with very few (mostly body) sherds and no pottery at all within the
last several centimeters over bedrock (**Plate 5**). It would appear that the
offset-inset wall of Squares C.3 and 7 was laid directly on bedrock and that
the wall system as a whole dates to the Iron IIC/Persian period. If this is
correct, the other two walls to the west functioned along with it as revetment
and retaining walls lower down in the bedrock crevice. It would appear
that the overall system was defensive in nature, and that the main wall was
reused and had new courses inserted into it during the Hellenistic/Early
Roman period.

Classical Period Cave Complex

Within the second (or middle) level of the trilevel cave complex[12] mapped
in 1996, a probe (G.22) was made in the northwest corner underneath an
arch. It revealed dung and ash layers mixed with roof collapse for ca. .75
m down to the original cave floor (**Plate 6**). Upon reaching floor level one
was able to stand upright and move comfortably under the arch. Ceramic
evidence embedded in the floor at this point indicates that the arches (3 on
this level) were originally made during the Byzantine period, though fill
evidence shows that the cave continued to be used during later times.

Two ca. 1.5 m-deep storage silos were excavated northeast of the above-
mentioned trench. Both had evidence of plastering. The easternmost (G.24;
Plate 7) produced a fill which was dominated by Mamluk pottery. It consisted
of loamy soil and dung. The second of these features (G. 25) vaguely resembled
an Early Bronze shaft tomb (**Plate 8**). The fill material in the "shaft" area

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B.C. to the 4th Century A.D. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1992): 57.

[12]The area supervisor (including probes G.22, 24, and 25) was Bill Fagal. He was assisted
by Kristy Messersmith and Jason Randall.

was similar to that in the other storage silo and also contained mostly Mamluk sherds. The "chamber" area, however, consisted of sloping fill and ash lenses (**Plate 9**) which contained predominantly Iron II pottery.

The entrance to the cave was located ca. 2.5 m below the present surface and was found to be bipartite, entering both the middle and upper levels (**Plate 10**). The major feature of the upper level was a barrel vault. Byzantine pottery was found on the threshold of the entrance, making it apparent that both the entrance and the architecture (see above) of the middle level date to this time, though they continued to be used during later periods. The original entrance area[13] (Probe G.23) to the cave complex exhibited at least 2 walls and arches, one of which was fallen (**Plate 11**). While these were drawn and measured, they were left unexcavated this season. An almost complete sugar pot was found on a higher level in the entranceway together with Mamluk sherds and a ram's horn (**Plate 12**).

[13]The area supervisor was Bob McDaniel. He was assisted by Kristen Jarnes and Yoshiko Miyashita.

Plate 1. Early Iron Age I bedrock trench, Area D.7 (looking N).
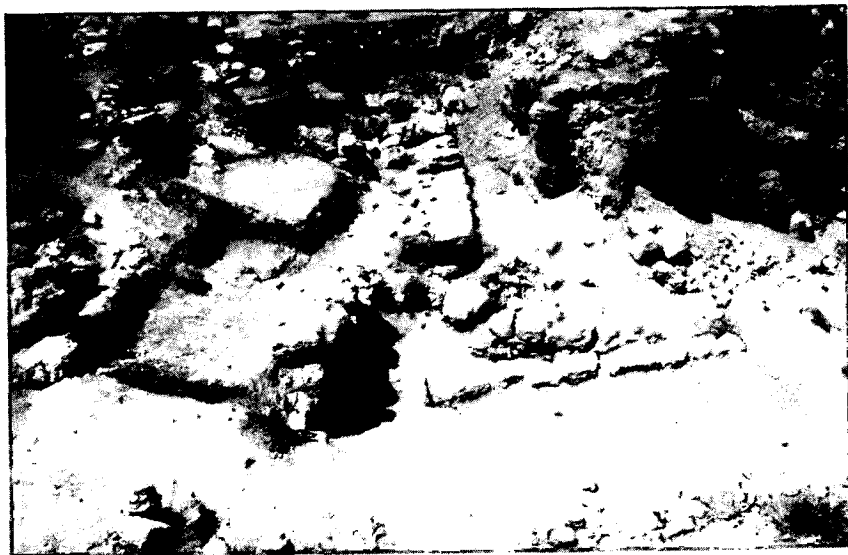

Plate 2. Offset-inset defense wall on the western shelf, Area C (looking S).

Plate 3. Revetment and retaining supporting walls (looking E).

Plate 4. New excavation section along offset-inset wall (looking E).

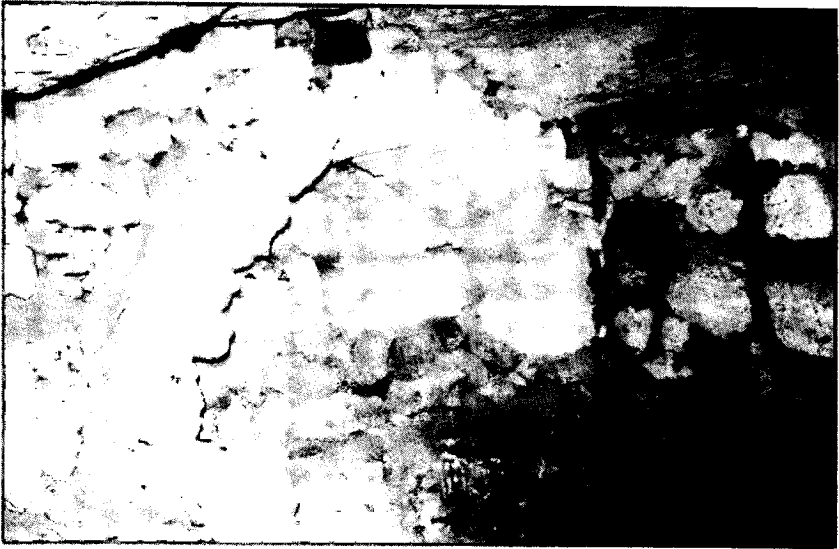**Plate 5.** Inner or eastern side of the offset-inset wall (looking S).

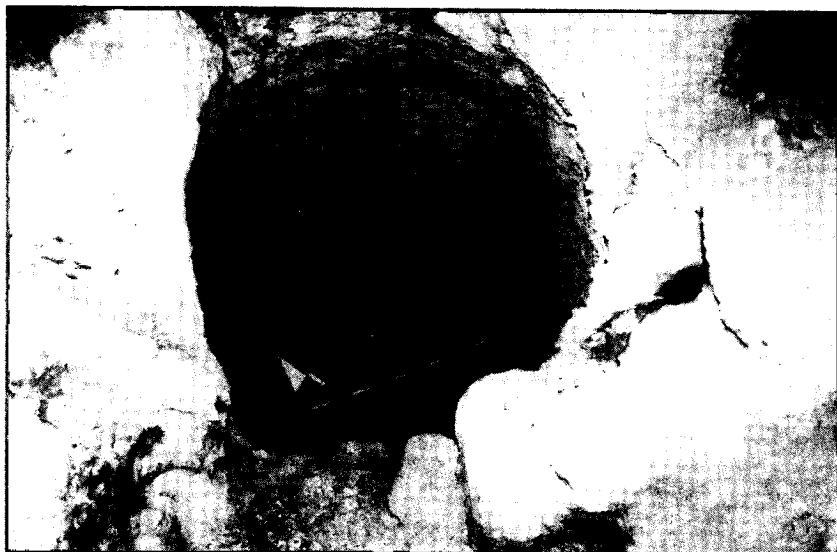
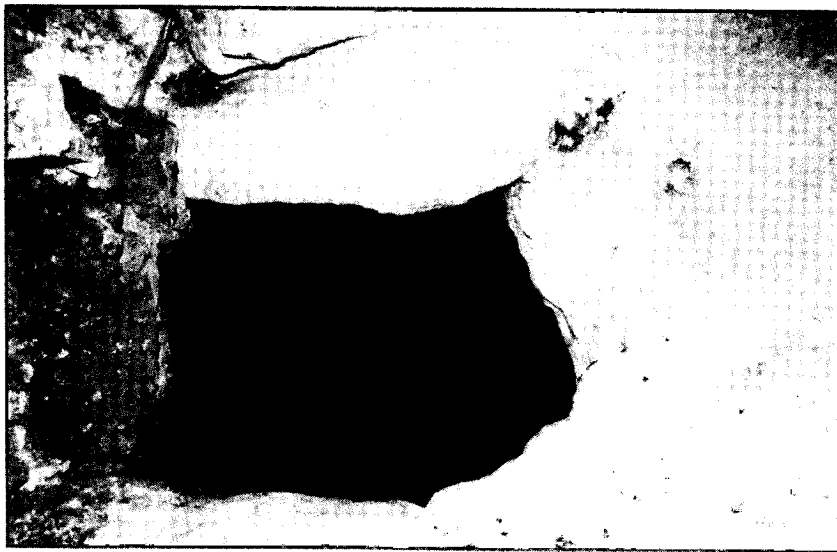**Plate 6.** Probe G.22 excavation below arch in cave complex.

Plate 7. G.24 storage silo.

Plate 8. G.25 storage silo.

Plate 9. Fill and ash lenses within G.25 storage silo.

Plate 10. Entrance to cave complex.

Plate 11. Walls and arches outside entrance to the cave complex.

Plate 12. Ceramic and fauna finds within entranceway.

THE EARTH OF GENESIS 1:2
ABIOTIC OR CHAOTIC?
PART I

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Introduction

The famous German scholar Hermann Gunkel (1862-1932), well-known advocate of *Formgeschichte*, tried to demonstrate that the battle in which Yahweh defeated the sea monster of the chaos was related to the Hebrew account of creation in Genesis 1. He assumed that the Babylonian creation account, with its *Chaoskampf* or battle between the creator-god and the powers of the chaos, was the basis for the mythical imagery that appears in the Bible.[1]

Since the discovery of the Ugaritic myths, the existence of a conflict between *Yahweh* and the sea dragons (*Leviathan* and *Rahab* in poetical texts of the OT) has been widely accepted.[2] This Canaanite conflict motif has been related to the biblical creation story as "a missing link" which supports the apparent *Chaoskampf* in Gen 1:2. Frequently, the *Chaoskampf* that appears in the Babylonian *Enuma elish* and the Ugaritic Baal myth is considered the main foundation of any cosmogony in the Ancient Near East (ANE).[3] For instance, J. Day assumed that Gen 1:2 is a demythologization of the original *Chaoskampf* myth of ancient Canaan.[4] R. J. Clifford and J. J. Collins have proposed that Genesis 1 begins with a mythical combat between the dragon

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[1]H. Gunkel, *Genesis übersetzt und erklärt*, HKAT 3/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901); reprinted with introduction by W. F. Albright in *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History* (New York: Schocken, 1974).

[2]A. Cooper, "Divine Names and Epithets in the Ugaritic Texts," in *Ras Shamra Parallels*, ed. Loren Fisher (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1981), 3:369-383.

[3]See C. Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 70-86; J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 18-49.

[4]Day, 53.

of chaos and the divine sovereign.[5]

Gunkel stated that the Hebrew term *t*ʰ*ôm* in Gen 1:2 had a Babylonian background.[6] He suggested that *t*ʰ*ôm* derived directly from *Tiamat*, the Babylonian goddess of the primordial ocean in the *Enuma elish*. Since Gunkel's statement, many scholars have assumed some kind of direct or indirect connection between the Babylonian *Tiamat* and the Hebrew *t*ʰ*ôm*.[7] Many have accepted that the Hebrew *t*ʰ*ôm* in Gen 1:2 has a mythological foundation in *Tiamat*, the goddess of the *Enuma elish*, in which *Marduk* the storm god fights and defeats *Tiamat* the sea dragon, thus establishing the cosmos.[8]

The expression *tōhû wābōhû*, "emptiness and waste," in Gen 1:2 is often considered a reference to this primordial "chaos," in strict opposition to "creation." The phrase is taken to refer to the earth in an *abiotic* or lifeless state, with no vegetation, animals, or human beings.[9]

Gunkel also posited the theory, later supported by other scholars, that the *rûaḥ ʾēlōhîm* in Gen 1:2c corresponds to the winds that *Marduk* sends against *Tiamat*, thus assuming that it is an expression that describes the primordial chaos.

The object of this three-part article is to discover whether in Gen 1:2 there is any evidence for the mythological battle between the creator-god and the powers of the chaos, *Chaoskampf*, such as Gunkel and many other scholars maintain.[10] If we found such evidence, we would need to take heed

[5]R. J. Clifford and J. J. Collins, eds., *Creation in the Biblical Traditions*, CBQ Monograph Series 24 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1992), 32-33. See also R. J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible*, CBQ Monograph Series 26 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994).

[6]H. Gunkel, "Influence of Babylonian Mythology upon the Biblical Creation Stories," in *Creation in the Old Testament*, ed. B. W. Anderson, Issues in Religion and Theology 6 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 25-52; first published in *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895).

[7]B. S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* (London: SCM, 1960), 36; B. W. Anderson, *Creation versus Chaos: The Reinterpretation of Mythical Symbolism in the Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 15-40; K. Wakeman, "The Biblical Earth Monster in the Cosmogonic Combat Myth," *JBL* 88 (1969): 313-320; idem, *God's Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 86ff.

[8]For a translation and discussion of this text, see A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951); see also the translation by E. A. Speiser in "The Creation Epic," *ANET*, 60-72. The most recent translation can be seen in S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 233-274.

[9]See D. T. Tsumura, "The Earth in Genesis 1," in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood*, ed. R. S. Hess and D. T. Tsumura (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 326-328.

[10]See for example, B. K. Waltke, *Creation and Chaos* (Portland, OR: Western Conservative Baptist Seminary, 1974). This author points out that there are three main

to Gunkel's affirmation: "If it is the case, however, that a fragment of a cosmogonic myth is preserved in Genesis 1, then it is also no longer allowable to reject the possibility that the whole chapter might be a myth that has been transformed into narrative."[11] But if, on the contrary, there is no linguistic or biblical foundation for that assumption, the creation account would no longer be a myth or compilation of myths similar to those of ANE literature. The creation story would then be a true, reliable, literal, and objective account of the origin of life on this planet.

To achieve this goal, these articles about the earth described in Gen 1:2 will analyze the Hebrew terms *tōhû wābōhû, tᵉhôm,* and *rûaḥ ᵉlōhîm* in the OT and their equivalents in the ANE literature.

The Hebrew Text of Gen 1:2

Wᵉhā'āreṣ hāyᵉtâ tōhû wābōhû wᵉhōšek 'al ~ pᵉnê tᵉhôm wᵉrûaḥ 'lōhîm meraḥepet 'al ~ pᵉnê hammāyim

Now the earth was formless and empty, darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters (NIV).

Gen 1:2 is formed by three circumstantial clauses:

(1) *Wᵉhā'āreṣ hāyᵉtâ tōhû wābōhû:* "Now the earth was formless and empty"
(2) *wᵉhōšek ~ 'al ~ pᵉnê tᵉhôm:* "darkness was over the surface of the deep"
(3) *wᵉrûaḥ 'lōhîm mᵉraḥepet 'al ~ pᵉnê hammāyim:* "and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters."

In Semitic languages a circumstantial clause describes a particular condition.[12] Verse 2 presents three clauses that describe three circumstances or conditions that existed at a particular time, which is defined by the verb

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interpretations of Gen 1:1-3 within Protestant thinking. These he calls the theory of the postcreation chaos (or theory of the restitution), in which chaos occurred after the original creation; the theory of the initial chaos, according to which chaos occurred in connection with creation; and the theory of the precreation chaos which he himself defends, according to which chaos occurred before the original creation (18, 19); and other authors such as: A. P. Ross, *Creation and Blessing* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 106-107, 723; V. P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1-17,* NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 117. As can be seen, the explanation and interpretation of Gen 1:2 are founded on chaos, whether before, during, or after creation.

[11]Gunkel, "Influence of Babylonian Mythology," 26-27.

[12]For a discussion of the function of the circumstantial phrase in Hebrew, see W. Gesenius-E. Kautzch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,* trans. A. E. Cowley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 451, 489; Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew,* Subsidia Biblica 14 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991, 2:581.

form of the three clauses.[13] In this verse the three coordinated clauses begin with a *waw* followed by a noun that functions as the subject of the clause.

The theme of the verse 2 is the earth; this is the great central theme, not only in the rest of Genesis 1, but also of the whole Bible.[14] The earth is the center and object of biblical thought.[15]

The exegesis of Gen 1:2 has been considered by scholars such as M. Alexandre,[16] P. Beauchamp,[17] V. P. Hamilton,[18] D. Kidner,[19] S. Niditch,[20] A. P. Ross,[21] N. M. Sarna,[22] L. I. J. Stadelmann,[23] G. von Rad,[24] G. J. Wenham,[25] C. Westermann,[26] and E. J. Young.[27]

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[13]"Clauses describing concomitant circumstances are introduced by the conjunction ו of accompaniment. . . . When the circumstances described are past or future, a finite form of a verb is employed. For the past a perfect aspect is used, e.g.ובהו תהו היתה והארץ 'the earth having been a formless void' (Gen 1:2)" (R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2d ed. [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976, 1992]), 83. In this case the verb *hāyâ* is in Qal perfect 3 feminine singular *hāytâ*. As C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch point out: "The three statements in our verse are parallel; the substantive and participial construction of the second and third clauses rests upon the והיתה of the first. All three describe the condition of the earth immediately after the creation of the universe" (*Commentary on the Old Testament*, trans. J. Martin [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986], 1:49).

[14]For further bibliographical references on Gen 1:1-3 from 1885/86 to 1966, see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary*, trans. J. J. Scullion (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 75-76.

[15]So Keil and Delitzsch, 1:48.

[16]M. Alexandre, *Le Commencement du Livre: Genèse I-V* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), 76-87.

[17]P. Beauchamp, *Création et Séparation* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1969), 149-174.

[18]Hamilton, 108-117.

[19]D. Kidner, *Genesis* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1967), 44-45.

[20]S. Niditch, *Chaos to Cosmos* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1985), 18.

[21]Ross, 106-107.

[22]N. M. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (New York: Schoken, 1970), 22, 34 n. 23; idem., *Genesis*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 6-7.

[23]L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, Analecta Biblica 39 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970), 12-17.

[24]G. von Rad, *El Libro del Génesis* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1988), 58-60.

[25]G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, WBC (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 15-17.

[26]Westermann, 102-111.

[27]E. J. Young, *Studies in Genesis One* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1979), 15-42.

The Semichiastic Structure of Gen 1:2

The Hebrew text of Gen 1:2 presents an incomplete antithetical chiastic structure (i.e., a quasi- or semichiastic antithetical structure, because it lacks the section A' which is antithetical to A) marked by the following linguistic and semantic parallelism:

A *Wᵉhā 'āreṣ hāyᵉtâ tōhû wābōhû:* "Now the earth was formless and empty"
  B *wᵉḥōšek ʿal ~ pᵉnê tᵉhôm:* "darkness was over the surface of the deep"
  B' *wᵉrûaḥ ʾlōhîm mᵉraḥepet ʿal ~ pᵉnê hammāyim:* "and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters."

The grammatical, semantic, and syntactic chiastic parallelism is clearly defined by the microstructures B \\ B' (\\ stands for antithetic parallelism) in which the expression "over the surface" *ʿal ~ pᵉnê* is repeated. Grammatically speaking, this expression is a preposition + plural masculine noun construct (prep. + p.m.n.cstr.).[28]

The grammatical and semantic parallel *ʿal ~ pᵉnê tᵉhôm // ʿal ~ pᵉnê hammāyim* represents a second example of paired words, *tᵉhôm // hammāyim* that appears in Ezek 26:19 and Ps 104:6; and *mayim // tᵉhôm* that appear in Ezek 31:4; Hab 3:10; Jonah 2:6; Ps 33:7; 77:17; Job 38:30. Notice also the parallelism between *mayim // tᵉhōmōt* and *rûaḥ* in Exod 15:8.[29] The antithetic concept is clearly indicated by the opposite or contrasting pair of words *ḥōšek* "darkness" \\ *rûaḥ ʾlōhîm* "Spirit of God." The noun *ḥōšek* is grammatically a masculine singular (m.s.n.), and *rûaḥ ʾlōhîm* is a feminine singular noun construct (f.s.n.cstr.) plus a masculine plural noun (m.p.n.). However, they present an exact syntactic correspondence and parallelism. Both have the same syntactic function, that of a subject.[30]

Another syntactic aspect is important in this antithetic chiasm: the construct relation in *ʿal ~ pᵉnê tᵉhôm* and *ʿal ~ pᵉnê hammāyim.*[31] This aspect of the Hebrew syntax is of great importance to the significance and the semantic and etymological origin of *tᵉhôm*, as will be seen in the second part of this article.

A particular type of parallelism used in prose is the gender-matched parallelism. Gen 1:2 is an example of this type of parallelism, since it represent

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[28]Williams, 10-11.

[29]J. S. Kselman, "The Recovery of Poetic Fragments from the Pentateuchal Priestly Source," *JBL* 97 (1978): 163.

[30]For a study of the biblical grammatical, semantic, and syntactic parallelism, see A. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

[31]See B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 240-241.

the gender-matched pattern: Feminine + masculine // masculine + feminine // feminine + masculine. [32]

Tōhû wābōhû *in the Old Testament and*
the Literature of the Ancient Near East

Before specifically considering this point, we must briefly analyze the Hebrew terms *hā'āreṣ* and *hāy'tâ* in Gen 1:2. The most used Egyptian term for "earth" is *t3*. The antithesis for this term is the formula *pt-t3*, "heaven" and "earth," by which it makes reference to the whole cosmos. The usual hieroglyphic symbol *t3* represents a flood plain with grains of sand all around. In Sumerian and Akkadian there is a distinction between "earth" (*ki* or *erṣetu*) and "country" (*kur*, *kalam*, or *matu*). In Akkadian *erṣetu* means "earth," in opposition to "heaven." "Heaven and earth" (*šamû u erṣetu*) means the universe. In Ugaritic *'rṣ* means "earth, ground, inferior world." The earth is also opposed to "heaven" and the clouds. [33] Ugaritic literature also gives an extraordinary example of a pair of words, *arṣ* // *thmt*, chiastically related as in Gen 1:2: *tant šmm 'm arṣ* // *thmt 'mn kbkbm*. [34]

The pair of words *'reṣ* // *t'hôm* also reveals an example of inclusive structure in the six days of the creation, where *'al ~ p'nê t'hôm* before the first day (Gen 1:2) matches *'al ~ p'nê hā'āreṣ* after the sixth (Gen 1:29). [35]

The Hebrew *'reṣ* occupies the fourth place among the most frequent nouns in the OT. The term appears 2,504 times in Hebrew and another 22

[32]See W.G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, JSOT Supplement Series 26 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1986), 53.

[33]*TDOT*, 1:388-392.

[34]R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 613.

[35]Kselman, 164. For this type of inclusion or construction see D. N. Freedman's "Prolegomenon" to G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (New York: KTAV, 1972), xxxvi-xxxvii. However, according to D.T. Tsumura the nature of the relationship between *hā'āreṣ* "earth" and *t'hôm* "abyss, ocean" in Gen 1:2 is a *hyponym*. According to Tsumura, in modern linguistics, the relationship of meaning is called hyponym which sometimes is explained as inclusion. (i.e., what is referred to in the term A includes what is referred to in the term B). The former is preferred over the latter because a relationship of sense exists among lexical items rather than a relationship of reference. Thus the hyponym can be used also in a relationship between terms that have no reference. In Tsumura's own words: "Our term 'hyponym' therefore means that the sense [A] of the more general term 'A' (e.g. 'fruit') completely includes the 'sense' [B] of more specific term 'B' (e.g. 'apple'), and hence what 'A' refers to includes what 'B' refers to. In other words, when the referent [B] of the term 'B' is a part of/belongs to the referent [A] of the term 'A', we can say that 'B' is *hyponymous* to 'A,' ("A 'Hyponymous' Word Pair: *'rṣ* and *thm (t)* in Hebrew and Ugaritic" [*Bib* 69 (1988): 258-269, esp. 259-260]). Therefore, in Gen 1:2 there is a hyponym in which *t'hôm* "ocean" is a part of the *hā'āreṣ* "earth."

times in the Aramaic sections. The word *ereṣ* designates: (1) cosmologically, the earth (in opposition to heaven) and solid ground (in opposition to water); (2) physically, the soil on which humans live; (3) geographically, certain regions and territories; (4) politically, certain sovereign regions and countries. In the most general sense, *ereṣ* designates the earth that together with the "heaven," *šāmayim*, comprises the totality of the universe. "Heaven and Earth" is an expression designating the whole world (Gen 1:1; 2:1, 4; 14:19, 22; etc.).

In addition to a bipolar view of the world, there is also a tripolar view: for instance, heaven-earth-sea (Exod 20:11; Gen 1:10, 20 and others); heaven-earth-water beneath the earth (Exod 20:4; Deut 5:8). But what is important to the OT is not the earth as part of the cosmos but what lives on it (Deut 33:16; Isa 34:1; Jer 8:16; etc.): its inhabitants (Isa 24:1, 5-6, 17; Jer 25:29-30; Ps 33:14; etc.), nations (Gen 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; Deut 28:10; etc.), and kingdoms (Deut 28:25; 2 Kgs 19:15; etc.). Thus the term "earth" may designate at the same time—as it does in other languages—the earth and its inhabitants (Gen 6:11; etc.). In its physical use, *ereṣ* designates the ground on which human beings, things, dust (Exod 8:12), and reptiles (Gen 1:26; 7:14; 8:19; etc.) are.[36]

The verb *hāyâ* (to be) that appears in Gen 1:2 as *hāyᵉtâ* in Qal perfect 3 f.s. is translated by the majority of the versions as "was" but may also be translated "became," as it appears in some versions. However, the syntactic order and the structure of the clause do not allow this translation here. The syntactic order in Gen 1:2 (first the subject and then the verb) is used to indicate the addition of circumstantial information and the absence of chronological or sequential occurrence. For that reason the translators of the LXX translated *hāyᵉtâ* as "was" and not as "became."[37] Besides, the Hebrew letter *waw* that appears at the beginning of Gen 1:2 is a "circumstantial *waw*" because it is joined to the subject "the earth" and not to the verb. Therefore it is better translated as "now." The translators of the LXX, who were very careful in the translation of the Pentateuch, translated it in that way.

The initial state of the earth in Gen 1:2 is described as *tōhû wābōhû*. This expression is translated into English as "formless and empty" (NIV). In the Greek versions it is translated as αορατος και ακατασκευαστος, "invisible and unformed" (LXX); κενωμα και ουθεν, "empty and nothing" (Aquila); θεν και ουθεν "nothing and nothing" (Theodotion); and αργον

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[36]E. Jenni and C. Westermann, *Diccionario Teológico Manual del Antiguo Testamento*, trans. J. A. Múgica; Madrid: Cristiandad, 1978), 1:344-54. See also *TWOT*, 1:167-68; D.J.A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 1:384-397, esp. 392, which gives specific references to Qumran literature and related extrabiblical texts.

[37]F. Delitzsch comments that the perfect preceded by the subject is the most usual way of describing the circumstances in which the subsequent account takes place (*A New Commentary on Genesis* [Minneapolis: Klock & Klock, 1978], 1:77).

καὶ ἀδιάκριτον, "unproductive and indistinguishable" (Symmachus).[38]

Etymology and Usage of Tōhû in the OT

Tōhû is a masculine singular noun (m.s.n.) that means "formlessness, confusion, unreality, emptiness, . . . formlessness of primaeval earth in Gen 1:2";[39] "wasteland, solitude or emptiness";[40] "emptiness, waste, desert, chaos, confusion";[41] "Wüste, Öde, Leere, . . . Gen 1:2 es 'bedeutet die öde Wüste, und ist als Grundbegriff zur Schöpfung gebraucht";[42] "caos, lo que no tiene forma ni medida, informe, inmensidad. Lo desmesurado; formulación clara y directa de la negación: nada, la nada, vacío, el vacío, nulidad, . . . caos informe en Gen 1:2."[43]

The term *tōhû* appears 20 times in the OT, 11 of them in Isaiah.[44] The different uses of the term can be classified, according to Westermann, in three groups that go from the concrete meaning of "desert" to the abstract "emptiness": (1) "Desert," the terrible and barren desert that leads to destruction: Deut 32:10; Job 6:18; 12:24 = Ps 107:40; (2) "Desert or devastation that threatens": Isa 24:10; 34:11; 40:23; Jer 4:23; "the state that is opposed to the creation and precedes it": Gen 1:2; Isa 45:18; Job 26:7. 3; (3) "Nothing": 1 Sam 12:21 (2x); Isa 29:21; 40:17; 41:29; 44:29; 45:19; 49:4; 59:4.[45]

The first and third groups are simple enough to define and describe. In the first, *tōhû* is "earth, desert ground" (Deut 32:10), the "untilled land" where caravans die (Job 6:18), a "barren ground without roads" where people wander (Job 12:24; Ps 107:40). Therefore, the term refers to the desert as a "barren ground

[38]J. W. Wevers, *Septuaginta: Genesis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 75; cf. A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgessellschaft, 1979).

[39]F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (BDB) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 1062.

[40]W. L. Holladay, ed., *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 386.

[41]E. Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English* (Jerusalem: University of Haifa, 1987), 692.

[42]L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, eds., *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1967-1994), 1557.

[43]L. A. Schökel, *Diccionario Bíblico Hebreo-Español* (Madrid: Trotta, 1994), 792. Translation: "Chaos; what has no shape or measure: shapeless, immensity, the excessive; a clear and direct formulation of the negation: nothing, the nothingness, empty, the emptyness, nullity, . . . shapeless chaos in Gen 1:2."

[44]See A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Old Testament* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1990), 1219. The 20 texts are: Gen 1:2; Deut 32:10; 1 Sam 12:21 (2x); Job 6:18; 12:24; 26:7; Ps 107:40; Isa 24:10; 29:21; 34:11; 40:17, 23; 41:29; 44:9; 45:18-19; 49:4; 59:4; Jer 4:23.

[45]Westermann, 102-103.

or land." In the third group *tōhû* refers to a situation in which something that ought to be there is lacking. It is used in an abstract sense in which it appears in parallel with other nouns such as *ēpes*, "nothing"(Isa 41:29), *rîq*, "empty" (Isa 49:4), and "empty arguments" (Isa 59:4, NIV).[46] In these passages *tōhû* is better understood as "lack or emptiness" rather than "nothing."

Of special interest to this study are the uses of *tōhû* in Westermann's second group, where the word describes the situation or condition of places such as the planet earth, land (region), or city. In Isa 24:10 we have *qiryat-tōhû*, referring to the "desolate or deserted" state of a city, almost equivalent to the term *šammâ* in v. 12, which refers to the desolation of a city: "The ruined city lies desolate; the entrance to every house is barred" (NIV).

In Job 26:7, Westermann thinks *ʿal ~ tōhû* is directly opposed to the creation, though he does not translate it as chaos.[47] But the expression *ál ~ tōhû* is parallel to the expression *ʿal ~ belî ~ mâ* "a place where there is nothing." Therefore, in this context a possible translation of *tōhû* would be "a desert-like or empty place."[48]

Westermann points out that in Isa 45:18 *lō ʾ~ tōhû* is in direct opposition to the creation.[49] However, here *tōhû* is in parallelism with *lāšebet*, Qal infinitive construct (Qal inf. cstr.), "to be inhabited" (NIV), from the verb *yāšab* "to dwell."[50] The text does not indicate anything about a chaotic state in the earth: "he did not create it to be empty, but formed it to be inhabited" (NIV). Instead, *tōhû* in this text also means "a desert, an uninhabited place." Thus this verse may be better translated as "[earth] not to be a desert or uninhabited place he created it, to be inhabited he formed it."[51] In other words, this verse explains that God

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[46]E. J. Young translates *tohû* in Isa 44:9 as "unreality" and explains that the word "suggests an absence of all life and power" (*The Book of Isaiah*, NICOT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972], 3:172).

[47]Westermann, 103.

[48]Job 26:7a: *nōṭeh ṣāpôn ál ~ tōhû // *Job 26:7b: *tōleh ʾereṣ ál ~ bʿlî ~ mâ.*

[49]Westermann, 103.

[50]BDB, 442; Holladay, 146.

[51]Isa 45:18f: *lō ʾ~ tōhû bʿrāʾāh // *Isa 45:18g: *lāšebet yṣārāh.* We can verify that it is a structure in parallel panels which is marked by the following microstructure:
  A *lō ʾ~ tōhû* [Earth] not to be a desert or uninhabited place
    B *bʿrāʾāh* he created it
  A' *lāšebet* to be inhabited
    B' *yṣārāh* he formed it
We observe a clear antithetical parallelism between A \\ A', *lō ʾ~ tōhû* "[Earth] not to be a desert or uninhabited place" // *lāšebet* "[Earth] to be inhabited." As Watson points out when referring to the parallel types of words: "*antonymic word-pairs* are made up of words opposite in meaning and are normally used in antithetic parallelism" (131). At the same time, there is a synonymous parallelism between B // B', *bʿrāʾāh* "he created it" //

did not create the earth to be uninhabited or desert but to be inhabited. Gen 1:2 can be understood in the same sense, that God created the earth to be inhabited, but "it was still desert or uninhabited" during the initial stage of the creation though it was in no sense in a chaotic state.

In Isa 45:19 the term *tōhû* has been interpreted in two ways: concrete (locative) and abstract. The syntax is always understood in the same way: *tōhû* as an adverb that modifies the verbal clause *baqqešûnî*, as part of the direct speech.[52] The *Tg. Isa.* analyzes *tōhû* in the same way: "¡Buscad en vano (*lryqnw*) mi temor!"[53] However, its meaning and grammatical function must be analyzed by considering the parallel structure of the complete verse.[54] Therefore, from the literary structure in parallel panels, B' *tōhû* is parallel with B *bimeqôm ereṣ ḥōšek* "in a land of darkness" (NIV). In Tsumura's words: "*Tōhû* without a preposition directly corresponds either to *ereṣ ḥōšek* or to *ḥōšek*. . . . In this case, the term *tōhû*, corresponding directly to *ḥōšek* 'darkness,' probably means 'desolation.'"[57] To conclude, we must point out that in the Targums, the Talmudic and the Midrashic literature *tōhû* is interpreted as "waste, desolation; vanity, idleness."[57]

*Thw *in Ugaritic Literature*

Once we have analyzed the etymology and the usage of *tōhû* in the OT, we consider its etymology and usage in the Ugaritic literature. Until recently,

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yṣārāh "he formed it." In Watson's words: "*synonymous word-pairs* comprise a large class with a broad spectrum. . . . Its components are synonyms or near-synonyms and therefore almost interchangeable in character" (ibid.).

[52]D. T. Tsumura, "*Tōhû* in Isaiah XLV 19," *VT* 38 (1988): 361-364, esp. 361.

[53]J. Ribera Florit, *El Targum de Isaías* (Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1988), 192.

[54]Isa 45:19a: *lō'bassēter dibbartî* // Isa 45:19c: *lō' āmar'tî l'zera 'ya 'āqōb*. Isa 45:19b: *bim'qôm ereṣ ḥōšek* // Isa 45:19d: *tōhû baqq'šûnî*. We can observe that it is a structure in parallel panels that is marked by the following microstructures:
  A *lō'bassēter dibbartî* I have not spoken in secret
      B *bim'qôm ereṣ ḥōšek* from somewhere in a land of darkness
  A' *lō' āmar'tî l'zera 'ya 'āqōb* I have not said to Jacob's descendants
      B' *tōhû baqq'šûnî* 'Seek me in vain' (NIV)
The syntactical and morphological parallelism is evident between A \\ A' in the negative sentence, and the tense and the person of the verb, *lō'dibbartî* negative+Pi'el perfect 1 common singular // *lō' āmar'tî* negative+Qal perfect 1 common singular. Meanwhile, there is a semantical parallelism between B // B', *ereṣ ḥōšek* // *tōhû*, with the same nouns as in Gen 1:2 (for a linguistic study of the different types of biblical parallelisms, see Berlin, 32-58).

[57]Tsumura, 362-363.

[57]M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Title, 1943), 1651.

recently, the etymology of *tōhû* was explained in the light of the Arabic *tîh*, waterless desert, trackless wilderness.[58] However, as Tsumura points out, the Arabic term, with a second weak consonant *h*, does not explain the final long *û* of the Hebrew *tōhû*.[59]

The Ugaritic term equivalent to the Hebrew *tōhû* is the *thw* nominal form that appears only once in the Ugaritic literature,[60] in the cycle of *Baal and Mot* as follows:

pnp.s.nps.lbim [15] *thw*
"'But my appetite is an appetite of lions (in) the waste,

hm.brlt.anhr [16] *bym*
"'just as the longing of dolphin(s) is in the sea.[61]

Del Olmo Lete presents the following translation of the same text: "Tengo, sí, el apetito del león de la estepa, o la gana del tiburón (que mora) en el mar."[62] In the context of the two lines of Ugaritic text, *lbim.thw* "of a lion in the steppe [desert]" corresponds to *anhr.bym*, "of a shark in the sea," since *npš* and *brlt* are a well known idiomatic pair.[63] Del Olmo Lete maintains that the Ugaritic term *thw* is a cognate of the Heb *tōhû*.[64]

Considering the evidence presented, we can affirm that the Ugaritic term *thw* is a cognate of the Heb *tōhû* and both have a common meaning: "desert." They are probably nouns with a common Semitic root, **thw*. In relation to this, Huehnergard points out that the text or alphabetical form *thw* is probably **/tuhwu/* "wasteland."[65]

[58]Klein, 692.

[59]D. T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2: A Linguistic Investigation*, JSOT Supplement Series 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 17.

[60]See C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Analecta Orientalia 38 (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965), 178. It is the transliteration of the text 67.I.15: *thw.ham.brlt.anhr*; also M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, 2d ed., ALASP 8 (Münster: Ugarit, 1995), 22. It is the transliteration of the text 1.5 I 15: *thw.hm.brlt.anhr*.

[61]Ugaritic text 5 I 15, in J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2d ed., 1978), 68.

[62]G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaán* (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1981), 214. Translation: "I have, yes I do, the appetite of a lion on the steppe, the longing of a shark (who lives) in the sea."

[63]On p. 635 Del Olmo Lete says: "*thw*: n.m., 'estepa, desierto' (cf. heb. *tōhû*; cf. Gibson, 159)."

[64]Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, 1.18 IV 25, 36-37, 55, 58. Del Olmo Lete notes that *thw* "steppe, desert" is antonymous to *ym*, "sea."

[65]J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*, Harvard Semitic Series 32 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 84, 287.

Etymology of *bhw

Bōhû is similar to *tōhû* because it is a m.s.n. which means "'emptiness' of primeval earth";[66] "emptiness (// formlessness, + earth) ... formlessness and emptiness";[67] "Heb. *bōhû* 'vacuité, vide'; Arab. *'bahw-* 'espace dégagé, trouée, etc.', *bahiya* 'être vide, désert', *bahi* 'vide, désert'";[68] "void, waste";[69] "emptiness, chaos";[70] "Leere, Öde";[71] "vacío, caos, caos informe."[72]

The term *bōhû* appears only 3 times in the OT, always with *tōhû:* Gen 1:2; Isa 34:11; Jer 4:23. Its meaning will be considered in the section on the usage of phrase *tōhû wābōhû.* In the Targums, as well as the Talmudic and the Midrashic literature, Jastrow finds that *bōhû* is interpreted as "chaotic condition; always with תהו."[73]

*Bhw in the Ancient Near Eastern Literature

The etymology of *bōhû* has been explained through the Arabic *bahiya,* "to be hollow, empty."[74] This Arabic term is used to describe the "empty" state of a store or house that has little or nothing in it.[75] Therefore, its meaning is more concrete than abstract, "nothing, empty."

Albright suggested that the Akkadian term *bûbûtu,* "emptiness, hunger," comes from **buhbuhtu* and is possibly a cognate of the Heb *bōhû.*[76] However, the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* does not list "emptiness" as a meaning of *bûbûtu A.* It translates the term as: "famine, starvation, want, hunger, sustenance"[77]

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[66]BDB, 96.

[67]D.J.A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 2:97; in the Qumran materials we find the variant 1QM 17₄.

[68]D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des Racines Sémitiques* (Louvain: Peeters, 1994), 2:47.

[69]Holladay, 34.

[70]Klein, 65.

[71]Koehler and Baumgartner,107.

[72]Schockel, 102. Translation: "empty, chaos, shapeless chaos."

[73]Jastrow, 142.

[74]According to Klein, *bōhû* comes from the root of בהה, Arabic *bahw,* "hollow, empty" (65).

[75]E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1863; reprinted 1968), 269f.

[76]W.F. Albright, "Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philogy," *JBL* 43 (1924): 366.

[77]*CAD,* B:301-302.

and Von Soden suggests "hunger" as a possible meaning of *bûbûtu*. Neither of these Akkadian terms is a cognate of Heb *bōhû*.[78]

It has been also suggested that the term *bōhû* is related to Phoenician divine name βααυ, the goddess of "night."[79] Tsumura indicates that it is phonologically possible to propose an original "Canaanite" form */báhwu/ for both Heb *bōhû* and Phoenician */bah(a)wu/*, which was apparently re-presented in Greek script as *ba-a-u*.[80] But he adds that there is no evidence that the Hebrew term had any connection with the Phoenician divine name, except for its possible origin in a common root, **bhw*.[81] Likewise, Cassuto, after indicating that the word is found in the earlier Canaanite poems, adds: "but there is no connection apparently with the Mesopotamian goddess *Ba-u*."[82]

Recently Görg suggested that *tōhû* and *bōhû* must be explained by the Egyptian terms *th3* and *bh3*.[83] This proposal is highly speculative since no hendiadys of these terms in is known.[84]

In conclusion, taking into account available evidence, although there is no final etymological explanation, the Heb *bōhû* seems to be a Semitic term based on the root **bhw* and is probably a cognate of Arabic *bahiya*, "to be empty."

*Thw and *bhw in the OT

Albright's affirmation that the clause *tōhû wābōhû* means "chaos" and

[78]W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbach* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrossowitz, 1965-1981), 135.

[79]Albright, 366, n. 7.

[80]Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters*, 22. This author proposes the following evolution of the original form for the Heb *bōhû*: */báhwu/ > /búhwu/ > /buhuu/ > /búhu/ > /bóhu/*. But he immediately adds the possible origin of *bōhû* in an original form */bíhwu/* from a Ugaritic example written syllabically (ibid., n. 26).

[81]Ibid.

[82]U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis: From Adam to Noah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961; reprinted 1989), 22.

[83]M. Görg, "*Tōhû wābōhû*: ein Deutungsvorschlag," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 431-434; see also "Zur Struktur von Gen 1.2" *Biblische Notizen* 62 (1992): 11-15.

[84]*Hendiadys* is defined as: "The use of two substantives, joined by a conjunction, to express a single but complex idea. The two words may be collocated, be joined by a copula or be in apposition. Hendiadys is used very often in Hebrew. . . . The important aspect of hendiadys is that its components are no longer considered separately but as a single unit in combination" (Watson, 324-325). Such is the case of *tōhû wābōhû* in Gen 1:2. E. A. Speiser explains: "The Heb. pair *tōhû wābōhû* is an excellent example of hendiadys, that is, two terms connected by 'and' and forming a unit in which one member is used to qualify the other" (*Genesis*, AB [New York: Doubleday, 1962], 5, n. 2a).

that *tōhû* refers to a watery chaos is shared by many modern scholars, including Cassuto.[85] According to most modern scholars, the expression *tōhû wābōhû* in Gen 1:2 is understood as the primeval "chaos, confusion, disorganization" and is, therefore, in direct opposition to creation.[86] On the other hand, Börner-Klein points out that *tōhû wābōhû* describes the state of the earth immediately after God had created the world. From the LXX and the ancient Greek versions, as well as the Qumran materials, he concludes that the phrase refers to a created, yet shapeless earth.[87]

To complete the study we must consider Isa 34:11 and Jer 4:23, where *tōhû* and *bōhû* appear. In Isa 34:11 *tōhû* and *bōhû* appear in parallel expressions[88]: *qaw ~ tōhû* "the measuring line of *thw*" (NIV) // *'abnê ~ bōhû* "the plumb line of *bhw*" (NIV).[89] This passage clearly refers to an uninhabited place. Basic

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[85]Cassuto, 23. See also B. K. Waltke, "The Creation Account in Genesis 1:1-3, Part 3, The Initial Chaos Theory and the Precreation Chaos Theory," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 132 (1975): 225-228. Waltke interprets *tōhû wābōhû* as the chaotic state before creation. For a recent answer to Waltke's arguments, see M. F. Rooker, "Genesis 1:1-3: Creation o Re-Creation? Part 1," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 149 (1992): 316-323; and "Genesis 1:1-3: Creation or Re-Creation? Part 2," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 149 (1992): 411-427. Wenham speaks of "total chaos" (15-16).

[86]See Alexandre, 77; Beauchamp, 162-163; Hamilton, 108; Kidner, 44; Niditch, 18; Ross, 106; Sarna, 6; Stadelmann, 12; Wenham, 15; Westermann, 103; Young, 33-34.

[87]D. Börner-Klein, "*Tohu* und *bohu*: Zur Auslegungsgeschichte von Gen 1,2a," *Henoch* 15 (1993): 3-41. Börner-Klein analyzes the LXX, Origen, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which use a variety of images to translate the clause: "the earth was invisible," "uncultivated," "a desert," "an empty space," "nothing." His study of Qumran materials renders the following interpretations: "a desolate country," "vanity" and "empty." Rabbinic literature interprets the clause as a negative principle, primeval matter that God already found at creation, i.e., a substratum of the *creatio ex nihilo*, created matter but shapeless yet. In a Karaite commentary on Genesis he found the idea of an empty earth, without buildings. His study included Christian Bible commentaries that develop similar concepts in opposition to Aristotle's doctrine of the eternity of the world.

[88]See W. G. E. Watson, *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse*, JSOT Supplement Series 170 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 148, 153, 161, 165.

[89]Isa 34:11a: *wîrēšûhā qāʾat wĕqippôd* // Isa 34:11b: *wĕyanšôp wĕ ʿorēb yiškĕnû ~ bāh*; Isa 34:11c: *wĕnāṭâ ʿāleyhā qaw ~ tōhû* // Isa 34:11d: *wĕ ʾabnê ~ bōhû*. The structure in parallel panels is marked by the following microstructures:
   A *wîrēšûhā qāʾat wĕqippôd* The desert owl and screech owl will possess it
   A' *wĕyanšôp wĕ ʿorēb yiškĕnû ~ bāh* the great owl and the raven will nest there
      B *wĕnāṭâ ʿāleyhā qaw ~ tōhû* . . . the measuring line of chaos
      B' *wĕ ʾabnê ~ bōhû* and the plumb line of desolation (NIV)
There is a semantic and syntactic synonymous parallelism between A // A', *wîrēšûhā qāʾat wĕqippôd* "The desert owl and screech owl will possess it" // *wĕyanšôp wĕ ʿorēb yiškĕnû ~ bāh* "the great owl and the raven will nest there." In both cases, at a semantic level, the lines refer to birds. On the syntactic level, there is also a subject + verb (+ suffix) // subject + verb (+ suffix) parallelism, but with the components of the clauses inverted. Likewise, there is semantic and syntactic synonymous parallelism between B // B', *wĕnāṭâ*

to the understanding of Isa 34:11 as a land uninhabited by human beings is the grammatical and semantic parallelism of the verbs יָרַשׁ, "take possession of,"[90] Qal perfect 3 common plural *wîrēšûhā*, "will possess it"; and שָׁכַן "live in, settle,"[91] Qal imperfect 3 masculine plural *yiškᵉnû*, "will dwell," in Isa 34:11a and Isa 34:11b. Besides, an exegesis of the immediately preceding verse, Isa 34:10cd, clearly shows the meaning of Isa 34:11: an un-inhabited land.[92] In Young's words: "the land will become a desolation and waste so that it can no more receive inhabitants."[93] Therefore, in Isa 34:11 we do not find linguistic or exegetic evidence for any chaotic situation.

Jer 4:23 contains the following parallel structure:[94]

A *rāîtî ʾet ~ hāʾāreṣ* I looked at the earth,
B *wᵉhinnēh ~ tōhû wābōhû* and it was formless and empty;
    A' *wᵉ ʾel ~ haššāmayim* and at the heavens,
B' *wᵉ ʾēn ʾôrām* and their light was gone (NIV).

It has often been stated that Jer 4:23-26 describes a return to the primitive chaos.[95] But this point of view is highly influenced by the traditional exegesis of the expression *tōhû wābōhû* as "chaos" in Gen 1:2 and not on the analysis of the context of Jer 4:23. In vv. 23-26, each of the verses begins with *rāîtî*,

ā leyhā qaw ~ tōhû: "the measuring line of chaos" // *wᵉ ʾabnê ~ bōhû* "and the plumb line of desolation." In both lines we find the same nouns that appear in Gen 1:2, *tōhû* and *bōhû*. Finally, both nouns are in a construct relation (on grammatical, semantic, and syntactic parallelism, see Berlin, 31-102).

[90]BDB, 439; Holladay, 145.

[91]BDB, 1014-1015; Holladay, 371.

[92]Isa 34:10cd: *middôr lādôr teḥᵉrāb lᵉnēṣaḥ nᵉṣāhîm ʾeyn ʾōbēr bāh* "From generation to generation it will lie desolate; no one will ever pass through it again" (NIV). Thus Isa 34:10d interprets Isa 34:10c and 34:11 in a definite semantic parallelism to: *middôr lādôr teḥᵉrāb*, "From generation to generation it will lie desolate."

[93]Young indicates that the prophet Isaiah uses the language of Gen 1:2 (*Book of Isaiah*, 2:438).

[94]There is an antithetical semantic parallelism between A // A', *rāîtî ʾet ~ hāʾāreṣ* "I looked at the earth" // *wᵉ ʾel ~ haššāmayim* "and at the heavens." These are the basic components of the Hebrew conception of the bipartite structure of the universe, *earth and heavens*. There is also a grammatical and semantic parallelism between B // B', *wᵉhinnēh ~ tōhû wābōhû* "and it was formless and empty" // *wᵉ ʾēn ʾôrām* "and their light was gone." This parallelism can be observed at a grammatical level between the nouns *tōhû* and *bōhû* in 4:23b, and *ôr* in 4:23d, both are m.s.n.; at a semantic level, both concepts imply the lack of something, both on the earth ("formless and empty") and the heavens ("light").

[95]For example, Holladay affirms that Jeremiah "envisages a 'de-creation' of the cosmos, the world again become the chaos before creation began" (W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986], 1:164; see also W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986], 1:106-107).

"I saw," and the word $w^e hinn\bar{e}h$, "and behold," is repeated in each verse. The exegesis of verse 23 is completed and confirmed by the interpretation of verses 25-26, which are translated: "I looked, and there were no people; every bird in the sky had flown away. I looked, and the fruitful land was a desert; all its towns lay in ruins before the Lord" (NIV).

There is a precise positive-negative syntactic parallelism[96] between the vv. 23 and 25-26, "I looked at the earth" (4:23a) // "I looked and there were no people (4:25a); "I looked, and the fruitful land was a desert" (4:26a) and "and at the heavens" (4:23c) // "every bird in the sky had flown away" (4:25b). Therefore, v. 23a, "I looked at the earth," is interpreted in vv. 25a-26a, "I looked, and there were no people"; "I looked, and the fruitful land was a desert." Likewise, v. 23c, "and at the heavens" is also interpreted by v. 25b, "every bird in the sky had flown away." Therefore, the earth or land of Jer 4:23 was uninhabited, with no human beings on it; "there were no people." It was also arid and unproductive: "the fruitful land was a desert." On the other hand, the heavens of Jer 4:23 are empty, without light ("their light was gone") and without birds ("every bird in the sky had flown away").[97]

The interpretation of $t\bar{o}h\hat{u}\ w\bar{a}b\bar{o}h\hat{u}$ in the *Targums* also helps solve the difficulties inherent in the interpretation of Gen 1:2. On Gen 1:2 the *Tg. Neof.* reads as follows, according to two translators: Díez Macho and G. Anderson.

> Y la tierra estaba *tehî'* y *behî'* deshabitada de hombres y bestias y vacía de todo cultivo de plantas y árboles.[98]

> Now the earth was *tehî'* and *behî'* [meaning it was] desolate (*sdy*) with respect to people and animals and empty (*ryqn'*) in respect to all manner of agricultural work and trees.[99]

On his translation of *Tg. Neof.* Anderson says:

> This text first reproduces the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew pair $t\bar{o}h\hat{u}$ $w\bar{a}b\bar{o}h\hat{u}$ and then interprets them. The first term, $t\bar{o}h\hat{u}$, is interpreted to mean an absence of faunal life; the second term, $b\bar{o}h\hat{u}$, the absence of

[96]See Berlin, 53-57.

[97]Jer 4:23a: $r\bar{a}\hat{i}t\hat{i}\ 'et \sim h\bar{a}\ '\bar{a}re\d{s}$ // Jer 4:25a-26a: $r\bar{a}\hat{i}t\hat{i}\ w^e hinn\bar{e}h\ '\bar{e}n\ h\bar{a}\ '\bar{a}d\bar{a}m \ldots r\bar{a}\hat{i}t\hat{i}$ $w^e hinn\bar{e}h\ hakkarmel\ hammidb\bar{a}r$; Jer 4:23c: $w^e\ \dot{e}l \sim ha\check{s}\check{s}\bar{a}mayim$ // Jer 4:25b: $w^e\ kol \sim \bar{o}p$ $ha\check{s}\check{s}\bar{a}mayim\ n\bar{a}d\bar{a}d\hat{u}$. The following microstructures are evident.
　A $r\bar{a}\hat{i}t\hat{i}\ \dot{e}t \sim h\bar{a}\ '\bar{a}re\d{s}$ I looked at the earth
　　B $w^e\ \dot{e}l \sim ha\check{s}\check{s}\bar{a}mayim$ and at the heavens
　A'$r\bar{a}\hat{i}t\hat{i}\ w^e hinn\bar{e}h\ \dot{e}n\ h\bar{a}\ '\bar{a}d\bar{a}m \ldots r\bar{a}\hat{i}t\hat{i}\ w^e hinn\bar{e}h\ hakkarmel\ hammidb\bar{a}r$ I looked, and there were no people . . . I looked, and the fruitful land was a desert
　　B' $w^e\ kol \sim \bar{o}p\ ha\check{s}\check{s}\bar{a}mayim\ n\bar{a}d\bar{a}d\hat{u}$ every bird in the sky had flown away (NIV).

[98]A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti: Targum Palestiniense* (Madrid: CSIC, 1968), 1:2.

[99]G. Anderson, "The Interpretation of Genesis 1:1 in the Targums," *CBQ* 52 (1990): 23.

floral life. No longer do *tōhû wābōhû* connote a primeval substrate "chaos." Rather they simply describe the earth in an unfinished state. The earth was not created as a state of chaos; rather it is simply devoid of the living matter which will be created in days 3, 5 and 6. Exegesis has brought order to the unordered. All other targums follow this general exegetical direction.[100]

In brief, the expression *tōhû wābōhû* refers to a "desert-uninhabited" (Isa 34:11; Jer 4:23) and "arid or unproductive" (Jer 4:23) state.[101] Neither text gives any linguistic or exegetical evidence to support the existence of a situation of mythic chaos in the earth.

*Thw *and* *bhw *in the Ugaritic Literature*

Several studies have pointed to the similarity between the Heb *tōhû wābōhû* and the Ugaritic *tu-a-bi-[ú(?)]*.[102] Tsumura proposes a possible explanation of the morphological correspondence between the Hebrew expression *tōhû wābōhû* and the Ugaritic *tu-a-bi-[ú(?)]*.[103] It is, therefore, possible that the Ugaritic *tu-a-bi-[ú(?)]* and the Hebrew *tōhû wābōhû* are two versions of the same idiomatic expression in the Northwestern Semitic.[104]

However, scholars such as J. Huehnergard have proposed a different morphological relation, considering the Hebrew expression *tōhû wābōhû* as an equivalent of the Ugaritic *tu-a-pí-[ku(?)]*,[105] since the verb form *hpk*, "to upset or overthrow," is identified in the Ugaritic alphabetical texts.[106] In this way, both interpretations *tu-a-bi-[ú(?)]* and *tu-a-pí-[ku(?)]* are possible from a phonological and morphological point of view.

Conclusion

To conclude, considering OT and ANE literature, the expression *tōhû*

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[100]Ibid.

[101]See also Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters*, 41.

[102]See, for example, J. C. de Moor, "El, the Creator," in *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*, ed. G. Rendsburg et al. (New York: KTAV, 1980), 183, and n. 58; Tsumura, *Earth and the Waters*, 24.

[103]According to Tsumura, the first half of the syllabic orthography, *tu-a*, probably represents /*tuha*/ since in the Ugaritic syllabic ortography the grapheme <*a*> can be used as a syllable /*ha*/. In the second half of the syllabic orthography, *bi-[ú]*, if the second sign is correctly restored, it can represent /*bihu*/ since the grapheme <*ú*> of the syllabic orthography is used in syllables /*hu*/ (ibid.)

[104]Ibid.

[105]*UVST*, 84, 121, 315, 322.

[106]Ibid.; Gordon, 392a n° 788; Dietrich et al.,1.103:52. Sumerian: *BAL* = Akkadian: *na-bal-ku-tu₄* = Hurrian: *tap-su-hu-um-me* = Ugaritic: *tu-a-pí-[ku(?)]*.

To conclude, considering OT and ANE literature, the expression *tōhû wābōhû* in Gen 1:2 must be interpreted as the description of a "desert, uninhabited, arid and unproductive" place.[107] The earth of Gen 1:2, which "was" *hāyᵊtâ tōhû wābōhû*, refers to the earth in an "empty" state with no vegetation, animals, or people. Hence the title of this series of articles: "The Earth of Genesis 1:2: Abiotic or Chaotic." The concept that appears in Gen 1:2 is an abiotic concept of the earth; i.e., Gen 1:2 describes an earth in which there is no life; it presents the absence of life—vegetable, animal, and human. That life appears in the following verses of Genesis 1 by the *fiat* of God. The Hebrew idiomatic expression *tōhû wābōhû* refers to an earth that is "uninhabited and unproductive," owing to the absence of life, of fauna, and of flora at this stage of the creation. At a later stage the earth will be "inhabited and productive." In no case does the phrase describe a chaotic state of the earth as the result of mythical combats between the gods of the myths and legends of Israel's neighbors.

The main reason why the author describes the earth as *tōhû wābōhû* is to inform the audience that the earth "is not yet" the earth such as they know it. Westermann puts it this way: "Creation and the world are to be understood always from the viewpoint of or in the context of human existence."[108] In other words, it is necessary to use literary language and figures common to the audience to communicate to human beings the theme of creation. Therefore, the author uses in this verse language originating in his life experience (desert, empty, uninhabited, unproductive places) to explain the initial situation or condition of the earth.

The words of Westermann summarize well the findings on Gen 1:2:

> There is no sign of either personification or mythological allusion in the biblical use of תהו. . . . The course of the debate about the mythical explanation of ובהו תהו indicates clearly that the arguments for a mythical background are becoming weaker and weaker. The discussion can now be considered closed.[109]

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[107]See also N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job: A New Commentary* (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1967), 381: "in Gen 1:2 . . . [*tōhû*] describes the barrenness of the earth before anything grew on it."

[108]Westermann, 104.

[109]Westermann, 103.

HOPHNI IN THE IZBET SARTAH OSTRACON
A REJOINDER

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My thanks are due to Lawrence J. Mykytiuk for rescuing my interpretation of a segment of line 4 of the Izbet Sartah Ostracon from the ranks of obscurity. His critique of my reading of the name of Hophni in this passage follows the standard scholarly view that the first four lines of this text were written by a person who was just practicing the alphabet that was inscribed in the fifth line of the text (*AUSS* 36 [1998]: 69-80). This position does not really solve the problem of the text; it only moves it to another area. The question then is, what letters did the scribe practice here? Did he practice only letters, or did he also practice words?

Since Mykytiuk's critique of my reading of the three letters *ḥpn* is more narrowly focused than those issues, we may leave them to future studies and simply reexamine the photographs of the disputed letters in line 4. All interpreters of the text have agreed that the first of these letters is the box-shaped *ḥeth*.

The second letter, immediately to the right of the box, is a perfect parallel to the *pe*, with the exception that its stance is different—its angled head faces to the left rather than the right, as it does in the alphabetic line. This does not help to identify the letter as a *gimmel*, because the *gimmel* in the alphabetic line also faces to the right, and it is much larger than the *pe*. This accounts for the reading of the *pe*.

The main, new addition, resulting from my reexamination of the photographs, is a fourth letter in this name. It is a fork-headed *yōd* that was incised with double lines over the left end of the *ʾaleph* with which the next word begins. When viewed with magnification, it is seen that the forked head angles up to the right, and its tail angles down to the left.

This additional information would imply, therefore, that a revised reading of the name of Hophni should be given here. It is not *ḥpn* as I previously wrote but *ḥpny*, as it now reads with this reexamination of the text. My new line drawing of this brief passage is given in **Figure 1**. This reading

rules out the noun, which means "hollow of the hand," and points instead in the direction of the personal name Hophni. Mytykiuk argues that even if this is the personal name of Hophni, "there could easily have been dozens of Hophnis in the place and time" (79). If so, then the obligation is upon Mytykiuk to produce evidence for them from onomastica collected from the ancient world. In the onomasticon of the Hebrew Bible there is only one Hophni, and he is the son of Eli, who is known from 1 Sam 4.
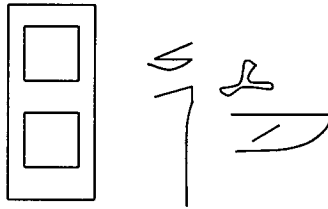
Fig. 1. The name *HPNY* in line 4 of the Izbet Sartah Ostracon.

Given the facts, archaeologically speaking, that Izbet Sartah is one of the new types of Israelite sites that spread over the country in the early Iron Age, and that it looks down on the location of the battlefield between it and the Philistine camp at Aphek (later Antipatris, located on the grounds of the park of Petah Tikvah), the Hophni in this text should be identified with the only Hophni that is known from the Hebrew Bible.

AMMON (עוני / עמון) IN THE HEBREW BIBLE
A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL
CONTEXT OF SELECTED REFERENCES TO
THE AMMONITES OF TRANSJORDAN

Researcher: James R. Fisher, Ph.D., 1998
Advisor: J. Bjornar Storfjell

The study of the Transjordanian Iron-Age (*ca*. 1200-550 BCE) state of Ammon is important to students of the Bible because of the numerous references to the Ammonites. Included in the historical and prophetic sections of the Hebrew canon. The book of Genesis traces the ancestry of the "Sons of Ammon" to an eponymous ancestor named Ben Ammi—son/grandson of Abraham's nephew Lot (Gen 39:17).

Chapter 1 points out how Ammon—though often ignored or slighted in studies up to the mid-twentieth century—increasingly receives scholarly attention. It also shows a need for applying the results of archaeological research to facilitate a fuller understanding of the biblical text.

Chapter 2 outlines recent trends in the relationship between the fields of biblical studies and archaeology. Criteria are set forth for evaluating published works combining emphases on the fields of biblical studies and archaeology, especially as they relate to the study of the Ammonites. The term "archaeological context" is examined and differentiated from "archaeological commentary."

Chapter 3 tabulates all references to the Ammonites in the Hebrew Bible and compares key references to those in the LXX. A study of the familial relationships within the courts of David and Solomon suggests interesting possibilities for identifying a number of interrelationships which existed between the royal houses of Ammon and Israel. Many Ammonite references cluster around two important themes—tribal/kindred loyalty and honor for Yahweh's temple (or a lack thereof).

Chapter 4 gives a topographical and archaeological background for selected Ammonite references. Ammon's heartland (near modern Amman) was centered around the headwaters of the Jabbok River (Nahal Zarqa), strategically located along important trade corridors—the north-south King's Highway and the east-west routes to Jerusalem and to the Canaanite coast. Districts of Ammonite control are identified, and an archaeological summary is given for each biblical site with Ammonite connections and for individuals identified as being Ammonites. Occupations of Ammonite people, the status of women in Ammonite society, and interrelations between Ammon and other contemporary states are explored. The

comparative richness of Ammon's cultural heritage and its rise to relative prosperity as a vassal state is chronicled. Ammon's inclusion in the Hebrew prophetic oracles is briefly mentioned.

Chapter 5 summarizes the interrelationship between biblical references to Ammon and the results of archaeological research. The archaeological evidence is shown to be consistent with the biblical portrayal of Ammon in the Hebrew Bible. However, additional in-depth study of the importance of Ammon in Hebrew prophetic literature is recommended.

THE LAYING ON OF HANDS ON JOSHUA
AN EXEGETICAL STUDY OF
NUMBERS 27:12-23 AND DEUTERONOMY 34:9

Researcher: **Keith Edward Krieghoff Mattingly**, Ph.D., 1998
Adviser: Jacques B. Doukhan

This study investigates the procedural techniques, symbolic meanings, and tangible effects of the laying on of hands (יד סמך) in the installation of Joshua to the position of Israel's leader as presented in Num 27:12-23 and Deut 34:9.

The Introduction reviews the purpose, delimitations, and methodology of the dissertation and also provides a review of the different and sometimes conflicting opinions regarding the prototypical nature of Joshua's ordination, the symbolic meaning of laying on of hands in ordination, and the number of hands used.

Chapter 1 offers a study of the ancient Near Eastern cognates and related terms of סמך and יד in a representative sample of literature from the ancient Near Eastern world. This study indicates that hand symbolism in the ancient Near Eastern world was very rich and had broad application but that laying on of hands in leadership-transfer scenarios appears to be limited to one incident in Egypt.

Chapter 2 offers a study of סמך, יד, יד סמך in the Old Testament. The Old Testament world shared in the rich hand symbolism of the world around it, but adds unique understanding to the area of laying on of hands in transfers of leadership. The main focus of chapters 1 and 2 limits the study of hand symbolism to the perception, communication, and transference of status. Hand symbolism plays a significant role in each of these three areas for both the ancient Near Eastern and biblical worlds which enhances an interpretation of the usage of Moses' hand in Joshua's installation to leadership.

Chapter 3 provides an exegetical study first of Num 27: 12-23 and second of Deut 34:9. Each text is analyzed in the following order: first, it is studied in its relationship to the book in which it is found; second, its structure is analyzed; third, its uniqueness is studied; fourth, analysis is given to its elements which accompany the laying on of hands. The chapter then draws conclusions that apply to the laying on of hands in both texts. Areas of uniqueness, disagreement, and agreement between the two passages are reviewed. The chapter finally draws conclusions from the exegetical study with respect to the procedural techniques, symbolic meanings, and tangible effects of Moses laying hands on Joshua.

Finally, a summary and conclusions bring together the major findings of this

research. This dissertation concludes that Joshua's reception of the laying on of hands played a critical, necessary, and significant role in his ordination to the office of Israel's leader. The evidence indicates the סמך יד is central to the essence and purpose of ritual investiture as described in Num 27:12-23 and Deut 34:9. This essence and purpose permeate the procedural details, the symbolic meaning, and the tangible results of סמך יד. While the other elements of the installation ritual were important, the laying on of hands was indeed the strong identifying mark that bound them all together.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TERMINOLOGICAL PATTERNS TO THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF LEVITICUS

Researcher: Wilfried Warning, Ph.D., 1998
Adviser: Richard M. Davidson

The aim and purpose of this dissertation is to investigate both the microstructure and macrostructure of Leviticus on the basis of terminological patterns.

The first chapter deals with the method of analysis and the scope of the study. Aiming at detecting the structural outline, it is concerned only with terminology and not with the theology of Leviticus. The methodology employed is one aspect of rhetorical criticism.

Chapter 2 presents the basic working hypothesis: Leviticus has been structured by means of thirty-seven divine speeches (DS). The plausibility of this hypothesis is tested by applying it to Lev 16:1, by investigating the terminological interrelationship of chapters 1-3 and chapter 27, and by probing the terminology employed in Lev 11; in an excursus the interrelation of Lev 1-5 and 6-7 is investigated.

The third chapter is devoted to scrutinizing terminological patterns present on the microstructural level, that is, the level of the distinct DS, in the whole of Leviticus. This part shows that grasping the compositional outline of a given periscope is an indispensable prerequisite for understanding its content.

Chapter 4 examines the validity of the working hypothesis on the macrostructural level, that is, the terminological interrelatedness of the distinct and different DS. This part evidences the intricate terminological and hence theological cohesion of the extant text of Leviticus.

The fifth chapter gives a general summary and conclusions.

The appended concordance of Leviticus, which has been arranged according to the distribution of the vocabulary of the individual DS, presents the total vocabulary of Leviticus.

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF CREATION CONCEPTS
AND THEMES IN THE BOOK OF PSALMS

Researcher: **Gnanamuthu S. Wilson**, Ph.D., 1998
Adviser: William H. Shea

This descriptive analysis provides a comprehensive and wholistic view of Creation in the Book of Psalms. It is viewed in the background of the rest of the Creation material found in the Old Testament and the ancient Near Eastern religious records. Hermeneutics and analytic induction have helped to create a synthesis of major concepts and themes about Creation.

After an introductory overview of the three categories of documents (chap. 1), a literature review on the Psalms (chap. 2) analyzes eleven major studies on Creation, followed by seven studies of individual Psalms and five minor studies. None of these provide a comprehensive, wholistic treatment of Creation.

Ancient Near Eastern views of the Creation (chap. 3) include Egyptian (Memphite, Heliopolitan, and other) as well as Mesopotamian sources (Sumerian, Babylonian, Canaanite/Ugaritic). Nine authorities touch upon similar themes in varying degrees of emphasis: perfection and redemption, rulership and sovereignty, creativity and generativity, clashes of forces and conquests, protection and providence, proclamation and praise.

The discussion of Old Testament Creation is not limited to the Psalms and includes passages and poetry in Genesis, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Amos as well as other minor references. Common themes are the earth's origin, creation of humans, deliverance, salvation, separation and reconciliation, beginnings and endings, undoing and restoration (apocalyptic and eschatological).

Creation themes within the Psalms include the unique role of Yahweh as Creator and Redeemer of Israel (chap. 5). Of the nine major Psalms with Creation ideas, Pss 8, 33, 104, and 148 are particularly relevant to the establishment of Israel. Minor Creation statements in other Psalms are also reviewed. In a panorama, the received text of each Psalm in its final form displays a major theme which leaps forward to the next, presenting an organic and unified theology. God and humanity are linked in Creation, with a reciprocal expression of feelings. *Hesed* is God's "loving-kindness" to Israel. Yahweh is Israel's deliverer, protector, redeemer. He rebukes those who interfere with Israel.

The outcomes of this study have obtained a wholistic Creation theology with a blending of the programmatic and prophetic picture of Creation as a result. Several concepts and themes have merged together to form a greater view of Creation which includes God, world, humanity, history, future, and eschatology. The understanding of archtypes and their cosmic relationships needs further investigation. There are still many individual concepts which need a closer look. Each theme holds promise for more intensive research and appreciation. The unity and diversity among the multifarious themes of Creation in all the ancient Near Eastern religious traditions may require continuous investigations in the years ahead.

AN ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF
VLADIMIR LOSSKY'S DOCTRINE OF *THEOSIS*

Researcher: **Eugene Zaitsev, Ph.D., 1998**
Adviser: Miroslav M. Kiš

This dissertation analyzes and evaluates the doctrine of *theosis* as it is presented in the work of Vladimir Lossky, one of the leading contemporary spokesmen for Orthodox theology. Two main questions set up the purpose of the study: Is Lossky's soteriological position biblical, and is Lossky's understanding of *theosis* in agreement with the tradition he belongs to.

The method of study is historical-analytical. First, the development of the idea of *theosis* is traced in the Greek Fathers, in the Byzantine tradition (mainly Gregory Palamas), and in Lossky's immediate antecedents in the Russian religious tradition. This historical background identifies two major deviations in the understanding of salvation against which Lossky holds his position: a juridical view of salvation in Western theology on the one hand, and *panentheosis* of Russian sophiological school, on the other.

Analysis of Lossky's teaching of *theosis* reveals that it is a remarkably unified system, where Christian epistemology, Trinitarian theology, Christology, anthropology, soteriology, and ecclesiology are held together by a common theme, which is attaining union with God. Lossky argues the ontological (real, not metaphorical) character of *theosis*, although he affirms that in his union with God man is not dissolved into an impersonal reabsorption into the divine nature as it is in Neoplatonism. In affirming the ontological character of *theosis*, Lossky exploits two crucial distinctions that were made in Orthodox theology: essence/energy and person/nature.

In evaluating the main biblical and theological (philosophical) presuppositions for Lossky's view of *theosis*, the criteria of adequacy and internal consistency are used. The weakness of Lossky's system with regard to his dealing with the Scripture is seen in the author's rigorous apophaticism as the only way to the true knowledge of God, in his selective use of the Scripture and interpreting the selected material by means of the philosophical categories, and excluding the covenantal, sacrificial, and substitutive language of the Bible from his vocabulary. Lossky's employment of the metaphysical categories, such as essence, energy, and *hypostasis*, taken from the different historical and philosophical milieus, shows a lack of internal consistency in his system, creating a tension between essence/energy and person/nature distinctions. It seems that in describing a reality of *theosis*, Lossky fails to integrate two models (essence/energy and person/nature) in a unified system that would demonstrate a close interrelation of the concepts of 'essence', 'energy', and 'person'.

However, Lossky's doctrine of *theosis* with its synthesis of Christology and Pneumatology, his wholistic anthropology, his teaching on the personhood and understanding of reality as being in a relation to God, are very relevant in the experience of the contemporary Church in both East and West.

BOOK REVIEWS

Berryman, Phillip. *Religion in the Megacity.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996. 210 pp. Paper, $18.00.

Urban practitioners, particularly those from Latin America, will appreciate the time and attention that Phillip Berryman has given, in this book, to contrasting practices in Roman Catholic and Protestant churches in Sao Paulo, where Protestants are rapidly growing and may have a majority, and in Caracas, where the Roman Catholics are still very much the majority.

Latin America is a very urban continent (72% of the population live in cities). This means that the average Latin American is a city dweller, not a rural peasant. People familiar with Latin America can attest to the vibrancy of Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Caracas, Rio de Janeiro. It is also a continent that has witnessed numerous changes in recent years. In addition to urbanization, there have been the rise and subsequent fall of liberation theologies, and the fluctuations of democratic and totalitarian governments. Berryman looks at all of this through the eyes of a Roman Catholic who appreciates his own church and yet is sympathetic to the Protestant churches. His book allows us to see the churches and surrounding sociopolitical events through the lives and personalities of individual Christians—leaders, followers, and would-be leaders.

Because the Roman Catholic Church cannot escape being affected by political events in a predominantly Catholic society, Berryman uses these political events as a means of focusing on the activities of the Catholic Church. He notes the difficulties that conservative administrators have in dealing with social and theological progressives in the religio-political mix. He contrasts this with the relatively greater freedom enjoyed by the Protestants, but inevitably notes their "other worldliness" and distance from both politics and society.

In the first part of the book, each chapter is devoted to specific issues, theological attempts to fill the void created by the demise of liberation theology; progressive Catholicism and charismatic renewal; and the power, voice and place of women in the two communities.

The second part of the book begins with a general introduction to Caracas and the history of the Catholic Church in Venezuela. Berryman then offers pictures of pastoral practice in the city.

The last two chapters attempt to draw from his preceding observations implications for both the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. In chapter 12 he notes how separate the two communities are and how little the Catholic Church knows of the Protestant churches. Thus, while they are actually in rather strong competition, the Catholic Church is mainly fighting its own internal battles rather than sensing the need to respond to an outside threat to its hegemony. The church in Brazil, however, has had more vocal progressives within its ranks and thus a better view of the external conflict.

Berryman notes that the two communities have distinctly different goals. The emphasis among the Roman Catholics is to build the church as a religio-political structure and maintain its institutional strengths. The Protestant emphasis is on leading people into a personal relationship with Jesus Christ through conversion and subsequent worship experiences. Since the Protestants have no hegemony to defend, they are still in some competition with each other as well as the Catholic hegemony. For Catholics, Berryman suggests, the question for the future is "not simply quantitative (numbers of those entering religious life) but qualitative: is there a younger generation able to grasp the signs of the times and to respond to the new challenges of the twenty-first century?" (157).

For Protestants (chap. 13) the issue is one of division within the body. Berryman draws the family tree of Protestants from two parents: non-Pentecostal and Pentecostal, with the former divided into "historic" and "faith missions" and the latter divided into "classical" Pentecostal and "neo-Pentecostal," with the latter now growing in dominance. Neither of these two groups has a political agenda, and thus they live outside the mainstream of the Catholic society. This lack, from Berryman's perspective, leaves them less focused and more "other worldly," focusing instead on their relative degrees of conservatism and forms of leadership development.

The final chapter (14) focuses on important lessons each group might learn from the other as they lurch toward the twenty-first century in Latin America.

This book is an excellent introduction to church life in the two cities described and will be appreciated in college and seminary classes on urban mission and ministry.

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Blomberg, Craig L. *Jesus and the Gospels: An Introduction and Survey*. Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1997. 384 pp. Hardcover, $24.99.

In the midst of the maelstrom of theological wranglings, and the revivification of the search for the historical Jesus ("the third quest"), comes a volume which aims to inform and guide theological students, and by extension enlighten the understanding of interested spectators.

Craig L. Blomberg, professor of New Testament at Denver Seminary, is no stranger to the Gospels, having written two other volumes on this topic. In this volume, *Jesus and the Gospels: An Introduction and Survey*, he surveys the Gospels in their historical and cultural contexts. In so doing, he examines their differing purposes and explores their implications for contemporary study, discussion, and Christian living. Twenty years of exposure to theological thought on the Gospels convinced Blomberg of a need for a volume which provides a systematically balanced treatment of the five essential aspects of study in the Gospels. These are (1) historical background, (2) critical methods, (3) introduction, (4) a survey of the life of Christ, and (5) historical and theological syntheses. Blomberg arranges the nineteen chapters of his book in accordance with these five areas.

In part 1, he carefully outlines the historical background of the political,

religious, and socioeconomic factors at play from Intertestamental to New
Testament times. In his comprehensive coverage he describes and explains events,
systems, beliefs, religions, ideologies, and philosophies. His examination of
Gnosticism is especially noteworthy, as he discusses the similarities between
Gnostic and Christian thought. This treatment makes the book an effective
pedagogical tool. Of concern is his footnote endorsement of the idea that Jesus
drank alcoholic beverages (59). This has implications for contemporary
Christianity which beg for further exploration.

In part 2, he examines the historical and literary criticisms of the Gospels by
outlining the historical development and current hermeneutical peculiarities of
such disciplines as source criticism, form criticism, redaction criticism, canon
criticism, narrative criticism, structuralism, and poststructuralism. Blomberg's
ample analysis of the parable of the Wicked Servant (Matt 21:33-46; Mk 12:1-112;
and Lk 20:9-19) from the above perspectives is a useful addition to his book (see
108ff).

Blomberg seems overly defensive of the Markan priority he subscribes to.
This is understandable since his main arguments and his extended deliberations are
built upon this position. He recognizes, however, that all the objections against
this position cannot be dismissed easily. This is especially evident in face of the
strong patristic testimony which would favor Matthean priority (90). In defense,
Blomberg proposes that Matthew may have read Mark while doing a stage-by-stage
composition of his Gospel (90). This highly speculative explanation receives
justification only from the fact that in the area of speculation, it does not stand
alone.

Part 3 looks at the introduction to the four Gospels. Proceeding on the
tentative assumption that they are anonymous and that the names of the Gospels
were not supplied by the authors themselves, Blomberg proposes to invert the
normal sequence applied in the discussion of introductory topics (113). In this
approach, structure and theology (based upon the information discernible in the
texts) would be discussed first, and afterwards "the more speculative considerations
of setting and author" (113).

He starts out by warning about the danger of "imposing too much structure
or symmetry when trying to outline these books," while ignoring the fact that the
Gospels were written to be read aloud (115). He examines Mark, Matthew, and
Luke along the line of structure, theology (views of Jesus and other distinctive
theories), circumstances, and authorship. In view of the Gospel of John's evident
peculiarities, the line of approach differs slightly with the issue of historicity
preceding the others. Blomberg's structural reconstruction and theological
reasoning accord with his evangelical perspective. His proposed thematic structure
is sound, although the parameters of some of his pericopes are different from those
of other scholars.

In his study of the issue of authorship, Blomberg examines the pros and cons
of traditional authorship. It is clear, however, that he relies heavily on the
testimonies of the church fathers and the authoritative, historical voice of
Josephus. From this he concludes that Mark, Matthew, and Luke were written
during the '60s, and John in the '80s. It is obvious that such conclusions are

conducive for Markan Priority. Of the synoptics, Luke poses the greatest challenge
to Blomberg's approach. However, he solves this by looking at the chiastic link
between Luke and the Book of Acts (140ff).

Of much concern to me in this section are the following: First, Blomberg
downplays the prominence of women clearly evident in Mark's Gospel (120).
Second, he introduces themes that he doesn't explore. An example of this is his
implied belief that empowerment for obedience to moral demands was not
available before Christ (129). In the same vein, one has to question what he means
by a "law-free Christianity" (148). This lack of treatment may be made excusable
by the limitations of space, but it is indeed unfortunate.

In part 4, Blomberg provides a survey of the life of Christ. The first chapter
of this section surveys the various approaches to the historical Jesus by examining
works of scholars such as Bultmann and Schweitzer. His survey eventually brings
him face-to-face with the "Jesus Seminar," which he berates as having "wildly
improbable methodological presuppositions" (184). From this, Blomberg outlines
a brief chronology of the life of Christ based on selection of the Gospels' main
themes and patterns. It is interesting that he proposes to attempt the explanation
of "a few commonly held misinterpretations of passages" (178), but makes some
blatant mistakes himself.

For example, his use of Acts 10 to argue that God declares unclean food clean
(276) is a clear misinterpretation of a vision dealing with bigotry and racial
prejudice (see Acts 10:28). In addition, his use of Acts 20:7; 1 Cor 16:2; and Rev
1:10 as proof that Christians replaced Sabbath with Sunday lacks credibility, since
there is nothing within these passages authorizing such a change. I strongly suspect
that many evangelicals will also be alarmed at the prospect of Peter being the rock
upon which the church of God is built (278, 279).

Blomberg's concluding section, "Historical and Theological Synthesis," looks
at extrabiblical evidence for the Gospels' reliability, and concludes with a survey
of the theology of Jesus. The list of additional evidences he provides is a positive
feature of his book. The survey of the theology of Jesus is a fitting conclusion to
a valuable contribution to the study of the Man—Christ Jesus. It is not surprising
that Blomberg concludes with an appeal to follow Jesus.

Despite relatively few areas of concern, I am impressed with Blomberg's
pedagogical skills and wealth of knowledge. His interest in the person of Christ
more than the study of Christology is not only refreshing, but hopefully
infectious. His work is worth the reading.

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Brand, Leonard. *Faith, Reason, and Earth History: A Paradigm of Earth and
    Biological Origins by Intelligent Design.* Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews
    University Press, 1997. 350 pp. Hardcover, $34.99.

Scores of books interpreting earth history from a conservative Christian
perspective have been published in recent years, but few of these books have been
authored by persons as scientifically well-informed as Leonard Brand. Brand's

fundamental premise in *Faith, Reason, and Earth History* is that the Bible is "a body of information communicated to us by the God who has participated in the history and workings of our planet and of life" (87). While the Bible, he posits, "is not a scientific textbook in the sense of giving exhaustive scientific information, ... where the Bible does give scientific information, that information is accurate" (86). Thus, he believes the Creation stories in Gen 1 and 2 and the flood story in Gen 6-9 are scientifically trustworthy summaries of physical events that occurred within a temporal framework constrained by the genealogies in Gen 5 and 11. Life, in Brand's view, has experienced limited change and is thousands, not billions, of years old; moreover, Noah's Flood was responsible for most of the geological column and the fossil record it contains. Brand subscribes to "partial naturalism" or "informed interventionism," the notion that "on a day-to-day basis the processes of nature do follow natural law," but that "an intelligent, superior being has, on rare occasions, intervened in biological or geological history" (64-65).

Faith, Reason, and Earth History is divided (although not formally) into three topical sections. The first section (chaps. 1-6) is concerned with the history, methods, limitations, and philosophy of science. Here Brand contrasts naturalism with "informed interventionism" and establishes an informal theological rationale for the remainder of the book. The second section (chaps. 7-12) is concerned with the origin and history of life, theories of microevolution, speciation, megaevolution, sociobiology, and Brand's "interventionist theory" of "biological change within limits." The last section (chaps. 13-16) examines the history of the earth's crust, with particular emphasis on a model that incorporates the postulated effects of Noah's flood. Chapter 17 serves as a brief concluding statement. The book's subtitle, *A Paradigm of Earth and Biological Origins by Intelligent Design*, is a misnomer: The origin of the earth is never addressed, and the origin of life receives only modest treatment; moreover, intelligent-design theory is assumed but not directly discussed.

Subtitle aside, Brand does more than any of his predecessors to bring conservative creationism under the umbrella of normal biology. Absent are the misappropriations, allegations, and denunciations of evolutionary biologists so prevalent in less-informed creationist writings. Brand understands evolutionary theory and has no quarrel with what he believes to be its established principles. Moreover, he does not shy away from employing standard evolutionary terminology—*natural selection, adaptive radiation, heterochrony, kin selection,* and ordinary *evolution*—all are used appropriately and positively. Microevolution and speciation fall easily within his comfort zone; he even embraces—although somewhat timidly—some forms of *macroevolution*, a process dismissed out-of-hand by most other creationist writers. But he rejects the notion of unbridled change, or *megaevolution*, which he defines as "evolutionary change into new families, classes, or phyla of organisms" (320).

While Brand stands firmly in the young-earth-creationism and Flood-geology camp, he repeatedly takes pains to distance himself from some of the more egregious claims of his fellow apologists. For example, unlike many other writers of his persuasion, Brand rejects a strict Baconian view of science (26-27); sees naturalism as a scientifically productive, if ultimately false, paradigm (73-75);

denies that evolutionists and their theories are "stupid" (74); hopes for a "peaceful coexistence" between naturalist and creationist views (76); rejects simplistic denials of evolutionary theory argued from the second law of thermodynamics (103); and cautions against the assertion that natural selection theory is based on circular reasoning (116-117). But despite the scientific open-mindedness found here, *Faith, Reason, and Earth History* is not a place for philosophical subtlety or theological innovation. Brand is deeply committed to a biblical hermeneutic that is virtually indistinguishable from inerrancy. One looks in vain for references to other contemporary, well-informed science/faith writers like John Polkinghorne, Howard Van Till, Davis Young, Richard Bube, and Arthur Peacocke, who, like Brand, take Scripture seriously but who, unlike Brand, favor less wooden interpretations of the biblical text. Nonetheless, Brand writes with a patient, understanding voice, one with genuine appreciation and comprehension of the views of his nontheist opponents.

Use of Noah's Flood to foreshorten geologic time has a long and venerable history among Christians. Brand's particular version of Flood geology can be traced back to the "ecological zonation theory" of Harold W. Clark, whose much-reproduced diagram of the pre-Flood world, complete with terraced seas, is once again represented here (281). Readers knowledgeable in geology and paleontology may wince at some of Brand's admittedly speculative proposals and interpretations: for example, his "simple principle" of "little water—much time; much water—little time" (213-214); his hypothesis that an interconnected network of water-filled, subterranean caverns—presumably the "fountains of the deep"—penetrated pre-Flood continents (276-277); his suggestion that antediluvian flowering plants, bony fish, snakes, lizards, turtles, birds, mammals, and humans were restricted to "the cooler upland areas" of the pre-Flood world (281); his conjecture that egg-retaining dinosaurs repeatedly darted out (from where?) to exposed patches of newly deposited sediments to build their nests and lay their eggs during intermittent retreats of the Flood water (293); his calculation that over a thousand-year period the continents may have sped apart at an "average speed of 1.2 feet/hour"(294).

Historical geology, of course, in both its conventional old-earth and its nonconventional "Flood geology" forms, is decidedly extrabiblical. The Flood story recorded in Genesis 6-9 says nothing about sedimentation, erosion, turbidity currents, volcanism, mountain building, paelomagnetism, seafloor spreading, continental drift, etc., which of necessity form the warp and woof of any scientific theory of earth history. Brand would have done well to warn readers that IF someday flood geology quietly fades into oblivion, biblical faith need not disappear with it. To his credit, however, he does point out many of the more vexing problems associated with his model to which he has no satisfying answers: present-day geographical distributions of marsupials and other animals, increasing percentages of unfamiliar types of organisms at progressively deeper levels of the geologic column, the apparent time required for multiple glacial episodes, the restriction of modern humans to relatively superficial fossil horizons, and radiometric age dating, to name a few. "Wouldn't it be easier just to accept the long geological time scale and fit creation into that scenario?" he asks. "Probably,"

he replies (267). But Brand exhibits no predilection for easy answers.

In his passion to defend young-earth creationism and flood geology, Brand overlooks several of the most crucial science/faith questions. Why is death a seemingly integral component of all modern, healthy ecosystems? Why did an all-wise God create a world in which pain and death could become so prevalent? How does death relate to the problem of evil? Did God create the universe in such a way that both chance and determinism would play a role? How is chaos involved in determining order? Does God ever use chaos and other natural processes to create? What stewardship responsibilities do Christians have toward the creation? These questions transcend the interesting, but more mundane considerations of evolving gene pools, enigmatic fossils, and planetary chronology. Readers, however, will need to look elsewhere for discussions of these issues.

Faith, Reason, and Earth History is poorly indexed, but well referenced and richly illustrated. It will provide a useful starting point for discussions of science and faith in churches, colleges, and universities. I applaud Brand's effort to address this contentious and potentially divisive topic with candor, thoughtfulness, and humility.

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Byrne, James M.   *Religion and the Enlightenment: From Descartes to Kant.* Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996. xiii+253 pp. Paper, $22.00.

James Byrne, senior lecturer in theology and religious studies at St. Mary's University College in London, has published an excellent book on seventeenth- and eighteenth- century religious thought. *Religion and the Enlightenment: From Descartes to Kant* seeks to place in context and understand the ideas, both religious and secular, that gave rise to modernity and modern religious thinking.

The book is divided into ten chapters. The first two provide a historical introduction and context to the Enlightenment, while the next seven chapters analyze the thought and writings of major thinkers from Descartes to Kant. The concept undergirding the whole book is Byrne's belief that the Enlightenment is not to be studied as "a clear and unified train of thought . . . or as simply an interesting historical period." Rather, he views the Enlightenment "as a particular cultural space within which there emerged new ideas, new developments, even new scientific disciplines, and which has shaped for better or for worse the world in which we live today" (229-230). In spite of attempts to concisely reduce the Enlightenment to a few characteristics, he specifies that one should not be misled to think that this period was therefore a coherent movement. The reality was that this "period was one of intellectual exploration and even thinkers who are sometimes brought under the same label actually held widely divergent views" (14); the Enlightenment "varied from nation to nation and from culture to culture" (52). According to the author, the common cause of the Enlightenment is not to be found in what its most famous thinkers agreed on but rather in what they rejected: "the weight of tradition, the power and influence of the church,

superstition in all its forms, obscurantism in the sciences, and an overly negative vision of human potential" (179).

According to Byrne, in his two first historical chapters, the Enlightenment was characterized by a dynamic concept of reason as a means to discover the truth about humanity and the world, a scepticism with which it approached social and religious institutions and historical traditions, and the emergence of the scientific method to acquire new knowledge. Arising out of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), this period saw numerous attacks on Christianity and religious life and thought "which sowed the seeds of the predominantly secular society in which we live today" (17). But the Enlightenment did not see a widespread exodus of believers from the Christian churches, for it was virtually impossible to conceive a purely secular society at that time, because the "eighteenth century remained, on the whole, a period of widespread religious practice and even revival" (31). Important religious movements such as Pietism in Germany and Methodism in England emerged during this period, ran parallel to the Enlightenment, and were untouched by it. Thus, for Byrne, the "emergence of the secular world was gradual" (32).

In chapter 3, he introduces Enlightenment thought with the works of French philosopher René Descartes whose philosophical principle, *Je pense donc je suis*, is, according to Byrne, the basis for his contributions to subsequent Christian theology. Descartes' *Méditations* formulate a rational philosophy that is independent of all sensory perception which leads to a rational argument for the existence of God and the immortality of the soul.

In chapter 4, in contrast to Descartes, Blaise Pascal is presented as one who did not share the Enlightenment ideal and whose understanding of the depravity of human nature in his *Pensées* and other works emphasized the limitations of reason and its abilities to know God on its own. Byrne affirms that "Pascal's thought is a reaction to key elements of Enlightenment thinking almost from its inception" (95). Nevertheless, the author believes that Pascal's "emphasis on the intensely personal nature of the commitment of religious belief, his nuanced judgment on the use of reason, and his dogged insistence on the essentially alienated state of humanity make his thought highly attractive to the contemporary reader" (92). Thus, for Byrne, Pascal exemplifies the difficulties in trying to analyze the Enlightenment and conceive it as a unified train of thought.

In chapters 5 and 6, Byrne discusses how deism and atheism arose as the role of reason as a means of understanding eternal truths shifted to become a way of investigating the present world. According to the author, this "shift in reason's self-understanding had implications for the role of religion in interpreting the world and for the way in which God's relation to the world was viewed" (100). Byrne sees in the works of Spinoza, Locke, Shaftesbury, Paine, and others, attempts to rationalize all religious thought to the point of establishing all beliefs independently from revealed religion and religious authority. Since the eighteenth-century society could not be conceived without reference to religion, which would have meant the abandonment of all morality, Byrne believes the far distant God of deism was the answer to religious skepticism on its way to atheism. Yet, such thinkers as Pierre Bayle asserted that virtuous conduct and moral life were possible

outside the realms of religious life, on the basis of individual conscience, the next step on the path to atheism became evident. If one is to be skeptical about all revealed religion, then one might as well be skeptical about the existence of the deist God. The works of Voltaire, Diderot, and Hume built upon this concept. But again, Byrne emphasizes, one is to be careful not to interpret atheism as a widespread thought in the eighteenth century. Explicit atheism was confined to a few radical thinkers among the educated people and gradually became part of the popular consciousness.

In chapter 7, "New Light or Old?: Science and Religion," Byrne traces the evolution of the concept of materialism from the time of Newton to the end of the eighteenth century. As Newtonian inductive reasoning replaced Cartesian deductive thinking, problems arose as to who or what was responsible for the inherent properties of matter. "Simply put, if the theories and observations of science could explain nature, then why postulate the intervention of anything beyond nature? . . . Thus," estimates Byrne, "this problem of the nature of matter—on the surface a purely scientific issue–turns out to be of crucial significance in understanding what was at stake between science and religion in the Enlightenment" (157). Such thinking would spread doubt on major tenets of religious orthodoxy such as the immateriality of the soul. What we see happening in the middle of the eighteenth century is the de-theologizing of human physiology; where Newton had seen the power of God, others saw only natural processes.

In chapter 8, Byrne presents another thinker whose thought ran counter to the Enlightenment's ideals, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Although he thinks Rousseau's thought was radically independent and open to conflicting interpretations, Byrne nonetheless believes that his clear rejection of the doctrine of original sin and acceptance of mankind's nature as inherently good made his teaching "subtly but deeply destructive of traditional Christian morality. . . . His vision of human innocence was instrumental in the emergence of a de-theologized anthropology on which the rationale of the human sciences depends" (201).

Lastly, Byrne addresses Kant's critique of reason and claims that there "is no doubt that in his critique of religious thought and practice, in his demand that we take responsibility for our own moral lives, in his advocacy of toleration and rejection of all sectarian differences, he [Kant] formulated a vision of the human person before God that still stands as one of the greatest achievements of Enlightenment thought" (226).In his book Byrne argues forcefully and effectively about the various facets of Enlightenment thinking and its impact upon modern religious thought. One beauty of this book lies in its openness about the difficulty of systematically categorizing Enlightenment thinking and its honest presentation of various and contrasting viewpoints and ideas. Byrne's mastery of the works of major thinkers is evident, and his ability to detect in them various seminal ideas is remarkable. This book, which can serve as a textbook in graduate-level modern theology courses, is well worth reading as an introduction to the Enlightenment period and to modern ways of thinking.

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Houston, J[oseph]. *Reported Miracles: A Critique of Hume.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 282 pp. Hardcover, $65.00.

In *Reported Miracles* (chaps. 1-5), Houston provides a useful exposition of the definitions of miracles proposed by Augustine, Aquinas, Locke, Hume, Bradley, and Troeltsch. These authors tend to agree that miracles are evident exceptions to nature's regular course, that they lack a natural cause, and that they are not freak events but are actions of God. Houston then evaluates twentieth-century definitions of miracles as disclosing God's presence without being magical, supernatural, or divorced from a natural sequence of events (chap. 6). These definitions assume that the NT reflects a reluctance about miracles, that the miracle stories are inflated, and that miraculous evidence is incompatible with genuine faith. For Houston, these definitions and assumptions are less biblical and desirable than those of Hume.

In chapter 8, Houston addresses some misconceptions about Hume. For example, Paley assumes that Hume regards natural law as describing what actually happens and excluding miracles. However, what Hume argues is that miracle accounts must be judged by our experience of natural law. Arguments inspired by Paley's apologetics are useful for those who accept Hume's objections as if they were compelled in reason to concur. However, they have no force against Hume's questions as to whether an apologist whose audience makes no theistic assumption can make a case for his religious system by appealing to miracles.

Houston points out in chapter 9 that Hume does not doubt miracles because of reports to the contrary, but because of the evidence for natural law. Hume admits that in theory there could be natural laws for which there is little evidence and for whose violation there is a huge weight of powerful evidence. However, he questions how miracles can be based on evidence if inductive reasoning is rendered unreliable by a miracle. From this perspective, there is no reason to believe in miracles without religious assumptions. For Houston, Hume's arguments overlook the fact that while miracles are contrary to natural law, they do not require the rejection of inductive reasoning from experience and analogy. Further, having reasons to believe a miracle need not preclude an evaluation of the whole miraculous explanation. The proposal that God has acted may be regarded as promising if it effectively accounts for what is not otherwise accountable.

In chapter 7, Houston criticizes a view which scholars claim to derive from Hume, namely, the idea of conflict between miracles and the course of nature, or God's purpose. For Houston, miracles may be understood as above rather than against nature. He points out that even for Hume, violation of natural law has no implication for divine purposes. One may conclude that natural law describes what happens and that miracles do not happen. However, natural laws describe the course of events in general terms that do not cover miracles. Also, twentieth-century physics studies unpredictable events contrary to known laws.

Houston points out in chapter 10 that Hume viewed the likelihood of a miracle as related to its probability. However, the probability may be greater than Hume expected if miracle reports are made with more care than usual, since they concern what is surprising, questionable, or unexpected. Houston does not propose that strong reports of miracles can provide a foundation for theism.

Rather, he argues that it may give some support. Neither does Houston regard his view as tied to natural theology. He argues that one does not have to choose between presupposing the truth or falsehood of theism. Thus, only a fideistic atheism refuses to consider the possibility that theism may account better for the range of phenomena (including miracle accounts).

According to Houston, miraculous explanations may be evaluated for compatibility with the data they explain (chap. 11) for self-consistency, and for consistency with antecedently held and supposedly well-founded beliefs. They also may be formed, revised, confirmed, or enlarged in response to experiences which are to be interpreted and accounted for in whatever way forms the best overall account. Uninterpreted raw experiences cannot contribute anything to our beliefs. Interpretation is involved even in the confident, but not indubitable, recognition of common-sense reality. For Houston, this is not question-begging circularity.

Houston ends his book with a discussion of contemporary theologians. Pannenberg affirms the authoritative competence of historical science and yet maintains that some accounts of miracles are credible. Barth is ambivalent about the historical-critical method and claims that miracles are to be believed on the basis of revelation alone. Cupitt and Mackey maintain that to treat miracles like public occurrences is to misunderstand their character. After criticizing these options, Houston concludes that miracles are not incredible, that they may be interpreted as truth-claiming, and that they may make a contribution to the advocacy of religious belief (6-7).

All of the above is marshaled to make a trenchant critique of reductive naturalism. Houston writes:

> The late twentieth-century western educated classes . . . are so entrenched in the conviction that there will be a natural explanation for everything, a conviction which has been very useful as the scientists' heuristic assumption, that they balk ungovernably and are not open to the suggestion of a theistic account. However, if there is no good reason to exclude the action of a god as a possible explanation, the entrenchment and the balking are psychological problems, obscurantism to be dealt with by a kind of persistence and persuasion, or by therapy, rather than treated as a rational constraint on our belief (198).

The compact writing style of *Reported Miracles* may provide tough going for the theological novice. However, the book is an indispensable resource for anyone considering the issue of the status of miracle reports. Contemporary theological literature is enhanced by Houston's accounts of older authors which give adequate detail to enable their viewpoints about miracles to be properly grasped. The value of the book is increased further by the fact that it traces and discusses significant relationships between Hume's case and the assumptions and methods of contemporary scientists, historians, and theologians (5).

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Longenecker, Richard, ed. *Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament.*
    McMaster New Testament Studies. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996. 319 pp.
    Paper, $25.00.

This collection of thought-provoking and carefully written essays edited by
Longenecker is arranged in thirteen chapters and three parts—the Gospels and
Related Matters, Pauline Letters, and Other Writings. It is the first in a series called
the McMaster New Testament Studies. Written to capture the imagination of alert,
intelligent lay people, theological students, and ministers, it attempts to offer the
best of contemporary, constructive scholarship in a scholarly and pastoral format.
It aims at giving the theme of discipleship a more sure biblical rootage.

The book's thesis is that each NT author treats the subject of discipleship in
a manner consonant with his own ideological background, perspective, audience
needs, and understanding, as well as with the demands of the specific situation
addressed. Its working hypothesis is that what one encounters in reference to this
subject in the NT is diversity within unity. This diversity may even be evident
within the same author when writing to differing audiences and in differing
circumstances.

Consistent with its title—*Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament*—each
chapter of this volume outlines the pattern of discipleship as detected by each
author in his or her assigned NT book. Since there are only thirteen authors, not
every NT work is examined. No criterion for inclusion or omission is given.
Rightly, Luke and Acts are viewed together, as are the Corinthian correspondence
and the Johannine tradition, but the reader is left bereft of patterns for discipleship
in 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, Philemon, and the Pastoral Epistles. This is striking
when one notes that the noncanonical *Pilgrim's Progress* is featured. Mention of the
latter, omission of Galatians and Philemon, and inclusion of Colossians rob the
editor of the argument that they are omitted because they are either Deutero-
Pauline or Pseudo-Pauline. The pattern of discipleship from Philemon, at least,
would be valuable, especially if viewed through the lens of love (note Phlm 8-9).

Notwithstanding, the volume contains valuable insights that will positively
influence the view and practice of discipleship. Hurtado presents discipleship in
Mark as having a didactic motivation. The apparent failures of the twelve are not
polemical, but demonstrate the dangers of discipleship as well as the contrast
between them and Jesus—the model of discipleship. Using narrative criticism,
Donaldson portrays the disciples in Matthew as observers of the activity of Jesus.
He sees Matthew attempting to guide his readers to correctly understand
discipleship and thereby choose to become disciples (41-46).

Longenecker argues that Luke's profile of discipleship involves proclamation
of the word (especially as focused on the work and person of Jesus) and possession
of a universal rather than a parochial perspective on His mission. His list of
patterns of discipleship for today (75) is valuable. However, the many comparisons
with discipleship in other Gospels, treated by other authors, clouded and perhaps
detracted from his portrayal of discipleship in Luke itself. For instance, he says
little, if anything, about the disciples' slowness to understand, or Luke's portrayal
of disciples as the poor (see Lk 6:20), or of the contribution of the infancy
narratives, or the role of seeing and hearing (see Melbourne, *Slow To Understand.*

[Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988]) in Luke's pattern of discipleship.

Hellman's treatment shows that discipleship is truly relational in the Johannine tradition. While in the Fourth Gospel discipleship does involve believing in, knowing, abiding in, and being a friend of Jesus, in the Johannine epistles it also involves loving one another and acknowledging Jesus as the Christ. The background Weima presents for 1 Thessalonians is valuable. So too is her insight that discipleship in that work is fundamentally linked to response to the call of the gospel to holiness (99).

Jervis' treatment of discipleship in Romans is novel and thought-provoking. Readers will find her view of discipleship as "seeking to achieve likeness to God" intriguing. Her treatment of the notion of "the righteousness of God" should add much to current debates on justification and sanctification, especially in light of her view that righteousness should be viewed in a giving instead of a judging context (156-161).

Thorne regards discipleship for Jesus' first followers as involving abandonment of the previous life to go wherever He went. In the preview of Philippians, she sees it as imitating the pattern of life exemplified by Jesus. However, this does not exclude patterning those who follow Him closely. Thus, imitation of Christ is illustrated through the life of Paul and his associates.

Knowles presents discipleship in Colossians as invoking more than correct understanding or correct behavior. Its scope includes continual renewal through divine action. It is Christ in you, the hope of glory. Lane, on the other hand, views the hallmark of responsible discipleship in Hebrews as active faith expressed through obedience and Christian confession. He sees a presentation of heroic discipleship and a call to turn from all distractions to focus on Jesus. While he is correct that the use of the personal name Jesus in 12:2 places the accent on the humanity of Jesus, he missed the fact that there is a chiasm in 12:1-3 that not only reinforces the point, but makes him the focus. Furthermore, the personal name of Jesus appears throughout the book to exhibit him as the one above all whom disciples can identify with and whom they should model (see "An Examination of the Historical-Jesus Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *AUSS* 26 [1988]: 281-297).

The patterns derived from James, Peter, and the Apocalypse are also enlightening. Control of tongue and wallet as important aspects of discipleship in James is instructive. So also is the insight that it involves active participation on the side of God. Michaelis is also correct in viewing discipleship in 1 Peter as the beginning of a journey to heaven. However, I disagree with the inclusion of *Pilgrim's Progress*, especially in light of the omission of some canonical material.

The final chapter is Aune's treatment of discipleship in the Apocalypse. For him, it has a twofold focus: discipleship in the present (1:1-3:22 and 22:10-12), which focuses on the seven congregations to which John wrote, and discipleship in the future (4:1-22:9), which treats God's unfolding plan for the world. He sees the two as being closely linked and the latter as being based on the former. He does not develop these ideas of discipleship. Instead, he discusses passages dealing with victory that leads through defeat and death as characteristics of discipleship as well as the need for obedience and witnessing to the salvific significance of Jesus.

One is therefore left to wonder whether he sees association of the 144,000 with Jesus as implying discipleship in the future (since they follow him wherever he goes and he views them as actual sacrificial offerings to God and the exalted Jesus) and as being paradigmatic for Christian disciples.

All in all, this is a stimulating work. It is a valuable resource for discipleship studies, especially with the significant bibliography at each chapter's end. A final chapter summarizing the patterns detected or giving a conclusion would have strengthened it. Nevertheless, it will prove valuable to its targeted audience. It is a good introduction to the series. It can be recommended to students, pastors, scholars, and laypeople who need help as they follow on the path to discipleship.

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Moltmann, Jurgen. *The Coming of God: Christian Eschatology*. Trans. Margaret
    Kohl. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996. 390 pp. Paper. $29.00.

Eschatology is usually perceived as spelling disaster for history. Yet as human beings, we live and imagine the future from within the world of history. *The Coming of God* continues Moltmann's scholarly and personal quest to understand Christian hope as neither the end nor the mere continuation of human history.

If eschatology is viewed as the final solution of all insoluble problems, then, Moltmann contends, we would do better to turn our backs on it altogether, for the end of history calls into question the meaning of our daily lives. "The person who presses forward to the end of life misses life itself" (x-xi). On the other hand, to identify the eschaton within history calls into question the hope of the poor, the oppressed, and the murdered that someday righteousness will flourish in the earth. "The dumb suffering of those who have been defeated and subjected finds no place in the annals of the ruling nations" (43). Clearly, the interests of both liberation and feminist theologies underlie Moltmann's theology, yet his real conversation partners are Jewish writers such as Ernst Bloch and Franz Rosenzweig.

What is perhaps clearer in *The Coming of God* than in any of his earlier work is the thoroughly Jewish underpinning of Moltmann's entire theological journey—which far transcends even Karl Barth's post-Holocaust sermon on "Jesus the Jew." In a truly remarkable expression of the transformative power of the cross, Moltmann, who came to his eschatological interest as a captured Nazi soldier, configures eschatology as the Easter Event refracted through Jewish images of bodily resurrection, Sabbath, and the Shekinah glory of temple worship. It is in light of these images that Moltmann pursues the very practical questions of What happens to a person in death? What is the political and ecological history of the world? And what are the future conditions of the cosmos?

Belief in the immortality of the soul, Moltmann contends, is an option. The resurrection of the dead is a hope. "Whereas the one puts its trust in the self-transcendence of the human being, the other relies on God's transcendence over death" (58). Belief in the resurrection seeks hope for history, not in the depths of our selves, but in the coming power of God. Furthermore, since there is no soul detached from the body, and no body that is not a part of nature, there can be no

redemption of human beings without a redemption of nature. Redemption of the body must include redemption of the earth and cosmos, as well. All things sigh and wait for their redemption. As a result, "deep respect for the 'good earth' does not mean that we have to give ourselves up for burial with the consolation that we shall live on in worms and plants. It means waiting for the day when the earth will open, and the dead will rise, and the earth together with these dead will 'be raised' for its new creation" (277).

Certainly the resurrection speaks of a future righting of wrongs, but what becomes of the dead between the present *NOW* of continuing oppression and death, and the future *THEN* of the resurrection? Has not Moltmann reintroduced the divide between history and eschaton, between time and eternity, between suffering and redemption that has plagued eschatological thinking in the past? It is at this point that Moltmann makes perhaps his most important contribution to Christian theology. Drawing on biblical images of the Sabbath, Moltmann suggests that God's Sabbath links this world with the world to come. In the sanctity of Sabbath *time* creation holds within itself an opening in the *space* of created beings. "The eschatological Shekinah is the perfected Sabbath in the spaces of the world. Sabbath and Shekinah are related to each other as promise and fulfillment, beginning and completion. . . . Creation begins in time and is completed in space" (266). It is in light of the Sabbath and Shekinah glory that the incarnational life of Christ must be understood. As Sabbath presence speaks of both God's present and future, universal Shekinah glory; so life in Christ speaks of both present and future fellowship with Christ—even for the dead!

Moltmann rejects both the doctrine of soul sleep and the immortality of the soul. Because all of creation is already redeemed in Christ, creation must be viewed from the standpoint of God's incarnational presence. Yet even now creation groans as it awaits its completion in the universal Shekinah glory. At the very least, it means that the dead are members of the community of faith, so that the past cannot be forgotten or ignored, but must be remembered and transformed in the living presence of Christ and the living saints. In our solidarity with Christ, we are reminded that the dead cannot rest as long as they have not received justice. At the very least, then, the resurrection of the dead "means preserving community with the dead and deepening it in recollecting solidarity" (108). But even more so, from the standpoint of the dead (or better, the standpoint of God and eternity), there is no gap between the unfinished and broken nature of human life and the space God makes for further living. From the standpoint of eternity, the dead are not forsaken at the moment of death, but enter into the promised completion of their lives. It is only on such a basis that the brokenness and unfulfilled promises of life ever find satisfaction and completion. Without the resurrection, history is ultimately devoid of meaning.

Still, questions remain regarding the cosmos itself. Does the broken line of history continue indefinitely, so that the murderer triumphs forever over the victim, or does time come to a final end? Again Moltmann follows his pattern of answering questions by viewing the promise of the Easter Event through the lens of Jewish hope. In the book of Revelation, the image of the New Jerusalem symbolizes the hope that all of creation someday "becomes the *house of* God, the

temple in which God can dwell, the *home country* in which God can find rest."
(321). At this point Christian faith transcends the hope of Israel. Whereas in the
hope of Israel, the sanctuary was a determinate location of God within the city of
Jerusalem, the Revelator sees no temple in the city of God, "because the whole city
is filled with the immediate presence of God and Christ" (315). Even more
startling, in the New Jerusalem the saints sit upon thrones and rule with God. In
the end, the hope of Christians is neither that God dissolves into the world, as
pantheism and atheism suggest, but that God and creation will someday mutually
interdwell within each other. It is in this communion that God's Shekinah glory
finally comes to rest. In contrast to the counterimage of the rulers of Babylon and
Rome, who subjugate through violence, God and the saints will rule together
someday through the mutual give-and-take of power. In this way history does not
so much end, as it is completed in the Sabbath rest designated already at creation.

Jeffrey Stout, in his book *Ethics after Babel*, has challenged theologians to offer
a political proof of divine providence that goes beyond the this-worldly, messianic,
political vision of Bloch, Rosenzweig, Horkeimer, Benjamin, and other seminal
Jewish writers. Although Moltmann gives no indication that *The Coming of God*
was written to address Stout's challenge, Stout's challenge is a profound one.
Certainly, Moltmann has not produced the kind of political proof of God that
Stout demands. Moltmann does not fully deliver even on his own promise to fill
in the content of the vista of eschatological hope already sketched in earlier works.
Plenty of ambiguity yet remains in Moltmann's vision. Do the dead now
experience redemption from the viewpoint of our time, or do they wait with
creation for their redemption? If the answer is the former, what becomes of
Moltmann's holistic understanding of human beings? If the answer is the latter,
then, Moltmann's view appears close to soul sleep. Secondly, when Moltmann
speaks of future transformation of history, does he suppose a clear day will exist
when the kingdom of God is established for all time, or does the kingdom come
gradually? If the latter is the case, as implied by the idea of transformation, what
becomes of the people who live in the transition? At what point do those who die
participate in the kingdom of the New Earth? And finally, is the highest love one
that finally, redemptively transforms all creation, as Moltmann suggests, or is the
highest love one that allows creatures to respond to divine love with what Karl
Rahner has called an "incomprehensible no" to God?

Still, a proof seems a rather feeble offering in comparison to what Moltmann
succeeds in producing; namely, a profoundly "rich *fantasy of God*," meaning that
eschatological thinking follows the contours of God's own creative imagination
(338). For if creation is open to transfiguration and glorification, as Moltmann
claims, then indeed, creation "is like a great song or a splendid poem or a
wonderful dance of his fantasy, for the communication of his divine plentitude"
(338). The evocative power of this vision is its own truth. To enter this vision and
share it as one's own is already to lay open the boundaries of political philosophy
to something that lies beyond propositions and proofs.

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Mounce, Robert H. *Romans.* New American Commentary, vol. 27. Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1996. 301 pp. Hardcover, $27.99.

This volume, like the others in the series, presents itself according to the standards of the New American Commentary as an exegetical and theological exposition of Scripture based on the NIV text. It is intended "to build up the church, encourage obedience, and bring renewal to God's people" (9). Written primarily for students and pastors, it combines evangelical scholarship and piety, and is oriented toward the practical work of preaching and teaching.

Since the series is based on the NIV, it does not deal directly with the Greek text. The NIV text is printed in the body of the commentary, and it is followed by a global, personal, and concise interpretation on selected points of the text. Mounce states: "I wrote what the text was saying to me" (11).

Mounce, who currently serves as president emeritus of Whitworth College in Spokane, Washington, is wellknown for his commentaries on Revelation and Matthew, as well as for numerous other books and articles in the field of NT evangelical studies. He is fully conversant with contemporary literature and is particularly indebted to Cranfield, Morris, Dunn, Fitzmyer, and Moo in this work (the footnotes are often even more enriching than the text).

The commentary is organized according to an outline consisting of seven points: (1) introduction (1:1-17); (2) the unrighteousness of all humankind (1:18-3:20); (3) the righteousness only God can provide (3:21-5:21); (4) the righteousness in which we are to grow (6:1-8:39); (5) God's righteousness vindicated (9:1-11:36); (6) how righteousness manifests itself (12:1-15:13); (7) conclusion (15:14-16:27).

Although the size of this volume limits a lengthy topical examination, Mounce reviews current discussion on certain important issues. On the phrase "the righteousness of God," he agrees with Cranfield. In regard to the phrase "the righteousness status that results from God's justifying activity," Mounce disagrees with Fitzmyer ("an attribute of God") and Käsemann ("God's activity, whereby he declares to be righteous those who trust him in faith") (72-73).

With insight, Mounce argues that the "but now" in 3:21, that introduces God's answer to the human dilemma, "is perhaps less temporal than sequential" (114). He contradicts most contemporary writers, who take *nuni de* as temporal rather than logical, and who emphasize the idea of a new stage in salvation history.

At times the author's fidelity to the NIV seems to limit his own freedom with the text. Thus he translates *hilastērion* in 3:25-26 as "atoning sacrifice," although he acknowledges that N.S.L. Fryer has proved that this term is a substantive rather than an adjective, and its best translation probably is "mercy seat" or "propitiatory covering" (116-118) (cf. "The Meaning and Translation of *Hilastērion* in Rom 3:25" *EvQ* [1987]: 99-116).

The author provides an excellent exposition on the much-debated clause introduced by *eph ho* ("upon whom"), a pronoun referring to Adam, in 5:12-14 (139-143). This is in opposition to the concept of corporate personality (which would mean that death came to all because all sinned *in Adam*) defended by Bruce. Further, Mounce rejects the reading of the clause as a conjunction ("because everyone, in fact, had sinned"), meaning that we are not responsible for what Adam did, but for what we have done (Best, Achtemeier). Mounce accepts a

consecutive-conjunction definition of "with the result that," implying that Adam's sin resulted in the history of sinning on the part of the human race.

In connection with this, Mounce argues that 7:14-25 does not describe the totality of Paul's spiritual experience, but instead provides a preparatory introduction to the description of the triumph which follows in chapter 8 (166-168). On the basis of etymology and context in 8:29-30, Mounce explains predestination as God's *purpose* for us to become like Christ (cf. 2 Cor 3:18), rather than as something concerned with *election* to salvation (188-190).

I find Mounce to be hasty in his conclusions on certain points such as: the purpose of the law in 10:4 (207); the salvation of Israel in 11:25-36 (223-225); submission to authorities in 13:1-114 (243-244); the role of Phoebe as "deacon" in 16:1-2 (272). I find this to be somewhat unsatisfactory.

All in all, I would like to commend the evangelical vitality of this able, concise, and readable exposition. The work is accompanied by a short subject index, a useful person index, and a selected-Scripture index.

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Numbers, Ronald L., ed. *The Creation-Evolution Debates.* Creationism in Twentieth-Century America, vol. 2. New York: Garland, 1995. 505 pp. Hardcover, $98.00.

In *The Creation-Evolution Debates*, Ronald Numbers notes that there is a worldwide renaissance of creationism. This is evident in that 47% of Americans are creationists and that state courts and the Supreme Court have examined creationism. However, Numbers rejects (as restrictive earth history) the creation-science proposal that earth may be no more than 10,000 years old.

Numbers seems to depreciate contemporary creationism as a recent unjustified innovation. While recognizing the ancient roots of creationism, he argues that creationists did not use "the creation science" approach before the influence of books like Whitcomb and Morris's *The Genesis Flood* (1961), and the influence of organizations like Creation Research Society (1963) and Institute for Creation Research (1972) (vii-viii).

Numbers calls attention to an often overlooked aspect of the history of creation science, namely, the early role of Seventh-day Adventists in creationist thought. He documents SDA participation in two debates that took place in 1925: George McCready Price versus Joseph McCabe on the topic "Is Evolution True?" and Maynard Shipley versus Francis Nichol and Alonzo Baker in "The San Francisco Debates on Evolution" (x-xi).

Numbers also mentions SDAs in his comments on the 1928 debate between William Riley and Harry Rimmer on the days of creation. Early twentieth-century fundamentalists were divided among those who regarded the creative days as (1) geological ages, (2) twenty-four-hour days while allowing for pre-Adamite fossils, and (3) twenty-four-hour days while rejecting pre-Adamite fossils. The latter (SDA) view became popular later in the twentieth century (xi-xii).

Numbers seems to indicate his assessment of SDA creationist thought in

comments on the 1937 debate between D. J. Whitney and Edwin Tenney Brewster on the topic: "Is Man a Modified Monkey?" First, Numbers mentions Whitney's short-lived career and his support of the "limited" SDA model of Flood geology. Second, Numbers mentions Brewster's delight in pestering Flood geologists about the alleged incompatibility of their views with the OT and their innovation of miracles when stumped for scientific answers (xi-xiii). With regard to the comment on Whitney, it seems significant to this reviewer that the limitations of early Flood models were matched by the limitations of early Darwinian-evolutionary models. Flood models and evolutionary models have both progressed a great deal since 1937. With regard to the treatment of Brewster, ironically, Brewster himself contrasts the evolutionary theory with biblical Creation (469, 479, 501).

Another significant aspect of Numbers' documentation is that his selection of debates demonstrates that the creationists did not always lose their debates with evolutionists. In fact, where there were official judges, the creationists won in one debate and tied in another. Where there were no official judges, the audience decided another debate in favor of the creationists. In 1925, Price, "the leading scientific authority of the American fundamentalists," left the stage humiliated and never debated again (x). The 1925 San Francisco debates (mentioned above) ended in a tie. John Roach Straton (the "fundamentalist pope") won a unanimous decision over Charles Francis Potter (the "rank infidel") in 1924. In Arkansas in 1928, William Bell Riley debated Charles Smith on the topic: "Should Evolution be Taught in Tax-Supported Schools?" Both agreed that Darwinism is atheism, and Arkansas voted that it should not be taught (ix-xi). In 1934, Aimee McPherson debated Charles Smith on the existence of God and on creation by chance or design. McPherson stood by a picture of Christ, and Smith stood by a picture of a gorilla. The audience sided overwhelmingly with God and McPherson (xii).

A study of the debates compiled by Numbers leads this reviewer to three conclusions. First, in order to evaluate the creation-evolution contest, one needs to look beyond the knowledge or skills of the debaters. The creationist and evolutionist debaters were both generally well informed, but they evaluated the evidence for or against Creation and evolution in different ways. This is evident in the 1925 debate of William Jennings Bryan ("God and Evolution") versus Henry Fairfield Osborn ("Evolution and Religion") and Edwin Grant Conklin ("Bryan and Evolution"). Bryan viewed his proposal as a contribution to the reformation of science. However, Osborn and Conklin viewed his proposal as a pathetic attempt to destroy science by emphasizing differences of opinion about the causes of evolution and by driving a wedge between science and religion.

A second conclusion is that in the future; SDA scientists and theologians can make a significant contribution to contemporary science and theology as they have done in the past. (Numbers discusses the influence of SDAs and the SDA Geoscience Research Institute in his book *The Creationists* [New York: Knopf, 1992], 72-101, 290-298). To this end, SDAs would do well to deal with the issue of the nature of science. If science, by definition, is exclusive of theological explanations, evolution may be the best available explanation of the existence of life on planet earth. However, if the biblical doctrine of creation is true, then a purely natural explanation of life will prove to be impossible.

Third, the creation-evolution debates seem to have been motivated by contrary views on the relations of science and theology. John Puddefoot opines that "in its premodern-childhood science presupposed divine authority; in its modern-adolescence science rebelled against arbitrary authority; and in its postmodern-adulthood science may again recognize the legitimacy of Divine authority and the value of the concept of creation ("Faith's Third Age, Theology and Science in the Third Millennium," *Colloquium* 27 [1995]: 109-128). This offers hope that creation-evolution debates may be replaced, in time, by a more genuine science-theology dialogue. This could lead to a more harmonious reevaluation of the data that is presently being interpreted in very different ways by evolutionists and creationists.

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O'Collins, Gerald. *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. 333 pp. Paper, $18.95.

Gerald O'Collins, is professor of systematic and fundamental theology at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. A prolific writer, he has written during the last 25 years or so in such works as *Foundations of Theology* (1971), *What Are They Saying About the Resurrection?* (1978), *The Easter Jesus* (1980), *Interpreting Jesus* (1983), *Fundamental Theology* (1981), *Interpreting the Resurrection* (1986), *Jesus Risen* (1987), *Jesus Today* (1986), *Newman After a Hundred Years* (1990), *Retrieving Fundamental Theology* (1993), *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ: Some Contemporary Issues* (1993), and numerous articles, in both encyclopedias and theological journals.

O'Collins's Christology finds its primary interpretative key in the resurrection of the crucified Jesus and in his presence (vii). The theme of Christ's "presence" permeates the whole book and is the subject of the last chapter, "The Possibilities of Presence." Rooted in the dogma of transubstantiation, O'Collins refers to his as a Christology of "presence."

O'Collins devotes nine chapters to exploring and reviewing the christological controversies and formulations that made necessary the early ecumenical Councils of Nicaea I (325), Constantinople I (381), Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon (451). But he refers to the decisions of those great, ecclesiastical councils only after exploring the biblical backgrounds of Christology in both the OT and the NT.

O'Collins begins his book by answering "Some Major Challenges" to the knowledge of Christ—serious "historical, philosophical and linguistic considerations" (1). Chapters 2 ("The Background") and 3 ("The Human History") offer a review of the historico-theological information about Christ provided in the Bible. Chapter 4, on the resurrection, completes the survey of biblical data about Jesus. Chapters 5 and 6 explore some of Christ's titles that point to the mysterious combination of his divinity and humanity, such as Son of God, Lord, Savior, God, and Spirit—titles and names through which the "NT Christians explicated their faith that 'the fullness of divinity' dwelt/dwells in Jesus (Col 2:9)" (135). The next three chapters (chap. 7, "To the First Council of Constantinople"; chap. 8, "Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Beyond"; and chap. 9,

"Medieval and Modern Christology") "prepare the way for the heart of the book: the systematic chapters on Christ's being and saving work" (153).

There is, however, another purpose behind chapters 2-9. "Unquestionably *the notion of presence* recalls and even summarizes many significant items which have surfaced in this book. Much of what was handled, for instance, in the first part [chaps. 2 through 9] involves this *notion*" (306, emphasis supplied). So in chapter 2, introducing Christ as the last Adam, "the head of a new humanity, Christ *is present* wherever there are men and women." As Logos and Wisdom, "his *all pervasive presence*" is acknowledged in the whole universe. "There *neither* is *nor* can be any situation *outside or without Christ*. By creating and sustaining the world, the Logos-Sophia *intimately accompanies everyone and everything.*" Two of the OT themes, "God's fatherly/motherly love in repeatedly delivering a suffering people and the great public sign of the *divine nearness*, the Jerusalem Temple," provide "a deep sense of his *universal presence*" (306, emphasis suppled).

O'Collins argues that the same concept of *divine presence* is seen in Christ's incarnation and public ministry, through which "Jesus showed himself inseparably connected with the inbreaking of the divine kingdom. With his person, God's rule had come and was coming. His powerful presence brought the divine kingdom close to all." Even on the cross, nailed between two criminals, he manifested "his healing presence to sinners and the suffering" in "close solidarity" and "an anonymous identification with human pain" (307). The universal nature of the salvation which he made possible, his saving power over all, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the whole world, all point to his cosmic presence—present wherever his Spirit is present, which is everywhere. The Spirit mediates the presence of Christ in the community of the church by means of the sacraments, especially in the Eucharist through the *epiclesis*, "bringing about the intense and real presence of Christ for the church and the world" (307).

"The notion of presence" is woven through these and other topics handled in chapters 2-9. The same notion also enters explicitly or implicitly, into the systematic treatment of Christology (chaps. 10-13). In upholding and reflecting on the divinity of Christ, chapter 10 argues that "faced with him, people found and find themselves in the presence of the Holy One" (308). "Then the interpretation of evil and sin as alienation from oneself, from others, and from God obviously implies a loss of presence in each case" (308). "Christ's reconciling work as Savior entails bringing about an end to this loss and a new presence to oneself, to the world and God" (309).

At this point O'Collins surprises the reader, introducing an unexpected element in the "presence" of Christ. "Finally, reflection suggests a feminine dimension to presence" (313), a "feminine quality" in Jesus, anticipated already in the OT's "personification of divine activity, Lady Wisdom, who is present and active in all creation," and by Jesus presenting himself in the NT as "a mother hen" (319). Continuing his veiled tribute to the feminist movement of our times, O'Collins defines this "feminine quality of Jesus" as "being receptive, nurturing, interior, self-assured, self-possessed, and not needing constant contest to earn and to maintain one's identity. Being present belongs unmistakably to the list" (ibid.). It would be appropriate to ask if these are really exclusive "feminine" qualities,

because at first sight they appear as much masculine as feminine!

O'Collins has still another surprise reserved for the reader, the "Jewishness" of Jesus' presence. We are almost tempted to exclaim with the Roman writer, "*O tempora! O mores!*" in seeing this tribute now paid to the new climate in the Vatican-Israel relationship. But there is still more, a bridge stretched by O'Collins's Christology of "presence" to the non-Christian religions. O'Collins finds "three particular advantages for the perspective of presence: its Jewishness, its feminine face, and its spiritual, pastoral, and even mystical possibilities" (318). What "mystical possibilities"? "Respect for the multiform variety of his presence allows us to acknowledge Christ as everywhere present but in an infinite variety of ways" (322). This view looks more like pantheism or panentheism than the Christology of Scripture, about a Redeemer who offers the merits of his sacrifice in the heavenly sanctuary, as is so clearly depicted in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

O'Collins's book can be divided into two parts. The first nine chapters, historical and objective, trace the development of Christology through the Council of Chalcedon and beyond. The last five chapters offer O'Collins's main contribution: a utopian Christology of "presence," a reflection of contemporary trends such as ecumenism, the feminist struggle, and the now-cordial relations between Roman Catholics and Jews. Is it not strange that in a Christology no mention is made of God's law and human sinfulness—the human predicament that Christ came to solve? How is one to understand O'Collins's total silence about Jesus' high-priestly intercession for man in the heavenly sanctuary? Can we really trust in a Christ whose statements are not necessarily his, but put on his lips by others (146)? Can one be satisfied with a Christology deprived of the "blessed hope" of Christ's return, reducing it to a more or less meaningless "eschaton"?

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Perkins, Pheme. *First and Second Peter, James, and Jude.* Interpretation: A Bible
     Commentary for Teaching and Preaching. Ed. James Luther Mays.
     Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995. 204 pp. Hardcover, $22.00.

Professor Perkins has added another volume to an excellent commentary series of which I find the New Testament volumes (Part I is edited by Achtemeier) particularly helpful in my exegetical classes for prospective pastors.

Despite the title of this volume, Perkins does not follow the canonical order but bases the commentary's structure on her dating of each epistle, earliest to latest: 1 Peter, James, Jude, 2 Peter. The order of the last two is based on the position held by many recent commentators that the author of 2 Peter used Jude extensively in the composition of his document.

Perkins does not accept the tradition that these epistles were written by apostles. She suggests that an apostle may have dictated 1 Peter, but points out that evidence for apostolic authorship for James, Jude, and 2 Peter "remains thin" (2). It is a pity that, due to space limitations, she never fully develops her position, instead of ignoring or just touching on contrary positions. For example, Ralph P. Martin suggests an early date for James with a reworking of the text by a later

editor. Professor Perkins sees this as ingenious, but dismisses it as lacking explicit evidence in the text (84). Yet, the evidence she presents for her dating of the epistles is no more explicit in the text than Professor Martin's.

What is important to Perkins, however, is not the debate as to who wrote what. It is the fact that first-century Christians accepted these documents as examples of true apostolic faith (3). They must, then, be accepted and interpreted with that perspective in mind.

The strength of the commentary is its solid, exegetical interpretation. The author also offers excellent insights from social-scientific studies by scholars such as John Elliot and Jerome Neyrey (particularly in Perkins's commentary on 1 Peter). Yet, there is very little reference to other social-descriptive studies that could bring added perspectives on the settings of the epistles. The weakness of the commentary is its homiletical exposition. There is almost none in the study on Jude! The intent of the editors and writers of the Interpretation series is for each volume to explain and then to apply, thereby meeting the needs of students, teachers, ministers, and priests. This volume emphasizes exegesis over application. The preacher will find good, exegetical insights, but little extrapolation to make the text come alive to the congregants in the pews. Professor Perkins has written an important addition to the growing number of tomes on the General Epistles. However, her commentary is better suited to an exegetical series than to a series which combines teaching and preaching, academics and liturgics.

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Robbins, Vernon K. *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996. xiii + 278 pp. Paper, $22.99.

In this book Vernon Robbins, Professor of Religion at Emory University, provides the most in-depth and systematic discussion to date of the method of Biblical interpretation known as socio-rhetorical criticism, a method he has been developing through numerous articles and books since the publication of *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark* in 1984. It should be noted that his *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation*, a book similar to the one being reviewed, also appeared in 1996. Although both books contain a very similar outline, *Exploring the Texture of Texts* is intended to guide readers through the steps of actually applying socio-rhetorical methods, while *Tapestry* lays the theoretical and methodological foundations for the approach.

Through socio-rhetorical criticism Robbins seeks to find an alternative for dominant modes of Biblical interpretation that focus on a single aspect of the text, be it historical, social, theological, etc. By systematically placing several specialized areas of analysis in dialogue with each other, socio-rhetorical criticism reads and rereads texts using multiple strategies of interpretation without favoring one over the other. It should be noted that Robbins' method relies heavily on rhetorical-critical and social-scientific modes of interpretation.

In chapters 1 and 2 Robbins discusses some of the theoretical presuppositions

of the method and introduces the four arenas of texture that the socio-rhetorical method explores: inner texture, intertexture, social and cultural texture, and ideological texture. Basic to Robbins' methodology is the notion that texts are performances of language, and language is simultaneously related to people's speech, writings, and actions. Traditional metaphors of language as windows and mirrors are viewed as problematic, since they overlook the nature of language as a social product. For the purposes of socio-rhetorical analysis, these metaphors are replaced by the metaphor of "texts as thick as tapestry" (18). This understanding allows the interpreter to explore a wide range of meanings through the process of creating or dismantling boundaries to create various meanings that interact dynamically with one another. Helpful diagrams accompany the rather complex introductory discussions of each of the textures in chapter 2.

Chapters 3 through 6 develop each of the four arenas of interpretation in depth. These chapters proceed primarily by reviewing previous studies that have in some way been important to the development of the socio-rhetorical method. Each of these chapters ends with a helpful section in which the strategies for reading discussed in that chapter are applied to 1 Corinthians 9.

Chapter 3 develops the idea of the inner nature of texts. Here Robbins analyzes the relation of signs (words) in the text to one another. Utilizing primarily rhetorical critical methods, the interpreter is asked to look at the repetition of words, the opening-middle-closing structure of texts, the narratorial characteristics, and the argumentative and sensory-aesthetic features.

The study of the intertextual features of texts, discussed in chapter 4, builds on recent studies of intertextuality that recognize that texts, like words, acquire meaning in relation to other texts. Two aspects of Robbins' approach to intertextual studies are worth noting: Unlike some studies of intertextuality, Robbins does not limit comparison to Hebrew Bible texts; rather he includes all the literature of the Mediterranean world, including Greco-Roman traditions. Robbins makes a distinction between oral-scribal intertextuality (the way in which the words of one text are reconfigured in another), social intertextuality (the relationship between the social practices of two groups), historical intertextuality (how a particular event or period of time is reconfigured) and cultural intertexture (the interaction between symbolic worlds), analyzing each separately.

The analysis of social and cultural texture, explored in chapter 5, relies heavily on social and anthropological theory in order to explore the nature of the voices in the text. Here the interpreter is asked to locate the stance of the text according to a typology of seven major responses of religious discourse to the world, among which are conversionist, revolutionist, thaumaturgic, and other responses. Another aspect of social and cultural texture is understanding the social and cultural systems and institutions that texts presuppose and evoke.

The starting point for the analysis of ideological texture, discussed in chapter 6, is that all positions reflect a particular ideology. Here Robbins draws on recent work done in cultural studies. He advocates careful analysis of the ideologies underlying texts as well as the ideologies underlying dominant methods of interpretaion, groups, and individuals.

Robbins concludes the book with a brief discussion of what he sees as the

promise of socio-rhetorical criticism, including a brief outline for the rewriting of earliest Christian history that socio-rhetorical readings will make possible.

Socio-rhetorical criticism's potential for redefining our understanding of early Christian history is an important underlying theme of the book. Although Robbins proposes socio-rhetorical criticism as a way of bridging hermeneutical and historical approaches to early Christian texts, he clearly stays closer to historical concerns. Socio-rhetorical criticism is a demanding and complex method, requiring of the interpreter that he or she go outside of the rather self-contained world of NT studies and engage some of the developments that have taken place in the field of semiotics, cultural studies, and other fields that have not traditionally been the playground of interpreters of the NT. Because of this, readers may find the book somewhat difficult, even though it is well organized and well written.

While not every reader (particularly those of a conservative bent) will be able to follow all of Robbins' presuppositions, most readers, especially those interested in hermeneutical issues, will find Robbins' attempt to systematize an interdisciplinary approach challenging and enlightening.

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Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997. 230 pp. Hardcover, $24.95.

Jeffrey Burton Russell has devoted much of his scholarly career to writing about the devil and hell. Such volumes as *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (1977); *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (1981); *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (1984); *Mephistopheles: The Devil in the Modern World* (1986); and *The Prince of Darkness: Evil and the Power of Good in History* (1988) have been leading scholarly contributions in the field.

With *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* Russell has set a new direction for his scholarly endeavors. He intends this volume to be a prolegomenon to a detailed, multivolume study of the topic that one presumes will follow somewhat the pattern laid out in his work on the devil.

It is probably no accident that Russell's history of the evil side of the supernatural received priority in treatment. After all, as he perceptively notes, "to the modern mind heaven often seems bland or boring." Thus, "evil and the Devil seem to get the best lines" (xiii). That appears to be true in both history (e.g., destruction) and the daily newspaper, where good news seems to be no news at all.

But Russell has come to the place where he sees another viewpoint. In the tradition of Dante he desires to show how nothing could possibly be as exciting as heaven itself. Thus the purpose of *A History of Heaven* is to deepen his readers' understanding of heaven as a blessed otherworld by examining the Christian tradition on the topic. His central theme "is the fulfillment of the human longing for unity, body and soul, in ourselves, with one another, and with the cosmos" (xiii).

The book's title is somewhat misleading, since it seems to promise a comprehensive history of ideas about heaven but only takes its readers from about

200 B.C. through Dante's *Paradiso* in the fourteenth century. Beyond that, Russell has generally limited himself to Christian insights and has only minimally dealt with the constructions of Judaism and Islam. The thought of Eastern and animistic religions has been avoided altogether. Those delimitations are quite understandable and defensible, but the volume could have been made richer by cross-cultural comparison and especially contrasts, even if the cross-cultural aspects were kept to a minimum.

The key to Russell's treatment of his topic is his understanding of "'metaphorical ontology.'" "Metaphorical ontology," he writes, "is the use of figures of speech to go beyond science, history, and poetry to indicate the deepest, divine, heavenly reality" (8). Russell argues that the literalistic language of science and history cannot capture the depth and complexity of heavenly realities. There are other ways of looking at things beyond those thought of as modern. Traditional Christian and Jewish thinkers realized that metaphor expressed a deeper insight into reality than could be expressed in the pedestrian language of science and history. Russell suggests that the facts of eternity can only be approximated through metaphor, since they soar beyond human imagination and reason.

A History of Heaven's subtitle, *The Singing Silence*, highlights both the fact of human limitation and the metaphorical ontology to which writers on the topic were driven in their desire to express the inexpressible. But even metaphor can't really do the job of enabling people to fully understand heaven. The depth of the topic extends even beyond the flight of metaphor. As a result, suggests Russell, the metaphors continued to become richer and more complex through Dante's masterpiece, the discussion of which provides the crescendo on which the book ends.

A History of Heaven is a genuine contribution to a neglected field. Readers can look forward with anticipation to further treatment of the topic as Russell expands the beachhead established by this work.

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Ryken, Leland. *Redeeming the Time: A Christian Approach to Work and Leisure*.
    Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995. 301 pp. $17.99.

Contemporary views and attitudes toward work and leisure are affected by false values of consumerism, materialism, and the idolatry of eternal youth. The historical currents of modernization, urbanization, and technologization have helped to bring great pressures, even upon Christians, to accept false values. For many Christians, work is treated as a curse, except where it produces wealth, and leisure is approached with guilt. These negative attitudes to work and leisure are the reasons why Leland Ryken wrote *Redeeming the Time*. It is a most significant work and one of the boldest attempts of the late twentieth century to seek the rehabilitation of work and leisure while encouraging Christians to contribute to the process of their rehabilitation.

It is Ryken's view that while contemporary secular authors have published

a plethora of studies on work and leisure as separate issues, there is a need for Christians to reflect on these themes conjointly. In the early twentieth century, Richard C. Cabot (1914) made an excellent attempt to bring the two themes together in his book, *What Men Live By: Work, Play, Love, Worship*. However, he was not comprehensive in his study due to his attendance to multiple themes.

Ryken's arguments are skillfully developed from the beginning, where he seeks to rehabilitate the words "work" and "leisure." He notes, for example, that "work is a means of providing for life's needs and wants." It is "a means of production," a means for human achievement, psychological satisfaction, and of service. On the other hand, leisure is seen as moments in life when one is not doing something or moments when one is doing something for entertainment, playing, or resting. The function of leisure is for "rest, relaxation, enjoyment and physical and psychic health. It allows people to receive the distinctly human values, to build relationships, to strengthen family bonds and to put themselves in touch with the world and nature." But Ryken argues further that, in history, the pendulum concerning attitudes of work and leisure has swung to extremes, while inadequate solutions have been presented to correct the extremes, thus leaving us in great confusion today.

In addition to the earlier described sources of misconception concerning work and leisure, Ryken argues that Greek dualistic philosophy has through their teaching influenced some Christians, leading them to asceticism or overwork. Other issues that form the foundation for the distortion of work are the Enlightenment which encouraged humanism, the ethic of self-interest, idealization of nature, secularization of religious life, the world's success syndrome, information overload, and calendar and clock domination.

In the ethic of self-interest, people are trying to get too much out of work and thus have found the consequences of fatigue, isolation, powerlessness, the loss of the sense of vocation, loss of a devotional life, and a poor quality of leisure.

As a correction of the confusion in the areas of work and leisure, Ryken advocates a new focus on the creative activity of God. Ryken notes that God both works and finds time for leisure. Work is a part of the Christian calling and the reality is that work has been given to us by God to lead us to salvation.

In my opinion this is a critical text which seeks to understand the ethics of work, leisure, and related themes. While it is not a highly technical work, it is, however, a warm, inspirational book for laypersons.

Ryken states that "the biblical Sabbath leaves no doubt about the need for work and rest in our lives" (286). However, he appears to ignore the biblical command to keep the seventh day holy while suggesting that any day within the week may be designated as time for exemption from work. Such minimalization of a rhythm within the order of creation has created much of the misunderstanding concerning work and leisure which it is Ryken's purpose to transform.

Ryken has made a significant endeavor to show how to transform work and leisure into a real model of Christian stewardship. The book will achieve its intended purpose if it is read and applied to one's life.

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Stevens, Gerald L. *New Testament Greek Workbook*, 2d ed. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997. 290 pp. Paper, $21.00.

Stevens has revised his Greek workbook and provided a number of new features. There are new exercises, using new sentences, which have been revised and simplified. He has included a section on English derivatives as an aid to learning Greek vocabulary. Translation aids have been revised and put into a new section; and new charts, including word statistics, have been added. An answer key has been provided for odd-numbered exercises after lesson 3. Finally, there is a 26-page appendix summarizing key aspects of English grammar for those who are weak in grammar skills. Students should find this workbook very useful and helpful in learning Greek.

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Thiselton, Anthony C. *Interpreting God and the Postmodern Self: On Meaning, Manipulation and Promise.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995. 191 pp. Paper, $24.95.

Interpreting God and the Postmodern Self examines the postmodern condition of self via a Christian theology of promise in which personhood is grounded in the nature of God-as-Trinity and in his self-imparting love (ix, 71, 122). As postmodernity fragments the self and society into multiple role performances, and dissolves truth into mere conventions of power interests of competing communities, "promise" holds out the possibility of reintegration. In particular, the principle of the personhood of God-as-Trinity displays how self draws its full personhood from a dialectic of self-identity and relation to the "other." Ultimately, self-identity is to be located within the larger story of God's dealing with the world (x).

In developing his thesis, Thiselton perceptively compares and assesses modern and postmodern interpretations of the self and society on their own terms and in relation to Christian theology. In the process he critically engages key thinkers in philosophy, hermeneutics, and theology, including Nietzsche, Foucault, Ricoeur, Dilthey, Cupitt, Moltmann, and Pannenberg. His argumentation assumes a progression that is nicely outlined in four parts, each with six chapters. While the level of discussion can be rather "difficult" in places, there are sufficient conceptual bridges between chapters and sections to keep the nonprofessional reader engaged.

Part I focuses on issues of meaning, manipulation, and truth. Here Thiselton engages Nietzsche's notion that all that exists consists of manipulative interpretations of texts—i.e., truth-claims are mere interpretations and readily lend themselves as tools of self-interest, deception, and manipulation. While he affirms that a Christian account of human nature accepts the capacity of the self for self-deception and its readiness to use strategies of manipulation (13), he asserts that authentic Christian faith follows the paradigm of nonmanipulative love as expressed in the cross of Jesus Christ (16, 20-25). Furthermore, truth proves itself in relationships and thus has personal character (38). As truth found stable expression in the person, words, and deeds of Jesus Christ as the divine *Logos* (Jn

1-18), one can assert that truth entails a match of word and deed, of language and life, and that personal integrity gives meaning and credibility to words (36). The ground for truthful speech is a stable attitude of respect and concern for the other (37). This is a very constructive section that gives the reader not only a feel for the moral and philosophical issues concerning truth-claims as such, but forceful argumentation toward the possibility that some claims to truth, at least, can be valid and not mere manipulative interpretation. While we can affirm the relational "speech-acts" perspective of truth that Thiselton here develops, one misses a clear affirmation that behind the person who thus speaks truthfully lies any moral or spiritual truth that is indeed propositional and likewise confronts the self. One could intuit that the claims of Scripture are trustworthy because God is trustworthy, but Thiselton doesn't draw such a direct line.

A discussion of the hermeneutics of selfhood takes up Part II. Here "relationality" is seen as an important part of the process which makes self-understanding possible (50, 51). Who or what we "are" often emerges only as we interact with others (x). Thiselton affirms Schleiermacher's call to allow texts and persons to enter present understanding as *themselves* and not as some construct of our own devising (56), as well as Ricoeur's assertion that written texts represent the objectified self-expression of another self (60). Gadamer's model of dialogue and dialectic is likewise affirmed (70-77). In this light, Thiselton distinguishes five ways in which textual reading interprets the self—the most important for him being the reality that biblical reading has to do with transformation. Scripture shapes the identities of persons so decisively as to transform them (63-66). This transforming purpose of Scripture entails a hermeneutic of self; otherwise it does not lead to a new understanding of the self's identity, responsibility, and future possibilities of change and growth (66). One senses an existentialism and neoorthodox encounter-view of Scripture behind the arguments in this section. The question is whether or not his hermeneutic of selfhood is balanced by a broader theological framework that affirms Scripture as bringing content, as well as encounter. One is not sure. For the postmodern self, however, Thiselton is correct in affirming that, in order to be relevant, biblical reading has to do with transformation and that the existential is, at least, a proper starting point.

Part III moves to a discussion of postmodernity's interpretation of God. This section is, for the most part, an effective and very informative analysis and critique of Cupitt's nonrealist or nonobjective view of God (104) where one essentially comes to understand God through a reshaping of selfhood. Thiselton correctly asserts that because postmodern philosophy projects an elusive self or no substantial, individual self, there is really no longer any self within which "god" can be "internalized," (85) let alone objectified. Ultimately, God gets lost entirely in postmodernity's self. In the end, "rhetoric" is all that postmodernity has to offer.

In this context, Thiselton rightly argues that we come to understand God as God not when we engage in abstract discussions about Him, but when God addresses and encounters us in ways which involve, challenge, and transform the self, or at very least when we use self-involving logic (103).

Part IV begins by considering the problem that postmodernist approaches

decenter self, decenter ethics, and decenter society, thus giving rise to conflict, potential violence, and despair in society. Here Thiselton argues that the postmodern self, however, stands closer to biblical realism than the illusory optimism of modernity's self about human nature and society (130). Postmodern self can find hope, though, only in the context of a biblical theology of promise. In the context of promise, a new horizon is formed in which the postmodern self, which has "a constructed identity," can be "reconstituted."

For Thiselton, acting in the present on the basis of that which is yet to come constitutes a faith that has self-transforming effects. It transforms the self because it "reconstitutes self-identity" as no longer the passive victim of forces of the past which "situated" it within a network of pregiven roles and performances, but opens out a new future in which new purpose brings a "point" to its life. "

The self perceives a call and its value as one-who-is-loved within the larger narrative plot of God's loving purposes for the world, for society, and for the self" (160). The "image of Christ" assumes a fundamental role in relation to future promise. To be transformed into "the image of Christ" and to become "like him" constitute the heart of the divine promise which lifts the self out of its predefined situatedness and beckons from "beyond" to a new future (153).

This creative transformation comes through the Holy Spirit, who transposes self-interest into love for others and for the Other (154). The personhood of God-as-Trinity provides the framework for a dialectic of self-identity and relation to the "other." In spite of the excellent ideas in this section, Thiselton's theological development of promise, Holy Spirit, and the personhood of Trinity proves rather vague in comparison to the in-depth, philosophical discussions of earlier sections. His lack of specificity here, unfortunately, is in keeping with much of the current dialogue on either of these issues, and again reflects an existentialism and neo-orthodox perspective of Scripture. At the most, in his own terms, he reaches "toward a theology of promise." This is a significant discussion on the post-modern understanding of self, but the solutions it advances, while in principle correct, need more biblical structure and concreteness.

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Torrance, Thomas F. *The Christian Doctrine of God, One Being, Three Persons.* Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996. 272 pp. $49.95.

As an example of doctrine-as-explanation (in contrast to, say, doctrine-as-grammar), Thomas Torrance's *The Christian Doctrine of God, One Being, Three Persons* is a tour de force. Torrance, who is professor emeritus at the University of Edinburgh, is concerned that the Protestant doctrine of God no longer succumb to the tendency to wrongly conceive God's tri-unity *first* in terms of the divine essence and only *subsequently* in terms of the divine Persons (112). Torrance offers a two-fold conception of divine Being, as personal and perichoretic, to make this corrective.

Torrance begins with the insistence that the evangelical, or economic, trinity is identical with the immanent, or ontological, trinity (133). Thus, following Karl

Barth, the revelation of God in Christ as Revealer, Revelation, and Revealedness factually indicates the same triadic ratio that characterizes God's intrinsic Being (32). The difficulty here, of course, is to avoid simply reproducing the tritheism that seems implicit in all Platonic formulations of the Trinity, in which *ousia* relates to *hypostasis* as universal to particular. However, Torrance claims to have unearthed an "onto-personal" conception of Being, which escapes tritheism, in the line of thought that stretches from Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria to Epiphanius and Gregory of Nazianzus. While earlier patristic doctrine treated *hypostasis* (a relational term) as synonymous with *ousia* (a static term), subsequent thinkers beginning with Athanasius conceived the "ontic relations" between the divine Persons as *belonging to what they are* as Persons (156-157). Torrance concludes, "The relations between the divine Persons are not just modes of existence but hypostatic interrelations which belong intrinsically to what Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are coinherently in themselves and in their mutual objective relations with and for one another. These relations subsisting between them are just as substantial as what they are unchangeably in themselves and by themselves" (157). The upshot of this bit of conceptual archeology lies in Torrance's conclusion that God's Being is not static and impersonal (as Greek philosophy demanded) but *personal*: God's Being cannot but be spoken of in the same breath as God's triadic Personality, *and vice versa* (128).

Torrance's second corrective to the doctrine of the Trinity is an emphasis on the soteriological necessity of God's *perichoresis*. The form of Athanasius's christological argument (namely, that the efficacy of salvation hangs upon the full divinity of the Son), applies simultaneously to the Father and the Spirit. Thus, "unless the Being and Activity of the Spirit are identical with the Being and Activity of the Father and the Son, we are not saved" (169). The mutual coinherence of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit excludes any consideration that "some attributes and activities common to the whole Trinity may be specially assigned or 'appropriated' to one Person rather than another in order to reveal his distinctive hypostatic character" (200). Rather, each Person of the Godhead is the onto-relational source (which is *not* to say the causal or temporal origin) of qualities that apply uniformly to the whole. For example, the Holy Spirit is the onto-relational source for the "spiritness" of the Godhead by which God *as a whole* imbues creation with life, or spiritual power. God as a whole acts as spirit toward creation just as God as a whole acts as father toward creation. In this way God's activity outside the Godhead is not only indivisible (*opera trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa*); it is an important analogy to intra-trinitarian relations (140, 215, 218-220, 243).

Torrance provides his theses with strong historical support derived mainly from a careful exegesis of Athanasius's writings. Torrance's approach is historical in a second way as well. Like his forebear Barth, Torrance aspires to an intentionally "circular" methodological holism (7), or "depth exegesis" (37-50), that aims to avoid grounding theology on any nontheological source. In his eyes, revelation provides its own frame of reference for intelligibility (43). That is to say, there is no basis for knowledge of God prior to that knowledge of God. This implies, first, that one's character must be adequated by God's Spirit to the task

of theology (11, 34, 61-62, 83, 88, 99-100, 106, 127). Only such a person can attain to the "mystery of godliness," which Torrance identifies as the ability to think in a trinitarian way (74). But, second, this means that just as God cannot be analyzed into parts (*simplicitas Dei*), so too knowledge of God is of a piece; each Person of the Godhead, being internally related to the others, can be known only to the extent one understands the other two, and thus to the extent one understands the whole (174). In this sense the Trinity can be likened to the three-dimensional image which emerges from a stereoscope: only by simultaneous focus on each of the similar, but necessarily *different*, pictures can the accurate image of the whole be perceived (47).

The difficult task of mastering this difficult book is made more onerous by the persistence of a number of problems throughout. For example, after establishing that intra-trinitarian *relations* belong to the *nature* of each Person and thus to the Being of the whole Godhead (surely a form of idealism), it becomes very difficult to imagine on what grounds Torrance can assert that the relations of God *ad extra* do *not* belong to God's nature. In other words, how can it be that Pentecost manifested a change in God's relations with creation, but *not* a change in God's "nature" (238)? This inconsistency renders ambiguous the cash value of his notion of "onto-personal" Being.

However, a more glaring difficulty, it seems to me, is the lack of nuance in Torrance's theological use of language. First, Torrance claims that "theological concepts are used aright when we do not think the concepts themselves, thereby identifying them with the truth, but think through them of the realities or truths which they are meant to intend beyond themselves" (194). But how can we ever be certain we are getting things right? On the presupposition that the Holy Spirit *compels* an adequate transformation of an individual's consciousness (34, 61-62)? Perhaps. On the grounds that there *must* be an *analogia relationis* between God's dealings with creation and his intra-trinitarian relations (243)? Maybe. But these ways of putting the matter turn the clock backwards to the early twentieth century, when conservatives debated liberals over the mechanism of theological language; a debate, incidentally, that was never satisfactorily settled in these terms and, moreover, that predated Barth's own thoughts on the matter.

Second, and even more troubling to this reviewer, is Torrance's inattention to the irreducibly social character of theological language and belief. Nowhere does Torrance discuss the role that participation in the believing community's corporate life plays in understanding claims about God. So Torrance cites the apostle Thomas's ascription of lordship to Jesus as if that were intelligible apart from the political context in which it was written. But early readers of John's Gospel would not naturally hear "my Lord and my God" as an ontological claim about the identity of Jesus Christ with Yahweh (51-53). Rather, they would recognize in these words the very *Dominus et Deus noster* that Domitian demanded be rendered unto *him!* Thus Thomas's claim is none other than a declaration of allegiance to a new, and in Rome's eyes subversive, *polis* called the church. Similarly, it may have been more fruitful for Torrance to consider *perichoresis* as a *grammatical* remark that gets its sense from the social solidarity that constitutes the Body of Christ than as a meta-scientific term that purportedly explains God's

intrinsically trinitarian nature (88-111). Sadly, Torrance appears unable to suggest any way in which *the church* is the foundation of doctrinal truth (1 Tim. 3:15), not the other way around.

Torrance may very well be correct that contemporary Western theology lacks the conceptual resources for correctly conceiving God. But it is not clear that such resources can be supplied by a meticulous explanation of ancient vocabulary that does not attend to the communal form of life which gave this vocabulary its original sense. In the end, Torrance may simply have invented a new language (using old words), the language of *onto-personality* and *perichoresis*, which is grounded in contemporary scientific culture rather than in the praxis of first-century faith. The question remains, therefore, whether fluency in *this* language ought to be preferred over the biblical declaration, "My Lord and my God."

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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = '	ה = h	ט = ṭ	מ = m	פ = p	שׁ = š
ב = b	ו = w	י = y	נ = n	צ = ṣ	שׂ = ś
ג = g	ז = z	כ = k	ס = s	ק = q	ת = t
ד = d	ח = ḥ	ל = l	ע = '	ר = r	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

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

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters;
dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.	CH	Church History
AB	Anchor Bible	CHR	Catholic Historical Review
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary	CIG	Corpus inscriptionum graecarum
AcOr	Acta orientalia	CIJ	Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum
ADAJ	Annual Dept. Ant. Jordan	CIL	Corpus inscriptionum latinarum
AHR	American Historical Review	CIS	Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	CJT	Canadian Journal of Theology
AJT	American Journal of Theology	CQ	Church Quarterly
ANEP	Anc. Near East in Pictures	CQR	Church Quarterly Review
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts	CT	Christianity Today
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers	CTJ	Calvin Theological Journal
AnOr	Analecta orientalia	CTM	Concordia Theological Monthly
ANRW	Auf. und Nieder. der römischen Welt	CurTM	Currents in Theol. and Mission
ARG	Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte	DOTT	Doc. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.
ATR	Anglican Theological Review	EDNT	Exegetical Dict. of the NT
AusBR	Australian Biblical Review	EKL	Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies	EncIs	Encyclopedia of Islam
BA	Biblical Archaeologist	EncJud	Encyclopedia Judaica
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review	ER	Ecumenical Review
BASOR	Bulletin Amer. Sch. Oriental Research	EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
BCSR	Bull. Council on the Study of Religion	EvT	Evangelische Theologie
BHS	Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia	ExpTim	Expository Times
Bib	Biblica	GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies
BibB	Biblische Beiträge	GTJ	Grace Theological Journal
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Expl. Society	HeyJ	Heythrop Journal
BJRL	Bulletin, John Rylands University	HR	History of Religions
BK	Bibel und Kirche	HTR	Harvard Theological Review
BKAT	Bibl. Kommentar: Altes Testament	HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
BO	Bibliotheca orientalis	IB	Interpreter's Bible
BR	Biblical Research	ICC	International Critical Commentary
BSac	Bibliotheca Sacra	IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
BT	The Bible Translator	IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin	Int	Interpretation
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift	ISBE	International Standard Bible Dict.
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW	JAAR	Journ. American Academy of Religion
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW	JAOS	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Society
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary	JAS	Journ. of Asian Studies
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly	JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature

Abbreviations (cont.)

JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion	RevSém	Revue sémitique
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology	RHPR	Revue d'hist. et de phil. religieuses
JETS	Journal of the Evangel. Theol. Soc.	RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History	RL	Religion in Life
JES	Journal of Ecumenical Studies	RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies	RR	Review of Religion
JMeH	Journal of Medieval History	RRR	Review of Religious Research
JMES	Journal of Middle Eastern Studies	RSPT	Revue des sc. phil. et théol.
JMH	Journal of Modern History	RTP	Revue de théol. et de phil.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	SA	Sociological Analysis
JPOS	Journal of Palest. Orient. Soc.	SB	Sources bibliques
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review	SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
JR	Journal of Religion	SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society	SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
JRE	Journal of Religious Ethics	SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
JRelS	Journal of Religious Studies	SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the NT	SCJ	Sixteenth Century Journal
JRH	Journal of Religious History	SCR	Studies in Comparative Religion
JRT	Journal of Religions Thought	Sem	Semitica
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism	SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the OT	SMRT	Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies	SOr	Studia Orientalia
JSSR	Journal for the Scien. Study of Religion	SPB	Studia Postbiblica
JTC	Journal for Theol. and Church	SSS	Semitic Studies Series
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies	ST	Studia Theologica
LCL	Loeb Classical Library	TD	Theology Digest
LW	Luther's Works, American Ed.	TDNT	Theol. Dict. of the NT
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly	TDOT	Theol. Dict. of the OT
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review	TEH	Theologische Existenz Heute
Neot	Neotestamentica	TGl	Theologie und Glaube
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies	TJ	Trinity Journal
NICNT	New Internl. Commentary, NT	TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
NICOT	New Internl. Commentary, OT	TP	Theologie und Philosophie
NIDNTT	New Inter. Dict. of NT Theol.	TQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
NIGTC	New Internl. Greek Test. Comm.	TRev	Theologische Revue
NKZ	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift	TRu	Theologische Rundschau
NovT	Novum Testamentum	TS	Theological Studies
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers	TT	Teologisk Tidsskrift
NRT	La nouvelle revue théologique	TToday	Theology Today
NTA	New Testament Abstracts	TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
NTAp	NT Apocrypha, Schneemelcher	TWOT	Theol. Wordbook of the OT
NTS	New Testament Studies	TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
ODCC	Oxford Dict. of Christian Church	UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung	USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
Or	Orientalia (Rome)	VC	Vigiliae christianae
OrChr	Oriens christianus	VT	Vetus Testamentum
OTP	OT Pseudepigrapha, Charlesworth	VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien	WA	Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly	WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
PG	Patrologia Graeca, Migne	WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
PL	Patrologia Latina, Migne	ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie	ZAW	Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wissen.
QDAP	Quart. Dept. of Ant. in Palestine	ZDMG	Zeitsch. des deutsch. morgen. Gesell.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'arch.	ZDPV	Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Vereins
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.	ZEE	Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik
RB	Revue biblique	ZHT	Zeitsch. für historische Theologie
RechSR	Recherches de science religieuse	ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
REg	Revue d'égyptologie	ZKT	Zeitsch. für katholische Theologie
RelS	Religious Studies	ZMR	Zeitsch. für Mission. und Religion.
RelSoc	Religion and Society	ZNW	Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wissen.
RelSRev	Religious Studies Review	ZRGG	Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistegeschichte
RevExp	Review and Expositor	ZST	Zeitsch. für systematische Theologie
RevQ	Revue de Qumran	ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
RevScRel	Revue des sciences religieuses	ZWT	Zeitschrift für wissen. Theologie