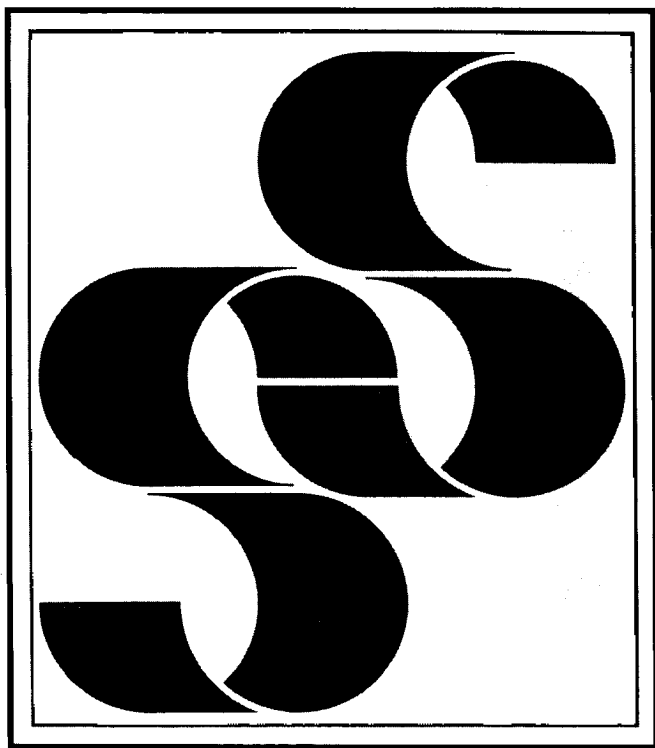


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Editorial and Circulation Office: ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES
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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- MOON, JERRY. Ratiocinations of a New Editor 195
- CHOI, P. RICHARD. The Problem of Translating ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ
αἵματι in Romans 3:25a 199
- RICHARDS, W. LARRY. ὑποταγῆσεται in 1 Corinthians 15:28b 203
- BURTON, KEITH A. The Millennium: Transition to the Final Aeon .. 207
- COLE, H. R. The Sabbath and the Alien 223
- KLINGBEIL, GERALD. The Anointing of Aaron: A Study of
Leviticus 8:12 in Its OT and ANE Context 231
- REYNOLDS, EDWIN. The Feast of Tabernacles and the
Book of Revelation 245
- SHEA, WILLIAM H., AND ED CHRISTIAN. The Chiastic Structure
of Revelation 12:1-15:4: The Great Controversy Vision 269
- WARNING, WILFRIED. Terminological Patterns and Genesis 38 293

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

- FIGUEROA-VILLARREAL, VICTOR. Gustavo Gutierrez's
Understanding of the Kingdom of God in the
Light of the Second Vatican Council 306
- REGAZZI, MARK B. The Delimitation of Pericopes: A Case
Study in Matthew 307

REVIEWS 308

- Audi, Robert, and Nicholas Wolterstorff. *Religion in the Public
Square: The Place of Religious Convictions in Political
Debate (Point/Counterpoint)* (Otis Coutsoumpos) 308
- Bailey, Mark, and Tom Constable. *The New Testament Explorer:
Discovering the Essence, Background and Meaning of
Every Book in the New Testament* 310
- Baldwin, John Templeton, ed. *Creation, Catastrophe, and
Calvary: Why a Global Flood Is Vital to the Doctrine
of Atonement* (Tim Standish) 310
- Beale, G. K. *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the
Greek Text* (Jon Paulien) 313
- Blouin, Francis X., Jr. ed. *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and
Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See*
(P. Gerard Damsteegt) 315

Briggs, Robert A. <i>Jewish Temple Imagery in the Book of Revelation</i> (Jon Paulien)	317
Freedman, David Noel. <i>Divine Commitment and Human Obligation: Selected Writings of David Noel Freedman</i> , 2 vols. (Michael G. Hasel)	319
Geisler, Norman. <i>Chosen but Free: A Balanced View of Divine Election</i> (Ed Christian)	321
Greenspahn, Frederick E. <i>An Introduction to Aramaic</i> (Zdravko Stefanovic)	324
Hayes, John Haralson. <i>Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation</i> , 2 vols. (Frank M. Hasel)	325
Hess, Richard S., and Gordon J. Wenham, eds. <i>Make the Old Testament Live: From Curriculum to Classroom</i> (Lael Caesar)	327
Hill, Andrew E. <i>Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction & Commentary</i> (Lael Caesar)	328
Jasper, David, Stephen Prickett, and Andrew Hass, eds. <i>The Bible and Literature: A Reader</i> (Ed Christian)	330
Jeeves, Malcom A., and R. J. Berry. <i>Science, Life, and Christian Belief: A Survey of Contemporary Issues</i> (Clyde L. Webster, Jr.)	332
Kaiser, Walter C., Jr. <i>A History of Israel: From the Bronze Age through the Jewish Wars</i> (David Merling)	333
Long, V. Philips, ed. <i>Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography</i> (Tarsi Li)	335
Maag, Karin, ed. <i>Melanchthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg</i> (Ervin R. Gane)	336
O'Brien, Peter T. <i>The Letter to the Ephesians</i> (Carl P. Cosart)	338
Schreiner, Thomas R. <i>Romans</i> (P. Richard Choi)	340
Weathers, Stephen, Jack Welch, and Darryl Tippens, eds. <i>Shadow & Light: Literature & the Life of Faith</i> (Ed Christian)	330
Zurcher, J. R. <i>Touched With Our Feelings: A Historical Survey of Adventist Thought on the Human Nature of Christ</i> (Denis Fortin)	342
INDEX	345

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

RATIOCINATIONS OF A NEW EDITOR

At a time of editorial transition, it would seem that friends of this journal have a right to know something of the goals and perspectives of a new editor and some indications of the direction intended for the journal in the near future.

First, however, I need to acknowledge a debt that can only be repaid by consistent editorial excellence, but which can at least be recognized here. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Nancy Vyhmeister, who six years ago invited me to join the editorial staff and then very intentionally involved me in the various aspects of editing *AUSS*, from manuscript evaluation and correspondence with writers and reviewers, to budget preparation, policy discussions, and more. She has been not only an inspiring colleague, but a genuine friend, and I appreciate her willingness to have a continuing connection with the journal as one of the consulting editors.

A few words about the current editorial staff may also be of interest to readers. Roy E. Gane, associate editor and book review editor, holds a Ph.D. in Biblical Hebrew Language and Literature from the University of California, Berkeley, where he wrote his dissertation under Jacob Milgrom. He has also studied at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and participated in archaeological digs in Iraq and Jordan. Thus he stands squarely in the Siegfried Horn-Leona Running-Gerhard Hasel tradition of Hebrew- and Semitic-language scholarship at Andrews, and we feel privileged to have him as associate editor.

Karen Abrahamson, editorial assistant and office manager, is a Ph.D. student in systematic theology, preparing for a dissertation in philosophical hermeneutics. Her background includes business administration and pastoral work. In addition to contract teaching several courses in the undergraduate religion department, she is also a sought-after multi-instrument musician. She has been with *AUSS* since the fall of 1998.

Moise Isaac, book review manager since July, is completing an M.A. in OT studies. He has studied at UCLA and is an avid reader of scholarly literature. His gentle spirit and soft-spoken manner belie deeply held convictions that bring thoughtful wisdom to our editorial staff meetings.

Ross Winkle, circulation manager and also new to our staff, is a Ph.D. student in NT studies. The efficiency, accuracy, and people-care he brings to his work are crucial components of our service to subscribers, and his creative

possibility thinking makes a valued contribution to our editorial staff.

Since my own field is church history with a cognate in systematic theology (Ph.D., Andrews University, 1993), I greatly appreciate the academic diversity of this team, and the insights that all the staff bring from their own areas of speciality.

Another staff member who devotes many hours to every issue of *AUSS*, but seldom receives the limelight, is the legendary Dr. Leona Running, Emerita Professor of Biblical Languages. She earned her Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University in William Foxwell Albright's former department in 1964, one year after the inaugural issue of *AUSS*. She was editorial assistant to the founding editor, Siegfried H. Horn, served 23 years as an associate editor (1971-1994), and despite her retirement continues as chief copy editor. This issue marks her 38th year on the editorial staff of *AUSS*.

The list of those on whom we depend in producing this journal also includes John Baldwin, Robert Johnston, George Knight, Jon Paulien, and Randy Younker, consulting editors; Madeline Johnston, associate copy editor; Gregg Patterson and the staff at Patterson Printing; and many more.

Subscribers are not listed on the masthead, but every one makes a contribution to the journal, and we are determined to serve them with excellence. Authors and reviewers are the lifeblood of the journal, without which editors would have nothing to edit. We will make every effort to be prompt in correspondence and in coordinating the peer review process.

Regarding editorial policy, we do not desire change for its own sake. To maintain the standards established by our esteemed editorial predecessors—Horn, Strand, Knight, and Vyhmeister—is challenge enough. Nevertheless, we cannot be content with what they did in 1963 or '73 or '93. So there will be gradual and incremental changes that we hope will be generally recognized as improvements. One that readers have already seen was introduced in the last issue with Roy Gane's "Call for Short Articles." Several have responded already, giving promise that this option will encourage more readers to engage in spirited scholarly dialogue with published articles, or initiate topics of their own choosing within the scope of a short article. Readers will also notice an increase in the number of articles per issue. A minor addition is the provision of page numbers in the table of contents for book reviews.

Plans for the near future include surveying present and former subscribers regarding two major issues—your preferences regarding *AUSS* content, particularly the relative number of pages devoted to articles and book reviews, and your experience of customer service. We have had some severe problems with the computer software that keeps our

subscriber records, and some of you have suffered lapses in service as a result. If you have not been served with excellence, we want to know. We are determined to earn your loyalty by remedying these problems in a way that will be completely satisfactory to every subscriber.

We are also in the process of updating our web site. The new web site (www.andrews.edu/~auss) will include our history and mission statements, links to related web sites, contributors' guidelines, and subscription information, including the option of subscribing online. Karen Abrahamson is preparing a comprehensive index to the back issues, and eventually there will be an archive of selected back issues.

For those of you attending the annual convention of the American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature in Nashville in November, we plan to have the entire editorial staff there to meet authors, reviewers, subscribers, and publishers. We look forward to getting acquainted with you. If we do not see you there, we would still like to hear from you, telling us what you like or dislike about the journal, and suggestions for improving it. Our most convenient means of communication is email, but whatever medium you prefer is welcome. See the inside front cover for addresses.

Reflection on this journal's distinguished past evokes no small sense of responsibility regarding the future. We, your editorial staff, look forward to a stimulating and mutually rewarding partnership with you, our writers and readers, as together we seek to maintain the standard of quality that the scholarly world has a right to expect from *AUSS*. JM

CORRECTION

Albert A. C. Waite, who authored "From Seventh-day Adventism to David Koresh: The British Connection" (*AUSS* 38 [Spring 2000]: 107-126), was identified as writing from Newbold College, England. Dr. Waite is a former principal lecturer of Newbold College. At the time of the article's publication, however, he had already left employment at Newbold College.

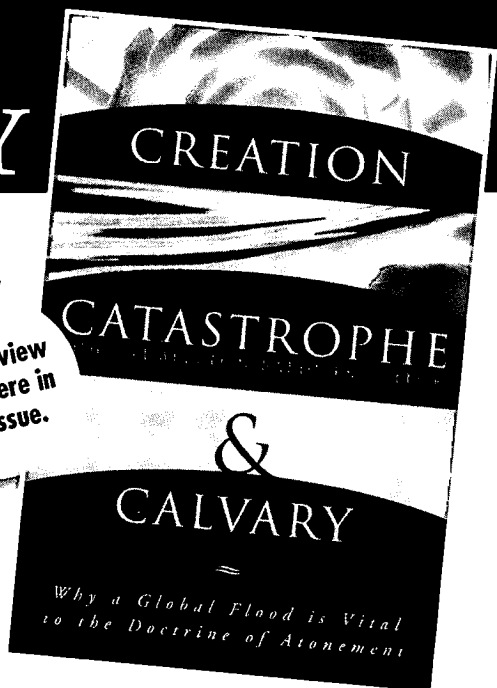
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THE PROBLEM OF TRANSLATING

ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι

IN ROMANS 3:25a

P. RICHARD CHOI
Andrews University

There is a common consensus among commentators that Rom 3:25a refers to the sacrificial significance of the Cross. Although there is no consensus on how to translate the term ἱλαστήριον, most commentators agree that the term at least refers to “the mercy seat” of the OT.¹ Yet this exegetical nuance is rarely reflected in translation. The purpose of this study is to show that the bulk of the problem lies with the translation of ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. The normal translations given are “in his blood”² or “by his blood,”³ or “by means of his blood,”⁴ “by shedding his blood,”⁵

¹For bibliography see Arland J. Hultgren, *Paul's Gospel and Mission* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 53-55. For a balanced discussion on the subject, see James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A (Dallas: Word, 1988), 170-171.

²John Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Philadelphia: Whetham, 1836), 143; Dunn, 170; James Edwards, *Romans*, New International Bible Commentary (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), 105; Nico S. L. Fryer, “The Meaning and Translation of in Romans 3:25” *EvQ* 59 (1987):107; Everett F. Harrison, “Romans,” *Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 10:44; Arland Hultgren, *Paul's Gospel and Mission* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 57; John Knox, “The Epistle to the Romans,” *IB* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1982), 9:432; R.C.H. Lenski suggests “in (connection with) his blood” (*The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1961], 256); Ben F. Meyer, “The Pre-Pauline Formula in Rom 3:25-26a,” *NTS* 29 (1983): 202-204; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 237; Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 182; H.C.G. Moule, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, vol. 42 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 86; John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes*, 2 vols., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 1:120; Norman H. Young, “‘Hilaskesthai’ and Related Words in the New Testament,” *EvQ* 55 (1983): 171.

³Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. E. C. Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 104-106; Matthew Black, *Romans*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 60; F. F. Bruce, *The Letter of Paul to Romans: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 99; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner, 1970), 1:46; J. Oswald Dykes, *The Gospel According to St. Paul* (London: J. Nisbet, 1888), 80; Arland J. Hultgren, 59, 71; Knox, 9:433, 434; C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 78; Rousas John Rushdoony, *Romans and Galatians* (Vallecito, CA: Ross, 1997), 52; John A. Ziesler,

and “through his blood.”⁶ The problem is that none of these translations allows *ἰλαστήριον* to be rendered as “the mercy seat.”⁷ For example, “the mercy seat in his blood,” “the mercy seat by means of his blood,” or “the mercy seat through his blood” are all awkward. This problem, among other things, has forced translators into rendering *ἰλαστήριον* in a variety of ways: “the means of expiating sin by his sacrificial death”⁸; “a reconciling sacrifice”⁹; and “sacrifice for reconciliation.”¹⁰ The choice between “expiation”¹¹ and “propitiation”¹² has led to a heated discussion about which of the two is correct,¹³ and to the NRSV’s compromise: “a sacrificial atonement.” In my opinion, the problem lies with *ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι* rather than *ἰλαστήριον*. One further problem is *διὰ [τῆς] πίστεως*, which intervenes between *ἰλαστήριον* and *ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι*.¹⁴ It is

“Salvation Proclaimed: IX. Romans 3:21-26,” *ExpTim* 93 (1982): 358.

⁶C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), 210; Roy A. Harrisville, *Romans*, Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1980), 62; Bruce W. Longenecker, “*Pistis* in Romans 3:25: Neglected Evidence for the ‘Faithfulness of Christ?’” *NTS* 39 (1933): 479; Randolph O. Yeager, “Romans 1:1-8:39,” *The Renaissance New Testament* (Bowling Green, KY: Renaissance, 1982), 362.

⁷Karl Barth, *A Shorter Commentary on Romans* (Richmond: John Knox, 1959), 46; William Hendrikson, *New Testament Commentary: Exposition of Paul’s Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980), 1:128.

⁸J. W. Colenso, *St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1861), 89; William G. Coltman, *The Cathedral of Christian Truth: Studies in Romans* (Findlay, OH: Fundamental Truth, 1943), 98.

⁹The Tyndale Bible (1534) appears to be the only exception: “a seate of mercy thorow faith in his bloud.” The Amplified Bible’s convoluted “a mercy seat and propitiation” fails to qualify as a translation.

¹⁰NEB.

¹¹Berkeley Version; New Berkeley Version.

¹²New Jerusalem Bible.

¹³RSV; NAB.

¹⁴Douay; NASB; AV; ASV; RV; Modern Reader’s Bible; Moffat.

¹⁵Anthony J. Guerra, *Romans and the Apologetic Tradition: The Purpose, Genre and Audience of Paul’s Letter*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series, no. 81 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 73; Dunn, 170, 171.

¹⁶Ernst Käsemann notes: “The sentence is difficult syntactically. It seems that *en tō autou haimmati* should go with *hilastērion*, corresponding to 5:9. . . . But the position and the sense prevent *dia pisteōs* from being linked to the verb. The appositions jostle one another” (*Commentary on Romans*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980], 97-98).

unclear what to do with διὰ [τῆς] πίστεως. It is commonly accepted as a parenthetical insertion into a pre-Pauline fragment.¹⁵ Yet this is very difficult to convey in a translation. So most translators have fallen back to the rendering “by faith” or “through faithfulness.”¹⁶ In either case, it hinders a smooth translation of the verse and does not connect meaningfully either to ἰλαστήριον or to ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι.¹⁷

All this can be solved by translating ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι as “with his blood.” The resultant translation would go like this: “whom God set forth as the mercy seat . . . with his blood (upon it).”¹⁸ In other words, the prepositional phrase would be taken as describing “attendant circumstances” or “accompaniment,” which is how C.F.D. Moule categorizes it.¹⁹ This would allow ἰλαστήριον to be translated as “the mercy seat,” which most commentators agree it means. Also, rendering ἰλαστήριον literally as “mercy seat,” rather than “expiation” or “propitiation,” has the added advantage of preserving the Jewish quality of this fragment in a translation. Accordingly, the rendition “with his blood” would mean that we translate διὰ [τῆς] πίστεως as “through (his) (covenant) faithfulness,” which is also in keeping with the fragment’s Jewish character. The verse would then be translated as follows: “whom God set forth as the mercy seat through his faithfulness, with his blood upon it.” This translation would give us a window into how the first Christians came to see the salvific significance of the Cross: they recognized an open sanctuary with its inner veil pulled apart, exposing the mercy seat with the fresh blood of the Covenant Maker thrown upon it.

¹⁵Alfons Pluta, *Gottes Bundestreue: Ein Schlüsselbegriff in Röm 3,25a*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, vol. 34 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1969), 41; Dunn, 172. Whether the pre-Pauline fragment should include vv. 24 and 26 is a matter of dispute; there is no dispute over v. 25; for details see Ralph P. Martin, *Reconciliation: A Study of Paul’s Theology*, Marshall’s Theological Library (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981), 81-85.

¹⁶Pluta devotes his entire monograph to advocate that διὰ [τῆς] πίστεως should be understood as “by God’s covenant faithfulness.” Käsemann, 98, brushes aside Pluta’s suggestion without explanation. It appears that this attractive suggestion has not been given adequate attention because of the awkwardness it presents in translation.

¹⁷For a catalog of syntactical possibilities, see Pluta, 39-40.

¹⁸My suggestion comes very close to that of Moses Stuart, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (London: William Tegg and Co., 1853), 152: “It may be said, that if Christ be represented as the *mercy-seat* which was sprinkled with propitiatory blood, *haimati autou* may refer to this.” This idea just has not made it into any of the translations.

¹⁹Moule, 78; but his own translation of “to deal with sin . . . by his blood” does not express the full meaning of this usage.

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ὑποταγῆσεται IN 1 CORINTHIANS 15:28b

W. LARRY RICHARDS
Andrews University

In the second clause in 1 Cor 15:28, the verb ὑποταγῆσεται can be translated in two major ways, which alter the translation a great deal.¹ The options in English are (a) Christ *is subjected* (by God, in this case—the passive voice) or (b), Christ *subjects himself* (to God—the middle voice). The clause containing the verb reads in the critical editions as well as in the TR:² τότε [καί] αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγῆσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα. “When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself *will also be subjected* to the one who put all things in subjection under him, so that God may be all in all” (NRSV, emphasis supplied).

My attention was drawn to these distinctly different options when I was doing my own translation for the commentary on 1 Corinthians for the Bible Amplifier Series (Pacific Press). Without hesitation, when I came to this verb I chose the middle voice of the Greek verb, which has Christ initiating the act of subjection, rather than the passive voice that has God initiating Christ’s subjection.

This presented a problem. The Bible Amplifier Series uses the NIV as the base text, and the NIV uses the passive voice for this verb. When I turned to my own favorite English versions, the RSV and NRSV, to see what they had done, I found that both versions, along with the KJV and NKJV, had chosen the passive voice. Why, I asked, do the major translations choose the passive voice rather than the middle voice—the one that seemed so natural to me?³

¹Our concern in this paper is with the English translations. See n. 5 below regarding non-English translations.

²The only difference between the two critical editions (UBS 4 and Nestle-Aland 27) and the TR is that the TR does not have the bracketed καί. In the UBS text the brackets indicate uncertainty about the authenticity of the word. This difference does not materially affect the issue.

³The issue here is not over the question as to whether a future “middle” even exists. The uncertain status of this question is reflected in the following comments: Robertson argues that “fundamentally these so-called second future passives are really future middles” (356-357). G. G. Findlay writes that “in 1 Cor. 15:28, ὑποταγῆσεται, the passive may bear middle force” (*St. Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *The Expositor’s Greek New Testament*, ed. W. R. Nicoll, [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961], 809). Moulton avers that “the future passive form takes over the uses of the vanishing future middle forms” (819). And Blass and DeBrunner further state, “The conjugation -σομαι, etc. is no longer used in a passive sense, only

An examination of the major lexicons shows that the verb in 1 Cor 15:28b is cited both as an example of a passive voice and an example of the middle voice.⁴

In checking thirty-six English translations of the verse⁵ I found the following: fourteen translate ὑποταγήσεται as an obvious passive (“the Son himself will be subjected” / “will be made subject”) or similar⁶; twelve translate it as an ambiguous passive, that is, the act of subjection is not specifically tied to Christ as initiator or to God as initiator of the act of submission (“the Son himself will be subject) or similar.⁷ Ten translate the verb as a middle voice, in which Christ himself acts rather than being acted upon.⁸

The flow of Paul’s argument throughout 1 Corinthians seems to favor the middle voice. Paul is confronting opponents who are arrogant and

(θησομαι” (*A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961], 43). Bauer gives the following option: “sich unterordnen” and then cites 1 Cor. 15:28b as an example (*Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, 6th ed. [New York: W. de Gruyter, 1988]).

⁴Arndt and Gingrich (*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 1957); Walter Bauer; Henry George Liddell, et. al. (*A Greek-English Lexicon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973]); and George Abbott-Smith (*A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 3d ed. [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1937]).

⁵A random check of non-English translations shows that many of these translations use the middle voice in 1 Cor 15:28b. For example, I found the following non-English translations of the middle voice: two German Bibles: *The German Einheitsübersetzung der Heiligen Schrift* (1980), *The German Schlachter Version* (1951); two Dutch: *The Dutch Revised Leidse Vertaling* (1912/1994), *The Dutch Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap Vertaling* (1951); one Italian: *Nuovissima Versione della Bibbia San Paolo Edizione* (1995-1996); three Spanish: *La Biblia de Las Americas* (1986), *The Spanish Reina-Valera Bible* (1909), *Spanish Reina Valera Revised* (1960 and 1995); one Russian: *The Russian Synodal Text of the Bible* (Orthodox Synodal Edition, 1917); one Ukrainian: *The Ukrainian Version of the Bible* (1996); two Danish: *The Danish Bible—Bibelen—Den hellige skrifs kanoniske bøger* (NT 1907) and *De Hellige Skrifter* (1933); two French: *French Bible de Jérusalem* (1973), *French Bible “en français courant”* (1997); one Norwegian: *Norwegian Norsk Bibel Konkordant* (3d ed., 1994); and three Brazilian Portuguese: *João Ferreira de Almeida, Revista e Atualizada* (2d ed., 1993), *João Ferreira de Almeida, Revista e Corrigida* (1969), *João Ferreira de Almeida, Corrigida Fiel* (1994/1995).

⁶NIV, ASV, RSV, NRSV, NEB, Confraternity, Revised English, New Jerusalem Bible, New American Bible (1986), The Bible in Living English, Moffatt, The Modern Reader’s Bible, The Emphasized Bible, English Version for the Deaf.

⁷KJV, NKJV, Douay Version, Geneva, Lamsa’s Translation, Tyndale Version, Illuminated Bible, Clear Word, Jerusalem Bible, Knox’s Translation, Young’s Translation, Basic English Version.

⁸New American Bible (1970), Amplified Bible, Berkeley Version, New Berkeley Version, Contemporary English Version, Modern Language, Living Bible, New Living Translation, TEV, and Phillips.

boastful, even puffed up about their immoral behavior, and who are defiant toward Paul's apostleship. Therefore, it seems to be a natural conclusion to see Paul citing Christ's own act of submission as an argument against his opponents' lack of such an attitude. To argue that *God subjects Christ* (the passive voice) would make the comment completely irrelevant to the case that Paul wishes to make.

An obvious question to ask here is: Does the middle voice not only make sense in 15:28, where the immediate context seems to call for it,⁹ but does it coincide with Paul's theology elsewhere? Furthermore, do the translators of the NRSV lend support to a translation in the middle voice in 15:28 by what they did with a similar verb elsewhere?¹⁰

Considering the latter question first, the same verb with the same voice-form occurs in two places in 1 Corinthians. We noted above the obvious passive in the NRSV translation of 15:28. In 16:16, however, the same translators made the same verb, with a middle/passive form, read the middle option: "I urge you to *put yourselves* (ὑποτάσσηθε—present passive) at the service of such people, and of everyone who works and toils with them." Thus the translators had no problem in seeing the middle voice ("yourselves") in the very next chapter of 1 Corinthians.¹¹

This information led me to make a quick check of the translations of

⁹Just a few verses earlier (v. 24), Paul explicitly states that *Christ himself* is responsible for a key act at the end, namely, "*he hands over* the kingdom to God the Father" (emphasis supplied). It seems incongruous to suggest that Paul has Christ initiate the act of handing over the kingdom to God at the end and then suggests a few verses later that the same Christ who initiates an act in 15:24 needs to be subjected (passive) in 15:28b.

¹⁰A note about commentaries and scholarly articles. Commentaries on 1 Corinthians either do not discuss this issue or they offer a passive voice translation and/or comment. Out of fifty-four commentaries I found the following: Sixteen neither have a translation or a comment on the issue. Thirty-six translate it as passive and/or comment on the clause as passive. The remaining two, John Calvin's and R.C.H. Lenski's commentaries, held that the voice was middle. Lenski observed that "here the thought calls for the middle sense" (*The Interpretation of St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians*, Commentary on the New Testament [Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1963], 683).

With rare exceptions, scholarly articles on the passage do not address this specific issue. Although Lambrecht in a 1982 *NTS* study (28:502-527) wrote that the verb is passive, he modified his position in a 1990 article in *Novum Testamentum* (32:143-151) in which he wrote, "The idea of v. 28b clearly refers to that of v. 24b: to be subjected (or to subject himself" (151). In another essay, Jansen wrote the following words in support of the continuation of the Incarnation at the end: "The glory of God—surely the climax of 1 Cor 15:24-28—includes Jesus Christ and finds its fullest expression in his willing subjection rather than his disappearance" (*SJT* 40:570).

¹¹A comparison between the verses revealed a key similarity. Both 1 Cor 15:28b and 16:16 contain the personal pronoun in front of the verb. In 15:28, the pronoun is "αυτος" and in 16:16 the pronoun is "υμεις," but both pronouns are used in the same way.

ὑποτασσω in all NT passages. This information was very helpful. The verb occurs thirty-seven times in the NT in thirty-one verses. Of these thirty-seven instances, eight are active voice and, therefore, not relevant. Of the twenty-nine remaining references in which the translation may show a middle voice or a passive voice, the NRSV translates twenty of them as middle, six of them as passive, and three as ambiguous, meaning that they may be understood as either!¹²

Of even greater significance, however, is the fact that we have a similar attitude of submission and humility on Christ's part, which is cited by Paul in his letter to the Philippians, where he also faced the problem of church members selfishly promoting themselves. Notice both the setting and the message from Phil 2:3-8:

Do nothing from selfish ambition or conceit, but in humility regard others as better than yourselves. Let each of you look not to your own interests, but to the interests of others. *Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus, who, though he was in the form of God, did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited, but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in human likeness. And being found in human form, he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death—even death on a cross.*

We have, therefore, Paul facing difficult situations at both Corinth and Philippi in which church members were exalting themselves at the expense of fellow believers. In addressing the instance at Philippi, Paul cites the remarkable attitude of Christ as a means of getting the message of unselfish love across.

There is no dispute over Christ *initiating the act* of humbling himself in Phil 2:7-8. It seems, therefore, that with reference to 1 Cor 15:28b, where there is a question over translation, both the Corinthian setting and the Philippian setting offer persuasive evidence that Paul uses Christ as an example of *initiating the act* of humbling (Philippians) and submission (Corinthians) to make his case for a changed attitude and behavior on the part of the church members.

Based on these considerations, therefore, the English translation of ὑποταγήσεται in 1 Cor 15:28b should reflect the middle voice and read, "When all things are subjected to him, then the Son *will also subject himself* to the one who put all things in subjection under him, so that God may be all in all."

¹²The twenty passages with a middle-voice translation are: Luke 2:51; 10:17, 20; Rom 8:7, 20; 10:3; 1 Cor 14:34, 16:16; Eph 5:21, 24; Col 3:18; Titus 2:5, 9; 3:1; Heb 12:9; Jas 4:7; 1 Pet 2:13, 18; and 1 Pet 3:1, 5. Blass and Debrunner indicate that the future passive is the only form of this verb in the NT and should be translated with the middle force (43).

THE MILLENNIUM: TRANSITION TO THE FINAL AEON

KEITH A. BURTON
Oakwood College
Huntsville, Alabama

At the sound of the seventh trumpet Rev 11:15 announces that “the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign unto the aeons of the aeons.” This verse gives the impression that the transfer of the kingdom is a direct, immediate result of the victory of good over evil. Other NT books that feature the *parousia* present a picture of the eschatological kingdom as being immediately established at the return of the avenging Messiah.¹ In fact, in most of Revelation it would appear that the *parousia* is the gateway to the fulfillment of God's promises. However, in chapter 20 the Revelator suggests that before God's kingdom is fully realized, the judgment of the spiritual powers and rebellious nations must be executed and evil must be permanently annihilated.² Rev 20 details the transition between the initial *parousia* and the establishment of God's eschatological kingdom. This essay does not propose to address the interpretive debates that often govern the various millennial readings of this passage, but rather to examine the text in its literary context and to identify four major events associated with the millennial transition to the final aeon.

Structural Considerations

In order to conduct an honest exegesis, it is necessary to place Rev 20 in the chronological structure of Revelation. This task is complicated by the literary structure of Revelation, which is comprised of a collection of visions that are sometimes recapitulative.³ Trying to construct a consistent

¹Jürgen Roloff comments: “Certainly Paul speaks of Christ finally eliminating the evil powers after his Parousia so that everything can be returned to God's rule (1 Cor. 15:20-28), but he knows nothing of two resurrections or of a reign of earthly peace between them” (*The Revelation of John: A Continental Commentary*, trans. John E. Alsup [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 224).

²Gerhard Å. Krodel notes, “Thus Christ's parousia signifies not only the marriage of the Lamb (19:6-8), attested through hallelujah choruses in heaven and on earth, it also involves clearing the earth of all anti-God forces” (*Revelation* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1989], 325).

³J. Webb Mealy rightly accounts for the repetition of themes with his reminder that Revelation was originally heard and not read (*After the Thousand Years: Resurrection and*

chronology in Revelation may seem as frustrating as picturing the logic behind Ezekiel's "wheel within a wheel" vision. There is no apparent coherent chronology as the revelator shifts easily between the present and different facets of the future. His characteristic rhetorical indicator, *kai eidon*, has no predictable progression.⁴ These obstacles notwithstanding, an understanding of the structure of Revelation is essential to the interpretation of any of its constituent parts.

Rhetorical and literary analyses have demonstrated that Rev 20 is a part of a linear chronological framework that begins in chapter 12 with the beginning of the Satanic rebellion and ends in chapter 22 with the restoration of divine rule.⁵ Chapter 12 provides details about the celestial confrontation between good and evil, when the Dragon (Satan) was expelled from heaven and set up residence on earth, opposing any representation of God. The first six verses serve as a rhetorical *narratio* and highlight the two heavenly "signs" that serve as the protagonist and antagonist for the remainder of the passage.

Chapter 13 describes the "beast" agents through whom the Dragon accomplishes his plans. The beasts exercise so much control on the earth that they are able to limit the transactions of the saints. Chapter 14 commences with a proleptic vision of the 144,000 redeemed in heaven before returning to the eschatological chronology in 14:6. Chapter 14:6-12 is dedicated to the final warning of those who have been deceived by the Devil and his agents. Verses 13-16 indicate the "reaping" of the righteous by "one like a son of man." It is here that the *parousia* takes place in the

Judgement in Revelation 20 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1992], 60).

⁴Henry Barclay Swete warns against viewing the *kai eidon* as a chronological indicator, arguing that if the author intended such, he would have used *meta tauta eidon* (cf. 18:1; 19:1) (*The Apocalypse of St. John* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968], 259). However, the author does not appear to have a set pattern; in 13:11 and 15:1 the *kai eidon* is definitely intended to be understood chronologically. See also Wilfrid J. Harrington: "'Then I saw' links, loosely, a number of visions" (*Revelation* [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993], 196).

⁵Pablo Richard recognizes that "chapter 12 and the present passage are paired to form an enclosure." (*Apocalypse: A People's Commentary on the Book of Revelation* [Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995], 149). This is also noticed by Michel Gourgues, who remarks that "everything described since chap. 12 finds its conclusion in chap. 20. The destiny of the faithful as well as that of the adversaries are determined for good" ("The Thousand-Year Reign [Rev 20:1-6]: Terrestrial or Celestial?" *CBQ* 47 [1985]: 681). William H. Shea also sees these two passages as an *inclusio*: "This unique parallel between these two passages provides some evidence of an intent to connect the two narratives" ("The Parallel Literary Structure of Revelation 12 and 20," *AUSS* 23 [1985], 45); see also Derwood C. Smith, "The Millennial Reign of Jesus Christ: Some Observations on Rev. 20:1-10," *RestQ* 16 (1973), 229-230; Jeffrey L. Townsend, "Is the Present Age the Millennium?" *BSac* 140 (1983), 212-213; Roloff, 223; and George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 261.

narrative. After the righteous are reaped from the earth, 14:17-20 addresses the “reaping of the wicked.” These verses should probably be seen as a *transitus by narratio* that summarizes the detailed information that follows.

As John goes into detail about the punishment of the wicked, he sees another “sign” (15:1), which he describes as “great and marvelous” since it indicates God’s vengeance upon his enemies. Now that the righteous have been safely rescued, the seven angels of chapter 16 can pour out the last plagues, indicating God’s vindictive judgment on the wicked. Chapters 17-18 detail the judgment and perdition of the wanton woman and the demise of Babylon.⁶ Before the wicked are defeated, the readers are given in 19:1-10 another proleptic view of their destiny. Chapter 19 describes the initial judgment and demise of the wicked as the rider on the white horse leads the heavenly host to victory.⁷ The defeat of the nations is prefaced by a bragging note as an angel standing in the sun invites the scavenging birds to enjoy the feast of the soon-to-be-decimated enemy. The beast and the false prophet from chapter 13 are first captured and thrown into the lake of fire. Then comes the final annihilation of wicked institutions and people in 19:11-21, as the heavenly hosts conquer the earthly armies and put an end to the beast and the false prophet, who are thrown into the lake of fire.

*Satan’s Detention and the
Commencement of the Millennium (20:1-3)*

Having established a chronological framework in which to place Rev 20, we proceed to exegesis. Rev 20 marks the interim aeon between the old age and the new one. As the interim aeon commences, John sees an “angel coming down from heaven” to the desolate earth (20:1). The angel is described as “having the key of the abyss and a great chain upon his hand.” The angel’s possession of the key to the *abussos* calls our attention to 9:1 where, under the fifth trumpet, a “star had fallen from heaven to earth,” and was given the key to the shaft of the abyss to release the locusts.⁸ Although some have posited that the angels of chapters 9 and 20

⁶Smith sees chaps. 17-18 as a recapitulation “describing events that occurred before the pouring out of the seventh bowl and relating these events to those of John’s day” (228). But see Ladd: “Chapters 18-20 appear to present a series of connected visions. Chapter 18 tells of the destruction of Babylon; chapter 19 tells of the destruction of the beast and the false prophet; and chapter 20 moves on to tell of the destruction of Satan himself—a destruction accomplished in two stages. Antichrist, the false prophet, and Satan form an evil triumvirate, and are closely linked in chapter 13” (261).

⁷M. Eugene Boring sees 10:1-22:5 as the “final literary unit” (“Revelation 19-21: End without Closure,” *PSBSup* 3 [1994], 68).

⁸That angels are symbolized by stars is established in Rev 1:20 and 12:4.

are different,⁹ the two are probably the same. In fact, the context of chapter 9 demands that it is God who commissions this angel to wreak havoc among humans. Furthermore, he is expressly called the angel of the abyss in 9:11. This is just one of several angels in Revelation who have a destroying function (cf. 7:1; 8:15).¹⁰

John expects his auditors to be familiar with the abyss. The actual term, *abussos*, is used by the LXX to translate the Hebrew term for “deep” in Genesis 1:1. Although it appears seven times in Revelation, the term is only used twice by other NT writers. Luke’s demons beg Jesus to transfer them to swine rather than the abyss (Luke 8:31), and Paul refers to it as the holding place of the dead (Rom 10:7). In Revelation, the abyss houses darkness and destruction (9:11) and is also the place from which a demonic beast arises (11:7; 17:8). Access to the abyss is obviously restricted and under the control of God’s designated angel.

The angel’s specific purpose is made clear in vv. 2 and 3. First, he “seizes the dragon, the ancient serpent, the Devil, even Satan.” These same epithets are used in 12:9 when the heavenly confrontation between Michael and the Dragon is described. *Drakon* (dragon) is his primary description—the megalomaniac with seven heads and ten horns who is the source of demonic authority through whom the beasts and false prophet operate (13:1-18). *Ophis archaios* (ancient serpent) takes us back to the Garden of Eden and the fall of humanity.¹¹ He is also called *ho Diabolos kai Satanas*. The *kai* consecutive serves to specify the identity of the diabolic power—“the Devil even Satan.” Acting as an *inclusio* to 12:9, these epithets indicate the end of the struggle.¹² When the dragon was first cast down, John pronounced a “woe” on the inhabitants of the earth. Now in chapter 20, there are no institutions for the *drakon* to control. There are no people to tempt.¹³ The controversy is about to end.

After arresting the dragon, the angel binds him with the great chain.

⁹Cf. Eugenio Corsini, *The Apocalypse: The Perennial Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), 364; and M. Robert Mulholland Jr., *Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 305; and Richard, 149.

¹⁰See Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 360.

¹¹Moses Stuart allows for this interpretation, although he feels it more likely to be a parallel for *drakon* (*A Commentary on the Apocalypse* [New York: Newman, 1845], 355).

¹²See Lenski, “These four names certainly intend to take us back to the identical four terms found in 12:9” (*The Interpretation of St. John’s Revelation* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1963], 568).

¹³J. P. M. Sweet suggests that “the reference to Genesis 3 prepares for the removal of the curse and recovery of the tree of life which is the theme of the next chapters” (*Revelation* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979], 288).

While the imagery is vivid, it is obviously intended to be symbolic. This angel has power over Satan and is able to render him inactive.¹⁴ Satan is sentenced to remain in chains for a thousand years, and then he is cast into the abyss, which is “locked and sealed over him.” There has been much speculation over whether the reference to a thousand years should be taken literally¹⁵ or symbolically.¹⁶ Given the use of numbers in Revelation, I am not so sure that it should be understood literally. John often uses *chilia* to refer to a large amount, as with the 144,000 redeemed and the thousands (and myriads) of angelic troops (cf. 5:11; 7:4-8; 14:1). It seems to me that John intends to convey the lengthy but temporal nature of Satan’s imprisonment in contrast to his destruction, which lasts “for ever and ever” (*eis tous aionas ton aionon* [20:10]).¹⁷

According to 20:3, the purpose of Satan’s abyssal internment is to restrict him from “deceiving the nations.” The Greek term for “nations” (*ethnē*) in this context is used in a similar fashion to the Hebrew *goyim*, which is often translated “Gentiles.” As with the covenant community, the “nations” refer to all people who are not a part of the redeemed community. At first glance it could appear that the reference to “nations” indicates the presence of humans on the earth.¹⁸ However, a brief survey of chronological events will

¹⁴See John F. Walvoord: “The intention is not to represent Satan as merely restricted but as rendered completely inactive” (*The Revelation of Jesus Christ* [London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott, 1966], 291).

¹⁵Cf. Stuart, 356; Walvoord, 295 (“It may also be faithfully held that all numbers in the Revelation are literal.”); Jack S. Deere, “Premillennialism in Revelation 20:4-6,” *BSac* 135 (1978): 71 (“The duration of the saints’ reign is a literal thousand years.”); and Townsend, 213-214.

¹⁶Cf. Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 209; Ladd, 262 (“While we need not take it literally, the thousand years does appear to present a real period of time, however long or short it may be.”); Swete, 288 (“The period is symbolic—the seventh world-day.”); Lenski, 573; Harrington, 196; Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 235 (“Satan is bound for a perfect period.”); and Sydney H. T. Page, “Revelation 20 and Pauline Eschatology,” *JETS* 32 (1980), 31-32. Symbolic numbers are used frequently in Revelation. Already we have seen the Revelator use 144,000 to define a number that he later describes as a “great multitude” (7:4, 9). The symbolic use of chiliastic language is used by the Psalmist and Peter and is replete in apocalyptic literature. For a good survey of millennial thought in Jewish literature see Barbara Wootten Snyder, “How Millennial is the Millennium? A Study in the Background of the 1000 Years in Revelation 20,” *Evangelical Journal* (1991), 51-74. See also Charles H. Talbert, *The Apocalypse: A Reading of the Revelation of John* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 93.

¹⁷As Talbert recognizes, the notion of binding evil powers before the eschatological judgment is not foreign to ancient Jewish thought (91). See Isa 24:21-22; 1 *Enoch* 10:4-10; 18:12-16; 21:1-6; 54:5-6; *Jub* 5:10; *T. Levi* 18:12; *Enoch Sim* 53:3; 54:4.

¹⁸See Ladd, 263.

show that this is not the case. We recall that in Rev 14:6-12 the message of the three angels goes to "those living on the earth and to every nation, tribe, tongue, and people" (14:6). Further, the third angel warns the universe about the consequences of receiving the mark of the beast (14:9-11). In fact, the entire pericope suggests that at the end of the aeon only two groups remain: those with the mark of the beast, and those with the seal of God (7:1-8; 14:1-5). The "reaping" of the redeemed is described in 14:14-16, and their heavenly reward is highlighted in 15:2-4 and 19:1-4. On the other hand, 19:18 makes it clear that "all" (*pas*) who remain on earth at the time of the final battle will be destroyed.¹⁹ Given the immediate context of the defeat of *all* humanity in 19:18, it is hardly likely that John envisions anyone alive on earth during the millennium.

It appears that John's focus here is not primarily on the "nations." It is the incapacitation of Satan that is highlighted. The emphasis is not so much on the status of the nations during Satan's imprisonment, but on what will take place after his release. In other words, he is not bound to prevent him from deceiving the nations,²⁰ but he is released for the purpose of deceiving the nations.²¹ He is forced into a pre-Creation environment of nothingness as he abides in the "deep." Only at the end of the millennium will he be released—but only "for a little while" (20:3).

*The Saints' Judicial Reign
During the Millennium (20:4-6)*

The next section of the vision shifts its focus from the plight of Satan during the millennium to the activities of the redeemed (20:4-6). John reports that he saw "thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given to them" (20:4, emphasis supplied). This pericope parallels the judgment scene of Daniel 7 where "judgement was given to the saints of the most high (*to krima edoken hagiois upsistou* [Dan 7:22])."²² The *kai* consecutive introduces the epexegetical clause in which John further specifies the identity of the thrones' occupants. The first group of occupants are described as "the souls of the ones beheaded for the testimony about Jesus and the word of God." It may be

¹⁹Roloff, 227, is right with his straight reading of chap. 20: "The whole of humankind that does not belong to the salvation community is to be considered as already having perished in the messianic final battle."

²⁰*Contra* Morris, 235.

²¹See James A. Hughes, "Revelation 20:4-6 and the Question of the Millennium," *WTJ* 35 (1973), 282.

²²Cf. J. W. Roberts, *The Revelation to John* (Austin, TX: Sweet, 1974), 172; and Krodel, 333.

argued that the accusative *tas psuchas* can be construed as a second object of *eidon* ("I saw . . . the souls"), and therefore the martyrs are a separate group from the occupants of the throne. However, as we will see, the following sentence includes them among those who "rule" (*ebasileusan*) with Christ for the thousand years. These people are in solidarity with John who was exiled on account of his "testimony about Jesus and the word of God" (1:9). This group of martyrs had apparently been resurrected at the beginning of the millennium.²³

John also mentions another subset of "they" who sat on the thrones: "those who did not worship the beast or his image and did not receive the mark on their forehead or on their hand" (20:4). Some are tempted to view this phrase as a continuation of the martyrs' description.²⁴ However, as a number of exegetes recognize, the change of case in the relative pronoun *hoitines* indicates another distinct category (20:4).²⁵ They have heeded the warning of 14:9-12 and resisted the beast.²⁶ They were rescued from the throes of the beast when the "one like a son of man" reaped them from the earth during the *parousia* (14:14-16). They never experienced death.²⁷ They are the ones described by Paul in I Thess 4 who are joined by the dead at the *parousia*. And so together, the martyrs and the overcomers comprise the righteous elect who are entrusted with judgment.²⁸

The text itself does not specify where these events take place, which leads some commentators to argue for an earthly provenance.²⁹ However, of the forty-seven mentions of "throne" in Revelation, forty-four have a

²³See Rev 1:7; 1 Thess 4:13-17.

²⁴See, e.g., Walvoord, who refers to them as "tribulation saints" (296). Also L. van Hartingsveld, *Revelation: A Practical Commentary* (trans. John Vriend [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985]), 82.

²⁵Cf. Lenski, 579; Smith, 224; Swete, 262; and Krodell, 333-334. But Deere opposes the "two group" reading based on his subjective reading of *kai hoitines* in 1:7 and his understanding of *ezesan* as "came to life" rather than "live" (65).

²⁶Corsini, 373, and others read too much into the text when they assume that Rev 13:15 predicts the total annihilation of those who refuse to worship the beast.

²⁷J. Massyngbaerde Ford suggests that the phrase in 20:4c is an interpolation and reasons—on the basis of *ezesan*—that this group was also dead (*Revelation* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975], 349). However, the verb *zao* simply means "to live," and does not necessarily carry with it the connotation of *anastasis*. Richard also has an interesting interpretation: "These [proleptic] martyrs who at this moment are still alive will one day die, but they also, because they are martyrs, hope to share in the first resurrection and in the thousand year reign" (151-152).

²⁸*Contra* Richard, who writes: "Those who do justice in 20:4 are the martyrs" (151).

²⁹Cf. Mounce, 360; Deere, 69-73.

heavenly provenance.³⁰ Further, whenever the redeemed are mentioned in Revelation they are in heaven. In 14:1-6 the 144,000 redeemed are before the heavenly throne. Chapter 7 also indicates the presence of the entire host of the redeemed before the throne of God. In fact, in 7:15 we are told that the multitude of the redeemed “worship him day and night within his temple.”³¹ Further, as we look at 19:1, we see the “great crowd” of the redeemed “in heaven.” Indeed, it is not until chapter 21 that the new earth becomes a reality and the redeemed can inhabit the earth.

John informs us that the host of the redeemed “lived and reigned with Christ 1,000 years.”³² A number of commentators understand *ezesan* to be a synonym for “resurrection.”³³ However, *zao* should probably be translated simply as “live,” since those in the second group are already alive and do not need to be resurrected.³⁴ Nonetheless, resurrection is implicit in the context, for it is only natural to assume that the dead must be resurrected before they can live. The idea here is that the entire number of the redeemed—the “great crowd”—are now alive and enjoying their eschatological destiny. Part of that destiny involves the task of judging the world as they participate as corulers with Christ.³⁵ Indeed, the judgment lasts for the thousand years, after which the saints “gain possession of the kingdom” (Dan 7:22).

While the redeemed are involved with judicial and government responsibilities, there is no human life on earth. John declares that “the *rest*

³⁰See Morris, 236. See also similar argument in Krodel, 333-334. For a detailed argument in favor of a celestial reign see Michel Gourgues, “The Thousand-Year Reign (Rev 20:1-6): Terrestrial or Celestial?” *CBQ* 47 (1985), 676-81. See also Shea, 48. J. Hughes parallels chap. 20 with chap. 12 and suggests that the thousand years corresponds to the 1260 days (284ff.).

³¹Cf. 21:22, where we are informed that in the New Jerusalem, after its descent to earth, there is no temple.

³²Harrington notes that the concept of a millennial reign during a messianic golden age was common in Jewish literature. Ford, 353, lists the “millennial” theories of a number of rabbis. Herman L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, vol 4, *Die Briefe des Neuen Testaments und die Offenbarung Johannis*, 5th ed. (München: Beckische, 1926), 823-827.

³³So Richard, who cites Rev 2:8 as evidence for his interpretation (150, n. 6). See also Ladd, 265-267; Walvoord, 297; and Roberts, who sees it figuratively as a resurrection of the martyrs’ “cause” (173-174).

³⁴Morris recognizes that “this is not the usual word for resurrection (though cf. Jn. xi. 25)” (237).

³⁵In his comment on the judicial function of the saints, Stuart notes that “*krima edothe autois* will mean for substance the same thing as *ebasileusan* in the latter part of the verse” (357). See also Robert G. Bratcher and Howard A. Hatton, *A Handbook on the Revelation to John* (New York: UBS, 1993), 287.

of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended" (20:5, emphasis supplied). With this declaration, John makes it clear that some of the dead came to life before the thousand years commenced. In referring to this as the "first" resurrection, he calls our attention to a second resurrection that takes place after the millennium.³⁶ If preconditioned by the notion of a Jewish expectation for a general resurrection, the concept of two resurrections may at first sound somewhat unorthodox.³⁷ However, the notion of an all-inclusive judgment of the wicked and righteous is not apparent in pre-Christian Jewish literature.³⁸

While John does not use the words *deutera anastasis* to describe the second resurrection, the very mention that the "rest of the dead did not live until the completion of the thousand years" makes another resurrection an explicit reality.³⁹ In fact, the two resurrections are described in the Gospel as the resurrection of life and the resurrection of damnation (John 5:29). Here John specifies that they are separated by a thousand-year period.⁴⁰ Neither is there any reason to spiritualize or allegorize either one of these resurrections. Revelation does not share the view of a person's spiritual transference to heaven after death. The use of *anastasis* (20:5, 6) leaves no doubt that a bodily existence follows the resurrection.⁴¹ Indeed, the same verb used for the saints' existence, *zao*, is used for Christ's existence in 1:18 and 2:8.⁴² And let's not forget that some of the saints had never even died.⁴³

³⁶J. Hughes, 299, acknowledges that "the term 'the first resurrection' implies that there is a second resurrection."

³⁷See discussion in T. Francis Glasson, "The Last Judgment—in Rev. 20 and Related Writings," *NTS* 28 (1981), 528.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 529.

³⁹See Ladd, 268, who responds: "Two resurrections are implied in the twofold use of *ezezan*; and a second 'resurrection' is described if not labeled as such in v. 12." Roloff, 228, suggests that John intentionally avoids the word "resurrection" for "the dead who remain outside the salvation community."

⁴⁰Townsend comments: "These two resurrections are discussed in more detail in Revelation 20 where only blessing is associated with the coming to life in 20:4 and only judgment is associated with the coming to life in 20:5 (which is developed further in 20:11-15)" (220).

⁴¹See Deere, 67. Townsend observes that "in over 40 uses in the New Testament, with only one clear exception (Luke 2:34), *anastasis* always refers to bodily resurrection" (219).

⁴²See Swete, 289.

⁴³Ladd comments: "The New Testament does not elsewhere clearly teach a twofold resurrection, although it is implied in such passages as John 5:29 and 1 Cor. 15:24-25. Paul nowhere in his epistles speaks of the resurrection of unbelievers; he is altogether concerned with the destiny of those who are in Christ" (268). Krodell suggests that the reference in 1 Thess 4:16 to the dead in Christ rising *first* is an indication that Paul had a concept of two resurrections (336).

That the first resurrection is to be preferred over the second is demonstrated by a beatitude: "Blessed and holy is the one having a part in the first resurrection." The reason for the beatification is seen in the sentence that follows: "On these the second death has no authority." Reference to a "second death" necessitates a "first death." The first death is a consequence of mortality,⁴⁴ and is often defined in the Bible as a "sleep" (cf. 1 Thess. 4:13; John 11:11-14).⁴⁵ All who encounter this death will also experience resurrection (1 Thess 4:14-16; John 5:28-29; 11:24). The "second death" refers to the eternal death that is consequential to the lake of fire, from which there is no resurrection.⁴⁶

*The Destruction of Satan and His Allies at the
Close of the Millennium (20:7-10)*

The revelator now focuses his attention on the period immediately following the millennium, when Satan has been released from his prison (20:7). The phrase "when the thousand years ended" serves as an *inclusio* with the same clause in v. 5 where it is stated that the rest of the dead are not resurrected until the completion of the thousand years. While not explicitly stated, it may be assumed that the end of the millennium is synonymous with the resurrection of the wicked. What the revelator does inform his audience is that "Satan is released from his prison."

As already anticipated in v. 3, the sole purpose of Satan's release is that he may "deceive the nations that are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog" (20:8). The reference to Gog and Magog draws our attention to Ezek 38 and 39, which feature an eschatological battle that ends when Yahweh showers fire on the enemy, whose flesh is consumed by scavengers. Rev 19 has already used the imagery of Ezek 39 to describe the punishment of the wicked. Now in Rev 20, the Revelator portrays the final demise of Satan against the backdrop of Ezek 38. In Ezekiel's prophecy Gog of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, is joined by troops from Persia, Ethiopia, Put, Gomer, and Bethtogarmah (38:3-6). Ezekiel appears to be painting the picture of a universal army comprised of many nations. Indeed, this is probably what the Revelator has in mind when he refers to the deceived nations coming from the "four corners of the earth."

⁴⁴See Norman Shepherd, "The Resurrections of Revelation 20," *WTJ* 37 (1974), 37.

⁴⁵Hughes's spiritualizing leads him to suggest that as the first resurrection is experienced by a participation in the life of Christ, the first death is experienced by participation in the death of Adam (215-16). Of course, even the casual reader would recognize that this conclusion is not evident in the text and finds more credence in Paul's soteriology than John's eschatology.

⁴⁶Cf. Ladd, 268.

Krodel provides an interesting alternative to the understanding of “nations” when he looks at the mythical understanding of Gog and Magog and proposes that this is a reference to angelic forces.⁴⁷ While not a widely accepted theory, this can make sense of the chronological problems often faced by those who see a sequential development in this chapter. It further helps to explain how Satan’s millennial imprisonment helps to delay a celestial attack against the camp of the redeemed. It also helps us to fill a lacuna that exists in the execution of judgment. The text speaks of the punishment of the woman, the beast, the false prophet, Satan, and the wicked dead. However, nothing is said about the punishment of the angels who accompanied Satan to the earth.⁴⁸ This is the only view that allows us to witness the punishment of the demonic host. While this theory is worthy of further investigation, from a strictly exegetical stance it is more likely that the “nations” are comprised of the dead who were resurrected after the millennium.

John indicates that the nations are “assembled for battle, their numbers as the sand of the sea” (20:8). The hyperbole demonstrates the vastness of the army. Again, utilizing imagery from Ezek 38, John describes how the nations “came up upon the flat of the earth and encircled the camp of the saints and the beloved city” (20:9). This scene is paralleled in Ezek 38:10-16, where the eschatological community of peace is depicted as unwalled villages at the center of the earth—an obvious reference to Jerusalem (Ezek 5:5). Having established that the earth was entirely destroyed during the final stages of the *parousia*, it should be assumed that the prophet has the New Jerusalem in view.⁴⁹

Before the nations can launch an attack, “fire came down from heaven and consumed them” (20:9). Here again the terminology of Ezek 38 is used to describe the demise of the wicked (Ezek 38:21-22). As the evil host is being consumed, the devil is “thrown into the lake of fire and sulphur where the beast and false prophet are” (20:10). The mention of the beast and false prophet proves the chronological development between chapters

⁴⁷Krodel, 337.

⁴⁸Walvoord speaks of the fire prepared for “the devil and his angels” but does not speak of the fate of the “angels” (304-305).

⁴⁹Roberts allows for this reading (176). But see Ladd, who posits, “The saints in the millennium must have some center, and there is no difficulty in supposing that the millennial rule of Christ will have an earthly center in the holy city in the holy land” (270). Ford suggests, “The corrupt earthly Jerusalem is destroyed and replaced by the millennial Jerusalem, ‘the beloved city,’ a term not used of the earthly Jerusalem in Revelation, and then this millennial Jerusalem is transformed into the heavenly Jerusalem” (356). For other proponents of an earthly city see Charles Homer Giblin, *The Book of Revelation* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 188-189; and Mulholland, 306-307.

19 and 20.⁵⁰ The metaphorical image is one of the lake continuously burning with the two impersonal entities that have been deprived of power. Now the duo are joined by commissioner, and all three are subject to torment.

The punishment received by the Devil and his cohorts is effective *eis tous aiōnas tōn aiōnon*. This phrase is often translated, “for ever and ever,” but literally means “unto the ages of the ages.” Governed by the former translation, a number of exegetes reason that *eis tous aiōnas tōn aiōnon* refers to indefinite torture.⁵¹ However, this understanding is to be rejected, since it is obvious that the language used in this context is strictly figurative. We already know that the “beast” and “false prophet” are specious entities through whom the dragon operates, yet they perish in the lake of fire (19:20). The same is true for Death and Hades, who are also thrown into the lake of fire (20:14). As in 14:11, where the smoke of the torment rises into oblivion, John aims to show the eternal permanency of the punishment. This fire is the final depository of all evil; hence the Revelator’s insistence that the lake of fire and sulphur is the second death (Rev. 20:14; 21:8).

*The Executive Judgment of the Wicked at the
End of the Millennium (20:11-15)*

The final phase of this section of the vision details the irreversible elimination of evil and its effects from the earth. As judgment is to be executed, it is not the jury, but the judge, who has center stage. John sees “a great white throne, and one sitting on it” (20:11). The judge is none other than God himself.⁵² Throughout the book of Revelation, it is God’s throne that is preminent. In 3:21, Jesus is granted the privilege of sitting on the Father’s throne. Chapter 4 concentrates on the Father’s throne. In 5:1-7, God holds the seven-sealed scroll in his hand while sitting on his throne. In 7:15, the great multitude serve God before his throne. This parallels the judgment scene of Dan 7:9-14, where the “Ancient One” sits on his fiery throne in preparation for final judgment. This appears to be the second part of a two-phase judgment. In v. 4, we

⁵⁰But see J. Hughes: “It is unthinkable that Satan would gather the nations if not through the beast and the false prophet” (283).

⁵¹See Lenski, 298-299. Walvoord opines (304), “Thus the Word of God plainly declares that death is not annihilation and that the wicked exist forever, though in torment.” Mounce (374, note 12), supports this reading: “While it may be difficult, it is nevertheless crucial that we take the text as it is rather than as what we might like it to be.”

⁵²Cf. Ladd, 271; Talbert, 97; Roberts, 177; Swete, 271; Ford, 359; and Roloff, 231. Walvoord, 305; Lenski, 601f.; and others identify the occupant of the throne as Christ.

are informed that the martyrs and final generation of faithful were entrusted with the work of judgment. They apparently served as a jury which has accomplished its judicial responsibilities, and now God the judge must execute judgment.

God is introduced in his awesome splendor: As he appears, "the earth and the heaven fled from his face and no place was found for them to hide" (220:11).⁵³ This announcement conjures an image of the dissolution of the original Creation.⁵⁴ "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth" (Gen 1:1). At the end, heaven and earth are dissolved. The dissolution of earth and sky is a part of the transition to the final aeon. Indeed, the old earth and sky must be removed before the "new heaven and new earth" can be established (Rev 21:1).⁵⁵

After the dissolution of heaven and earth, John reports seeing "the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne" (20:12). A rigidly chronological reading of Rev 20 could imply that since the unrighteous were raised at the end of the millennium and were consequently consumed by fire from heaven (7-9), the scene of v. 12 describes a second resurrection of the unrighteous.⁵⁶ However, it seems more reasonable to read vv. 11-15 as a recapitulation revealing further details about the judgment of the wicked, leading to their destruction by fire. The saints, who cannot be hurt by the "second death," were raised at the beginning of the millennium; hence they themselves are not judged before the throne.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the evildoers are raised for the sole purpose of being judged. This court scene is reminiscent of the one in Dan 7:11-14, 22, 25-27, where the evil kingdoms are judged and destroyed to make way for the kingdom of God. Similarly, the object of judgment in Revelation is not the general human populace, but the wicked.

⁵³Mulholland sees the earth as a symbol of rebellion (312). The dissolution of the earth from the presence of God also affirms our position that the millennial kingdom is a celestial one, else what would happen to the saints and the city during this period? But see Krodell, who raises these questions and then declares them irrelevant (338).

⁵⁴See also Roberts (177-178), who reminds us of similar teaching in Isa 40:8; 51:6; 2 Pet 3:6-13; Matt 5:17; Heb 12:27; and Dan 2:35. See also Roloff, 231.

⁵⁵See Walvoord, 305; Hartingsveld, 84.

⁵⁶While most commentators agree that the wicked dead are in view here, some interpreters incorporate both righteous and sinners among the dead who are raised in the second resurrection. See Mulholland, who posits that v. 12 features the righteous dead and vv. 13-14 the wicked dead (312). Also Giblin, 193; and Lenski, 604-605.

⁵⁷Glasson comments: "It is difficult to believe that those who had lived and reigned with Christ for 1,000 years should be regarded as on trial at the close" (529).

As the “dead” stand before the throne, John notices that “books (*biblia*) were open, and another book was open, which is [the book] of life” (Rev 20:12). In using the descriptive genitive to refer to the *biblion* as the book “of life,” John expects his auditors to deduce that the *biblia* are books “of death.” These are the *biblia* seen by Daniel and featured in Jewish apocalyptic literature.⁵⁸ The *biblion* is the book of life, from which all the names of those who have done evil have been deleted (cf. Exod 32:32-33 and Rev 3:5).⁵⁹ The “book of life” has been featured in both testaments⁶⁰ and contains the names of all the “saints.” Having already received a positive judgment, the saints during the millennium probably audit the judgment against the wicked and verify the dead’s exclusion from the book of life.

John indicates that “the dead were judged from that which was written in the books according to their works” (Rev 12:12). Throughout the apocalypse, John has demonstrated the importance of obedience for the “saints.”⁶¹ Indeed, the stated purpose of the *parousia* and consequent judgment is “to pay each person for his work” (22:12). One also remembers John 5:29, when, in speaking of the two resurrections, Jesus states that “those who are *doing good* (*agatha poiēsantes*)” will come forth to the resurrection of life, and “those who are *practicing evil* (*phaula praxantes*)” to the resurrection of judgment (emphasis supplied).⁶²

⁵⁸Cf. Dan 7:10; 1 *Enoch* 47:3; 90:20; 104:7; 2 *Enoch* 19:5; 4 *Ezra* 6:20; 2 *Apoc Bar* 24:1; *Apoc of Zeph* 3:6-9; 7:1-8. For a survey of the judgment theme in apocalyptic literature see Glasson, 530-536.

⁵⁹Walvoord explains that “the book of life was originally the book of all living from which have been expunged the names of those who departed from life on earth without salvation” (309). Richard notes that “The book of life is not a registry of works but is more personal in nature, and in Revelation it appears as a book that belongs to the Lamb” (159).

⁶⁰Exod 32:32-33; Ps 69:28; Mal 3:16; Dan 12:1; Luke 10:20; Phil 4:3; Heb 12:23. This appears to be the book with the seven seals whose opening triggers the beginning of the end in chap. five. The fact that the book is sealed before the end suggests the completion of judgment.

⁶¹Cf. 2:2, 19, 26; 3:2, 8, 15; 9:20, 21; 12:17; 14:12; 16:11; 19:9; 21:8; 22:11, 12, 14 (alternate reading). See comments in Krodel, 339-340, and Mulholland, 313-314.

⁶²Richard states, “At judgment it is not people’s good deeds or intentions that count but what they can do; it is orthopraxis that saves us, not orthodoxy” (158). This does not compromise the NT teaching of salvation by grace through faith. Talbert calls this “a paradox that can be resolved only when one goes back to one’s own experience with God and finds divine grace and human responsibility bound together in an indissoluble union” (98). Boring states: “We are judged on the basis of who we are and what we have done, and we are utterly and inescapably responsible. We are judged on the basis of who God is and what God has done; God is utterly and inescapably sovereign” (71). Mulholland agrees: “Unless one’s name is written in the Book of Life, it appears that all the righteous deeds in the world will not suffice” (313). Harrington calls it the “mystery of salvation” (204). See also Walvoord, 306-307; and Hartingsveld, 84. Page locates a similar paradox

As we move to v. 13, we see the Revelator stressing the universality of the final judgment. This verse would seem to have been chronologically more appropriate before the one that precedes it, but is somewhat epexegetical. John aims to show the totality of the resurrection.⁶³ The sea, Death, and Hades will release all of their dead. Death and Hades are here personified. Paul taunts the personified “death” in 1 Cor 15:55. Hades is understood as the Hebrew “*sheol*.” This is the place of nothingness, where the dead remained in an unconscious state.⁶⁴ There is no activity in Hades. It should not be interpreted with the theological presuppositions that accompany the term “hell.”⁶⁵ As the dead are released from their various holding places, each is judged according to works (Rev 20:13).

Having released their prisoners, Death and Hades no longer have a purpose. Hence, they too must be annihilated (20:14). Like the beast, the dragon, and the false prophet, they have no place in the new aeon.⁶⁶ The Revelator records that “Death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire,” where they join the Devil and their impersonal allies. Here the words of Paul join the Revelator in assent: “the last enemy to be destroyed is death” (1 Cor 15:26). The result of the lake of fire is demonstrated by its identification with the second death.⁶⁷ Inasmuch as the first resurrection results in *eternal life*, the second death results in *eternal extinction*.⁶⁸ After the beast and the false prophet are thrown into it, they are no longer mentioned as being alive (Rev 19:20). The same is true for Satan (20:10). Everything that encounters the lake of fire ceases

in the writings of Paul (42).

⁶³See Ladd, 273.

⁶⁴On the Hebrew understanding of the state of the dead see Pss 6:5; 115:17; 146:3, 4; Job 14:10; Eccl 9:5-6; 12:7.

⁶⁵See Walvoord, 307-308, and Lenski, 608. Interestingly enough, Lenski also perceives a difficulty with this logic: “When hades means hell, and the lake of fire also means hell, we may wonder how one can ‘be thrown’ into the other” (610).

⁶⁶Cf. Krodell, 341; Ladd, 274.

⁶⁷Roloff recognizes: “At issue here is not punishment but, as John observes in a clarifying postscript, eternal destruction—the lake of fire is the ‘second’ (i.e. eternal and final) death” (232). See also Harrington, 205, and our above discussion on v. 10. Some who opt for a literal reading of an eternally burning hell are forced to personalize such impersonal entities as the beast, false prophet, death, and hades (see, e.g., Walvoord, 309). Stuart impersonalizes the duo, but holds that the second death is “a state of *continued agony*. . . . The sufferings of those who undergo the second death, cannot be alleviated by expiring; for there is no expiring” (373-374, emphasis supplied).

⁶⁸Harrington reasons that “surely, the negation of eternal life is eternal death” (205).

to exist, and so Death and Hades are now eliminated from the sphere of reality.⁶⁹

With the defeat of the demonic powers, the transition to the final aeon is almost complete. After the death of death, the only remnants of evil are the wicked dead, who await their sentencing. As we have seen, their doom has already been sealed by their works.⁷⁰ With the use of *hekastos*, “each” in v. 13, the Revelator gives the impression of a prolonged hearing in which each one of the accused is individually sentenced. Only those whose names are missing from the book of life qualify for eternal extinction (20:15). Before the sentence can be announced, the absence of the name from the “book of life” must be verified.⁷¹ And so, although the fate of the unrighteous is already sealed, the meticulous formality of verification is conducted. Once judgment is passed, the “dead” experience the second death as they are thrown into the lake of fire.

Conclusion

The millennium is a transition period between the initial *parousia* and the establishment of the terrestrial kingdom of God. Four major events occupy the millennial period. First, Satan is confined to the abyss. Second, while Satan is immobilized, the resurrected and raptured saints are given judicial assignments while they “live and reign with Christ.” Third, immediately following the millennium, Satan attempts to launch an attack with the resurrected wicked against the New Jerusalem and is annihilated. Finally, the wicked dead are judged and obliterated along with Death and Hades. Thus the millennium serves as a transition period for the purging of evil as the old aeon makes way for the new. Only when this is accomplished can “the kingdom of the world become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Messiah” (Rev 11:15).

⁶⁹See Stuart, 372. It is not clear on what basis Krodel declares that “their fate is left unspecified” (341).

⁷⁰Ladd comments, “Apparently no one was saved by his works—i.e., on the basis of the good things which he had done which had been recorded in the books (v. 12)” (274). However, the very fact that the books condemn them means that their elimination from salvation resulted from their works.

⁷¹Walvoord suggests that the process involves “the careful search of the records to be sure that no mistake is made” (309).

THE SABBATH AND THE ALIEN

H. R. COLE

Pacific Adventist University
Boroko, Papua New Guinea

Many scholars in modern Judaism have discerned universal dimensions to the Sabbath.¹ However, few writers in earlier Judaism ever saw them.² It is almost superfluous to add that non-Sabbatarian Christians have rarely seen these dimensions either.

This failure to see universal dimensions may seem surprising, for three passages in the Pentateuch affirm that the גר, "resident alien," is to rest on the weekly Sabbath, along with the Israelite (Exod 20:10; 23:12; Deut 5:14). However, rabbinic Judaism has traditionally identified the גר in these passages as the *ger ṣaddiq*, the circumcised "righteous alien," rather than the *ger toshab*, the uncircumcised "sojourning alien." The *ger ṣaddiq* was a newcomer to Jewish territory, but not to the Jewish religion.³

By the rabbinic period, the גר was understood in terms of religious

¹E.g., Leo Baeck, "Mystery and Commandment," in *Contemporary Jewish Thought*, ed. Simon Noveck (New York: B'nai B'rith, 1963), 202; idem, *This People Israel: The Meaning of Jewish Existence*, trans. Albert H. Friedlander (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1964), 138; Martin Buber, *Moses*, East and West Library (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1946); Hermann Cohen, *Reason and Hope: Selections from the Jewish Writings of Hermann Cohen*, trans. Eva Jospe (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College, 1993), 87, 116, 117, 225. Note the universality implied in the title of Abraham J. Heschel's book, *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Young, 1951). See also Roy Branson, "Sabbath—Heart of Jewish Unity," *JES* 15 (1978): 722-732.

²Philo., has an extremely universal view of the Sabbath, as he has of the whole of Judaism, which he strives to present as nothing more than Greek philosophy in its purest form ("On the Account of the World's Creation Given by Moses," 89). *Genesis Rabbah* 11:5 teaches that if the Gentiles will not keep the Sabbath now, they will be forced to as they suffer in the afterlife. However, the general trend of early Judaism is in the opposite direction, as exemplified in the way the Babylonian talmud tractate *Sanhedrin* 58b and *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 1:21 forbids non-Jews from observing the Sabbath under pain of death. See also *Exodus Rabbah* 25:11. *Jubilees* has the seeds of universalism inherent in its claim that the Sabbath is first observed by God and the angels at Creation, but immediately restricts its observance on earth to Israel (*Jub* 2:16-22, 30-33). This apocalyptic tradition is continued in *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* 18-20; *Pesikta Rabbati* 26.3, 9. For more information see Robert M. Johnston, "Patriarchs, Rabbis, and Sabbath," *AUSS* 12 (1974): 98-101.

³E.g., *Mekilta Exodus* 20:10 and *Pesikta Rabbati* 23.4. See also George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 1:339, 340.

conversion. The rabbinic distinction between the circumcised and the uncircumcised alien may at first sight seem to be an artificial contrivance to reconcile the apparently conflicting commands of Lev 17:15, 16 and Deut 14:21. For the historical critic, it would normally be enough to develop a theology of the alien and the law for just one of the supposed sources, rather than attempting to identify a coherent pattern across the board.⁴ However, the distinction cannot be dismissed out of hand, for while the word נָר sometimes does refer to the alien in general,⁵ at other times it seems to refer exclusively to the alien who has been circumcised.⁶ The question here is whether it is an appropriate distinction to draw in the context of the three Pentateuchal texts where the נָר is discussed in relationship to the weekly Sabbath.

John Calvin accepted that the נָר in these passages includes

⁴Jacob Milgrom argues that in the priestly laws, the alien is required to observe the prohibitive but not the performative commandments (Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers*, JPS Torah Commentary [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990], 399-400). The fact that Deut 14:21 exempts the alien from a prohibitive commandment is a clear barrier to extending this maxim to the Pentateuch as a whole.

Lev 16:29 is a key peg in Milgrom's argument, since he accepts Ibn Ezra's contention that the phrase, "either the nativeborn or the alien who sojourns among you" qualifies the prohibition against working on the Day of Atonement, but not the immediately preceding performative command to afflict one's soul on this day. See Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 1055. However, Ezra's distinction itself seems to be contrived. The grammatical pattern of a performative commandment followed by a prohibition of work then a list of who is included is also found in Exod 20:9-10 and Deut 5:13-14. However, no one claims that the dependents listed are prohibited from working on the seventh day, but are not included in the earlier permission to work the other six days.

⁵Lev 18:26-27 forbids the nativeborn and the alien alike from committing the sexual practices listed in the chapter, because the people already in the land have done these things and the land has become defiled. The fact that the present occupants of the land are not a part of Israel has not prevented their actions from defiling the land. Accordingly, the preservation of the land from the defilement under Israelite occupation must presuppose that the Israelites ensure that none of its inhabitants commit these acts, uncircumcised aliens included.

⁶Exod 12:19 states that anyone who eats leaven during the Feast of Unleavened Bread will be cut off "from the congregation of Israel" (מִקְרַח יִשְׂרָאֵל) whether alien or nativeborn. According to Milgrom's maxim, this command applies to aliens (whether circumcised or not) because it is prohibitive rather than performative. However, in Exod 12:47-48 uncircumcised aliens are not counted as part of the congregation of Israel, for in Exod 12:47-48 they are specifically prohibited from taking part in Passover in the same breath as *all* the congregation of Israel is commanded to observe it.

It is also possible that in Lev 16:29, the נָר includes only the circumcised alien, since in vs. 33 the priest is said to make for "all the people of the assembly" (כָּל־בְּלִיעֹם הַקְהָל), an expression that includes only Israelites and assimilated aliens in Deut 23:3-8 (vss. 4-9, Heb.), just as (מִקְרַח יִשְׂרָאֵל) does not include uncircumcised aliens in Exod 12:48.

uncircumcised aliens, but denied any universal dimensions to the Sabbath by adding that aliens and domestic animals are included

not for their sakes, but lest anything opposed to the sabbath should happen beneath the eyes of the Israelites. . . . Besides, if the very least liberty had been conceded to them [the Israelites], they would have done many things to evade the Law in their days of rest, by employing strangers and the cattle in their work.⁷

There seems to be no evidence in Exod 20:10 to establish whether the term נר is being used in a restricted or a broad sense, or to indicate whether the alien's rest is merely incidental to that of the Israelite. However, there is evidence on both these points in Exod 23:12 and Deut 5:14. The purpose of this article is to explore the place of the alien in these two texts and to use the evidence as it arises to test the traditional rabbinic interpretation and the explanation given by Calvin.

The Alien in Exod 23:12

On the basis of the "catchword" principle, the scheme of six years followed by a seventh year in Exod 23:10-11 naturally lends itself as an introduction to the scheme of six days followed by a seventh day in v. 12:⁸

ששח ימים חעשה מעשיך וביים השביעי חשבח למען ינוח שורך וחמרך וינפש בן-אמחך
והגר

Six days you must do your work, but on the seventh day you must stop, so that your ox and your donkey may rest, and the son of your female servant and the stranger may be refreshed.

The inclusion of the נר in the Sabbath rest is clearly not incidental to the rest of the Israelites in this text. Indeed, the verse does not even mention the benefits of the Sabbath rest for "the addressee and his family."⁹ Instead, the

⁷John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses Arranged in the Form of a Harmony*, trans. Charles William Bingham, vol. 2 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950], 439). See also Daniel Augsburg, "Calvin and the Mosaic Law," 2 vols. (DSR thesis, Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg: Faculté de théologie protestante, 1976), 1:280.

⁸See C. W. Kiker, "The Sabbath in the Old Testament Cult" (Th.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1968), 90.

⁹Dale Patrick, *Old Testament Law* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1985), 92. This fact does not mean that no benefit for the addressee of the command is envisaged at all, nor that the worship value of the Sabbath is being denied. Instead, it simply suggests that the Sabbath is here presented as having a distinctly humanitarian purpose. Exod 23:1-12 is a list of judgments outlining humanitarian obligations and Exod 23:14-19 contains a list of judgments outlining Israel's festal obligations, with v. 13 forming a boundary between the two. This structure may explain why in

addressee is to rest expressly “so that” (למען) his animals may rest and the son of his female servant and the alien may be refreshed.¹⁰

The inclusion of the uncircumcised alien in the statement of Exod 23:12 is confirmed by the fact that nearby in Exod 23:9, the term גר clearly includes all aliens, circumcised and uncircumcised alike:

וְגֵר לֹא תִלְחָץ וְאַתָּם יֹדְעִים אֶת־חַיַּת הַגֵּר כִּי־גֵרִים הֵייתֶם בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם

You must not oppress the alien. You know the life of the alien, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt.

The allusion to the Israelites as aliens in Egypt is suggestive of their erstwhile vulnerability as a dependent minority in a foreign land. It has nothing to say about their adoption of Egyptian religious practice.¹¹ Conversely, the command not to oppress the גר must also have all aliens in view, not just those who adopt the Israelite covenant by being circumcised.

The Alien in Deut 5:14

The Sabbath commandment in Deut 5:12-15 stands at the heart of the Deuteronomic account of the Decalogue. Verse 14 lists those included in the prohibition against working on the Sabbath and concludes with a purpose clause:

וַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי שַׁבָּת לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה כָל־מְלָאכָה אַתָּה וּבְנֶךָ וּבִתְךָ וְעַבְדְּךָ וְאִמְתְּךָ וְשׁוֹרְךָ וְחֹמֶרְךָ וְכָל־בְּהֵמַתְךָ וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁעֲרֶיךָ לְמַעַן יִנוּחַ עַבְדְּךָ וְאִמְתְּךָ כַּמּוֹד

Exod 23:10-12 “there is no allusion to the keeping of a sabbath unto the Lord . . . in connection with either the seventh year or seventh day,” such as is found in Exod 20:10 and Lev 23:3 (C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch*, 2 vols., Biblical Commentary, trans. James Martin, Clark’s Foreign Theological Library, 4th series, vol. 3 [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872], 146). It would also explain the absence of any mention of benefits for the addressee of the command.

¹⁰It has been argued that the welfare of animals, slaves, and aliens is not primarily in focus in Exod 23:12. Instead, a sacral “return to the original state,” a *restitutio in integrum*, is in view, and they are to rest simply because “they are an integral part of the creation which . . . is to return to its ‘rest’” (Martin Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary*, trans. J. S. Bowden, Old Testament Library [Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1962], 190). However, such a conclusion is not drawn from evidence in the passage itself. See Niels-Erik Andreasen, *The Old Testament Sabbath: A Tradition-Historical Investigation*, SBLDS, no. 7 (Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972), 135; Jay W. Marshall, *Israel and the Book of the Covenant: An Anthropological Approach to Biblical Law*, SBLDS, no. 140 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), 159.

¹¹In view of the scattering of the Jewish exiles, it is understandable that the LXX translators would interpret the גר primarily as a newcomer to the Jewish religion, whenever possible. Nevertheless, their translation of גרים in the last clause of Exod 23:9 as προσήλυτοι (“proselytes”) is clearly anachronistic. It would have been more appropriate if the terms גר/גרים had been translated as πάροικοι/πάροικοι (“sojourner/sojourners”) in both verses.

However, the seventh day [is] a Sabbath to Yahweh your God. You must not do any work: [not] you, or your son, or your daughter, or your male servant, or your female servant, or your ox, or your donkey, or any of your cattle, or your alien who [is] within your gates, so that your male servant and female servant may rest like you.

“Although only the male and female slave are mentioned in the clause stating the rationale, it seems clear that they represent the entire list of dependents mentioned earlier in the command.”¹² Accordingly, the extension of rest to the household, the alien, and the livestock is not incidental to the rest of the Israelite householder. Instead, it is placed on a par.

The inclusion of the uncircumcised alien in the command of Deut 5:14 is confirmed by the fact that it is reinforced in v. 15 with an appeal to the Israelite experience of slavery in Egypt.

וזכרת כי עבד היית בארץ מצרים ויצאך יהוה אלהיך משם ביד חזקה ובזרע נשוייה על-כן
צוך יהוה אלהיך לעשות את-היום השבת

And you must remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt and Yahweh your God brought you out from there with a strong hand and with a stretched-out arm. Therefore Yahweh your God commanded you to observe the Sabbath day.¹³

The fact that the Israelites were aliens in Egypt is not explicitly stated in this verse, but it is implied, in the same way that the inclusion of the alien in the rationale of v. 14 is implied. Accordingly, the issue of the alien's vulnerability is what is in view, not the question of his inclusion in the Israelite covenant through circumcision, just as in Exod 23:9.

Conclusion and Implications

A universal dimension to the weekly Sabbath is implied by the presence of three commands in the Pentateuch that specifically include the

¹²Christiana van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, JSOT Supplement Series, no. 107 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 92.

¹³The conclusion of this verse may seem to suggest that the deliverance from Egyptian slavery is being advanced as the reason for Sabbath observance itself, rather than as reason for extending its privileges to one's dependents. However, while Exod 20:11 has an introductory “for” (כי), the reference to Israel's redemption in Deut 5:15b begins with the “conjunction ‘and’ and simply enlarges the command” in v. 15a “to include remembrance of the Exodus on the sabbath” (Niels-Erik Andreassen, “Festival and Freedom: A Study of an Old Testament Theme,” *Int* 28 [1974]: 284). The “therefore” (על-כן) of Deut 5:15b may thus simply be by “analogy of [sic] Exodus 20:8-11, for . . . no reason for the sabbath per se is really provided here” (ibid). On the other hand, even if Israel's deliverance from slavery did constitute one reason for Sabbathkeeping, there is no reason to deny that contextually it also serves as a prod to show kindness toward one's dependents (see Martin Rose, *5. Mose*, 2 vols., Zürcher Bibelkommentare, Altes Testament, no. 5.2 [Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1994], 431).

alien in the Sabbath rest (Exod 20:10; 23:12; and Deut 5:14). Traditional rabbinic interpretation has resisted this implication by claiming that the גֵר or alien in these verses is the *ger ṣaddiq*, the circumcised “righteous alien,” rather than with the *ger toshab*, the uncircumcised “sojourning alien,” who is a newcomer to Jewish territory, but not to the Jewish religion. According to John Calvin, the uncircumcised alien is included, but simply to prevent any stumbling-block to Israelite Sabbathkeeping, not because of any benefit he himself might gain. There seems to be no evidence as to the validity or otherwise of these arguments in Exod 20:10. However, an exegesis of the place of the alien in Exod 23:12 and Deut 5:14 provides strong evidence that these texts do include the uncircumcised alien in their perspective, and that his rest and refreshment is just as much apart of the purpose of the Sabbath as the rest and refreshment of the Israelite householder.

In Christian circles, the continued observance of a weekly Sabbath has generally received wider support than the continued observance of other OT sacred times. A number of reasons might be cited, not least of which is the fact that the Sabbath is the only sacred time that is specifically included in the Decalogue.¹⁴ Rarely has attention been given to the possible significance of a comparative study of the Pentateuchal laws governing the relationship of the alien to different sacred times, and it is beyond the scope of this article to undertake such a study in detail. nevertheless, on the basis of a preliminary investigation, it would seem that the Pentateuch itself does give the uncircumcised alien a special status in relationship to the weekly Sabbath, one that it does not afford to him in relationship to any other sacred time.¹⁵ This distinction may indeed

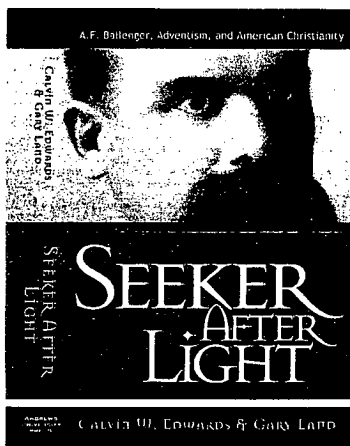
¹⁴Because of its position in the substance of the “Ten Commandments,” the weekly Sabbath retains its binding character on the recipient of the new covenant in a manner which does not apply to the sabbatical year or the year of jubilee” (O. Palmer Robertson, *The Christ of the Covenants* [Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1980], 74).

¹⁵The uncircumcised alien is specifically barred from observing the Passover (Exod 12:43-49). The alien is prohibited from eating leavened bread during the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:19), but the examination of context undertaken above (see n. 6) indicates that the circumcised alien is specifically in view in this verse. The examination of the context of Lev 16:29 undertaken above (nn. 5-6) suggests the possibility that just the uncircumcised alien may be specifically in view in commands given with reference to the alien is apparently permitted and encouraged to observe the Feast of Harvest/Weeks (Deut 16:11, 12; 26:11), but he does not seem to be required to do so (Deut 16:16). The same situation seems to apply to alien observance of the Feast of Booths (Lev 22:42, 43; Deut 16:14, 16). In the Sabbatical Year, provision is made for the sustenance of the uncircumcised alien while the land lies fallow (Lev 25:6) and the uncircumcised alien attending the Feast of Booths that year is included in the comprehensive list of people who are to listen to the reading of the law (Deut 31:11, 12). The provision for the sustenance of the alien may be to ensure his survival as a landless individual during the fallow year. However, his debts are not remitted as the

offer one justification for the special place of honor sometimes accorded the Sabbath in Christian tradition *vis-à-vis* other OT sacred times.

Israelite's are, nor is the non-Israelite slave released after seven years, as the Israelite slave is (Deut 15:1-18). Likewise, in the Year of Jubilee, Israelite servants are to be released, whereas the slaves who are foreigners or the children of aliens may remain enslaved and be passed on from generation to generation (Lev 25:47-54). In none of these cases is there a categorical requirement for the uncircumcised alien to participate fully in the observance of a sacred time, such as we have found in this article with the weekly Sabbath.

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THE ANOINTING OF AARON: A STUDY OF LEVITICUS 8:12 IN ITS OT AND ANE CONTEXT¹

GERALD KLINGBEIL
Peruvian Union University
Lima, Peru

Introduction

Lev 8:12² forms an integral part of the ritual of ordination of Aaron and his sons and the consecration of the Tabernacle and is shaped after the commandment section found in Exod 29, dealing with the technical and procedural aspects of the ordination and consecration ritual.³ This study first

¹The present article is a revision of one originally published as 'La unción de Aarón. Un estudio de Lev 8:12 en su contexto veterotestamentario y antiguo cercano-oriental,' *Theologika* 11/1 (1996): 64-83. (*Theologika* is a biennial theological journal of Universidad Peruana Unión, Lima, Peru.) The study is partly based on research undertaken for the author's D.Litt. thesis at the University of Stellenbosch. See G. A. Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual: On the Symbolism of Time, Space, and Actions in Leviticus 8," (D.Litt. diss. University of Stellenbosch, 1995). A revised version of the dissertation has been published in 1998 by Edwin Mellen Press under the title *A Comparative Study of the Ritual of Ordination as Found in Leviticus 8 and Emar 369*. The financial assistance of the South African Center for Science Development toward this research is hereby acknowledged. Furthermore, the author would like to thank the University of Stellenbosch for awarding him the Stellenbosch 2000 bursary, which constituted a substantial help in the financing of the doctoral studies.

²This study will concentrate upon Lev 8:12, which describes the anointing of Aaron only. Verse 30 of the same chapter includes a short note as to the anointing "with blood and oil" of Aaron and his sons. In a recent article, D. Fleming suggested that the existence of two anointing rites in the ordination ritual (8:12 describing the anointing of Aaron and 8:30 describing the anointing of him and his sons) indicates the existence of two distinctive customs. However, it could also be argued that the division indicates two different ritual states of the participants ("More Help from Syria: Introducing Emar to Biblical Studies," *BA* 58/3 [1995]: 143-144).

³Concerning the relationship between Exod 29 and Lev 8 one can find three main viewpoints in the literature: (1) *Lev 8 is the older document and therefore Exod 29 is dependent on Lev 8*. See B. A. Levine, "The Descriptive Ritual Texts of the Pentateuch," *JAO* 85 (1965): 311-312; K. Elliger, *Leviticus*, HAT 4 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1966), 107ff.; and M. Noth, *Das dritte Buch Mose: Leviticus*, 4th ed., ATD 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 56. (2) *There exists an intricate interrelationship between Exod 29 and Lev 8 suggesting some kind of literary dependence, but—in line with modern communication theory—there is no benefit in separating "earlier" and "later" sources*. This mediating position is held by H. Utzschneider, *Das Heiligtum und das Gesetz: Studien zur Bedeutung der sinaitischen Heiligtumstexte (Exod 25-40; Lev 8-9)*, OBO 77 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1988), 37; and J. E. Hartley, who assume that both Exod 29 and Lev 8 were dependent on an

investigates the meaning of the anointing rite in its context of the ordination ritual. Then follows an analysis of a new text from Emar⁴ describing an ordination ritual of the high priestess of ʿIM (the god IM) with special regard to the anointing rites encountered in this text. Finally, a comparative section will deal with similarities and dissimilarities between the rites and the relevance of this comparison in the broader context of Pentateuchal studies.

The Anointing of Aaron in Lev 8:12

One can detect a similarity regarding the involved actions (of anointing) in the structures of Lev 8:10-11 and 8:12, although the objects and persons involved are dissimilar. Three different consecutive actions are encountered in Lev 8:10 that could be understood in terms of a staircase structure based upon content rather than literary structure.⁵ The verbs include ויקח ("and he took"), וימשח ("and he anointed"), and ויקדש ("and he consecrated"). All these actions have Moses as their subject and the Tent of Meeting and its utensils as their object. The first action constitutes the moving of the object that effects the final action of 8:10 (namely the consecration), while the center action ("and he anointed") describes the way and means the final action is achieved, i.e., anointing results in consecration. Therefore it appears that לקח ("take") would function like נתן ("put") in the clothing act, initiating the intended action.⁶

ancient *Vorlage* containing the ordination ritual (*Leviticus*, WBC 4 [Waco, TX: Word, 1992], 109-110). (3) *Exod 29 is the older document and thus Lev 8 is dependent upon Exod 29*. Representatives of this position include J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991); idem, "The Consecration of the Priests. A Literary Comparison of Leviticus 8 and Exodus 29," in *Ernten was man sät. Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. D. R. Daniels (Neukirchen-Vlyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 273-286; and G. J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 131ff. The contextual and comparative evidence (i.e., the usage of prescriptive and subsequently descriptive texts in the ANE as found in the Samsu-Iluna B inscription; see Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 553) adduced by Milgrom seems to favor this interpretation. Thus as the point of departure for this study the dependence of Lev 8 on Exod 29 is assumed.

⁴For the bibliography of the text and commentaries on the text see below.

⁵See W.G.E. Watson, "A Note on Staircase Parallelism," *VT* 33/4 (1983): 510-512, on staircase parallelism in prose literature. Cf. also A. Berlin, "Parallelism," *ABD*, 5:155-162; and W. G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*, 2d ed., JSOT.SS 26 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 150-156. Concerning the syntactic relationship of these three verbs indicating successive action, see G. A. Klingbeil, "The Syntactic Structure of the Ritual of Ordination (Lev 8)," *Bib* 77/4 (1996): 510-512.

⁶This has also been suggested by H. Seebass, who has observed the fact that about three-fourths of the occurrences appear in sacrificial descriptions (or prescriptions) and in the narrative literature of the OT. He writes: "Vielmehr deutet der überaus häufige Gebrauch des Verbs in Vorbereitung eines weiteren, den eigentlich intendierten Akt darstellenden . . . auf einen Sinn,

It is interesting to note that Lev 8:10-12 (and also elsewhere)⁷ includes the anointing of both objects and persons. Ritual space plays an important role, since Moses appears to have taken a circular route when performing the anointing rites. In Lev 8:11 the text mentions twice *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* “the altar,” and it is feasible to argue that Moses actually sprinkled the anointing oil first on the incense altar⁸ and the other objects in the first section of the sanctuary and then went straight to the altar of burnt offering in the courtyard.⁹ The sequential nature of this action is expressed by the usage of the *wayyiqtl* forms that express succession of action.¹⁰ “The suggested route stresses the differentiation between the profane and holy of the geography of the Tent of Meeting.”¹¹

The repeated usage of the anointing oil on the objects of the sanctuary and the priests and the usage of the same verbal form of *נִשְׁחַח* (“anoint”) suggests similar ritual states of both “entities.” As F. Gorman writes:

This anointing with the special anointing oil serves to pass objects and persons into a similar ritual state. . . . The common anointing also serves to emphasize that these are the primary “spaces” of Aaron’s cultic officiating as high priest. This is not to say that all of the anointed objects are the private domain of the high priest; rather, it is to indicate the *primary* places of his service and to mark the outer bounds of his service.¹²

der in erster Linie die Verantwortlichkeit des jeweiligen Subjekts für die jeweilige Handlung hervorheben will” (לקח, *ThWAT*, 4:589). As has been suggested by Klingbeil, “Ordination and Ritual,” 188, it would appear that *נָחַ* as the first verbal form of Lev 8:7-9 functions both as an indicator for the beginning of the process of clothing and the point of departure for a series of increasingly more concrete acts of dressing. This phenomenon can also be found in 1 Sam 17:38-39, which—albeit not in a religious context—utilizes a sequence similar to the one found in Lev 8:7.

⁷See D. H. Engelhard, “Anoint, Anointing,” *ISBE*, 1:129, and the references given there.

⁸This interpretation is not solely based upon the double occurrence of *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, “the altar,” but also on the usage of the verbal action connected with the first reference to the altar. *נִחַ* (“to sprinkle”) seems to consecrate the altar (instead of purifying it as in other instances—see Klingbeil, “Ordination and Ritual,” 194, and also V. P. Hamilton, *וַיַּח*, *NIDOTTE*, 3:69). T. C. Vriezen has suggested that “the degree of sanctification is directly proportional to the distance of the place in which the *hizza*-rite is performed from the ark” (“The term *hizza*: Lustration and Consecration,” *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, ed. P. A. H. de Boer [Leiden: Brill, 1950], 215). If this suggestion is correct, it would support the interpretation that the first altar mentioned in Lev 8:11 in connection with the sprinkling rite could have been the incense altar, since it was much closer to the Holy of Holies and thus required sevenfold consecration with the anointing oil.

⁹See here G. A. Klingbeil, “Ritual Space in the Ordination Ritual of Leviticus 8,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 21/1 (1995): 72.

¹⁰Klingbeil, “Ordination and Ritual,” 90-108.

¹¹Klingbeil, “Ritual Space,” 73.

¹²F. H. Gorman Jr., *The Ideology of Ritual Space, Time and Status in the Priestly Theology*,

It would, therefore, appear that the term marks a connection between ritual space or location and ritual function of the involved persons. It is significant that the anointing of the Tabernacle and its objects precedes the anointing of the High Priest. This might provide a clue for the importance of ritual space in OT ritual.¹³

The final verbal form in Lev 8:11, לִקְדָּשׁם (“to consecrate them”), provides an explanation of the two previous acts of sprinkling¹⁴ and anointing (מָשַׁח). The infinitive construct לִקְדָּשׁם would be in accordance with the use of יִקְדָּשׁ in Lev 8:10 that explained the previous ritual action on the Tabernacle.¹⁵ After the objects are anointed, the ritual personnel are to be ordained. Lev 8:12 displays a structure similar to that found in 8:11, but instead of sprinkling the anointing oil, Moses pours some on Aaron’s head.¹⁶ קָדַשׁ occurs fifty-five times in OT¹⁷ and is used in the

JSOT.SS 91 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 118-119.

¹³Klingbeil, “Ordination and Ritual,” 192.

¹⁴The verbal root used is נָחַ which appears some twenty-four times in the OT (see A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Old Testament* [Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1985], 750). On the usage of the verb see the discussion in Klingbeil, “Ordination and Ritual,” 193-194, Hamilton, *NIDOTTE*, 3:69-70, and Vriezen, “bizza,” 201-235.

¹⁵Concerning the meaning of קָדַשׁ in the OT, see J. A. Naudé, קָדַשׁ, *NIDOTTE*, 3:877-887, and Klingbeil, “Ordination and Ritual,” 192, and the references given there. It is interesting to note that forty-five of the seventy-five occurrences of the Piel form of קָדַשׁ can be found in the Pentateuch, predominantly in the books of Exodus (twenty-two times) and Leviticus (fifteen times). This is in agreement with the content of these books, i.e., the construction of the sanctuary and initiation of “proper” sacrificial service. Cf. also P. P. Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World*, JSOT.SS 106 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

¹⁶Anointing was not only utilized in religious rituals, but also appears in secular and legal contexts (although it is not always easy to differentiate between these categories). Concerning the anointing with oil as an expression of joy, see G. A. Anderson, *A Time to Mourn, A Time to Dance: The Expression of Grief and Joy in Israelite Religion* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 45-47. Å. Viberg discusses the legal function of anointing in the OT context. He suggests that the “priestly anointing served to consecrate priests to their cultic service. The legal function of the act was therefore part of cultic law” (*Symbols of Law: A Contextual Analysis of Legal Symbolic Acts in the Old Testament*, ConBOT 34 [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1992], 119). While one should not neglect the legal aspect of the anointing procedure (as found in other OT contexts—specifically concerning the king’s anointing), it would appear that the close proximity of the priestly anointing and the anointing of the Tabernacle would suggest rather the consecratory aspect of the rite. Perhaps it is possible to combine both aspects, since by anointing both Aaron and the Tabernacle (and its objects) it was publicly stated that they were to be considered as belonging to YHWH, which certainly has legal undertones. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind the stated purpose of the procedure as found in Lev 8:10-12, where the process of קָדַשׁ is referred to several times and thus underlines the importance of the consecratory aspect.

¹⁷Even-Shoshan, *Concordance*, 487.

context of pouring fluids in everyday situations (as, for example, in 2 Kgs 4:4; Ezek 24:3, etc.),¹⁸ but occurs predominantly in cultic contexts.¹⁹ Five times the verb appears together with מָשַׁח, namely, in Exod 29:7; Lev 8:12; 1 Sam 10:1; 2 Kgs 9:3, 6. The first two references concern the ordination of priests and are clearly cultic. 1 Sam 10:1 describes the anointing of Saul by Samuel. It is significant to see a similar sequence of actions, namely, לקַח (“take”), יָצַק (“pour”), and מָשַׁח (“anoint”). The final מָשַׁח contains an interpretation of the act of pouring the oil upon Saul’s head by Samuel. 2 Kings 9:3 utilizes the same sequence and occurs in the context of Jehu’s anointing by Elisha. While 2 Kgs 9:3 contains the prescriptive part of that procedure, v. 6 describes the actual performance. From these examples it would appear that the anointing of priests and kings was similar, the only difference being the fact that the oil to be used for the priests was הַמִּשְׁחָה, “anointing oil,” whereas the references to the anointing of Saul and Jehu mention only שֶׁמֶן as the fluid agent.²⁰ The combination הַמִּשְׁחָה שֶׁמֶן “anointing oil” occurs sixteen times in the OT.²¹ The oil used for הַמִּשְׁחָה שֶׁמֶן was a mixture of specific spices and olive oil (Exod 30:22-33).²² It was used in rituals of consecration for priests (Exod 29:7, 21; Lev 8:12, 30), the Tabernacle (Exod 40:9; Lev 8:10) and possibly also kings.²³ Special consideration should be given to the fact that the anointing oil was to be a mixture of specific strong-smelling spices, which should be interpreted in the context of the importance of smells in the cultural environment of

¹⁸Compare here also the discussion found in B. Johnson, יָצַק, *ThWAT*, 3:827.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 3:827-828.

²⁰J. N. Oswalt, מָשַׁח, *NIDOTTE*, 2:1124, assumes that the oil utilized for both rituals of anointing was to be the same, although he does not discuss the differing terminology mentioned above.

²¹Namely in Exod 25:6; 29:7, 21; 31:11; 35:8, 15, 28; 37:29; 39:38; 40:9; Lev 8:2, 10, 12, 30; 21:10; and Num 4:16. Another similar phrase מָשַׁח שֶׁמֶן occurs either with the apposition קָרַק (Exod 30:25 [two times] and 31) or without the apposition (Lev 10:7 and 21:12).

²²See more specifically N. M. Sarna, *Exodus*, JBS Torah Commentary 2 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 197-198. The following ingredients were used: liquid myrrh (NRSV) [Sarna translates it as solidified myrrh], sweet-smelling cinnamon, aromatic cane, and cassia. Cf. also Y. Feliks, “The Incense of the Tabernacle,” in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 125-149, concerning the nature of some of the ingredients involved.

²³It should be noted, however, that the anointing of King Solomon described in 1 Kgs 1:39 does not explicitly mention הַמִּשְׁחָה שֶׁמֶן, but rather מִן הַתֵּן, “the oil from the Tent.” It could thus be possible that the procedure and material used for the anointing of kings was not exactly the same procedure as the one used for the anointing of the priests and the sanctuary.

the ANE.²⁴ This applies specifically to the composition of שמן המשחה, which includes parts of cinnamon, myrrh, cane, and cassia and should be expected to give off a pleasant smell.²⁵ Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that the OT forbids the use of the anointing oil for cosmetic or other uses apart from the prescribed acts of ritual anointing.²⁶ It appears that by this prohibition YHWH reserves the special fragrance for himself.

By anointing “his” fragrance is transmitted to his dwelling and its inventory (Exod. xxx 26-9) and to the priests, devoted to his service (Exod. xxx 30). So YHWH’s fragrance becomes attached to his house and his attendants. *So they are marked by his personality* [emphasis supplied]. Their exclusive belonging to YHWH is expressed for an organ of sense in a perceptible way.²⁷

As has been noted above by Houtman, smell is an extension of one’s personality, and thus the priests and the sanctuary are marked by YHWH’s personality. That in turn gives them a special status in society.

The anointing of Aaron (and later in v. 30 that of his sons as well) marks a crucial point inasmuch as it puts both the location and its objects and the person(s) on a par.²⁸ Taking the parallel anointing of the Tabernacle and its objects and the High Priest into consideration, Milgrom²⁹ has argued that this practice resembles similar practices in “old portions of the Pentateuch” (such as Gen 28:18; 31:13; and 35:14) and thus would suggest an early origin of the practice of anointing the High Priest and not a later modeling of the ritual after the practice of anointing a king.

²⁴See C. Houtman, who argues that smells/breath are often understood as the extensions of the personality of the carrier. “The breath is an extension of the personality. . . . In the light of the remarks made above about man and his emanations, it is plausible that for an Israelite odors were not only either pleasant or unpleasant, but also carriers of either life or death” (“On the Function of the Holy Incense [Exodus XXX 34-8] and the Sacred Anointing Oil [Exodus XXX 22-33],” *VT* 42/4 [1992]: 460-461). Cf. also B. Gibbons, “The Intimate Sense of Smell,” *National Geographic* 170 (1986): 324-362, concerning the importance of smells in human life.

²⁵The unique composition of the anointing oil—similar to the composition of the incense also described in Exod 30—reflects a pattern (M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1978], 243), namely, that material uniqueness corresponds to “sacral-ritualistic distinctiveness.”

²⁶Exod 30:32-33 emphatically states that no unqualified person should have contact with the oil, lest he should be “cut off from his people.” This differentiation is also clearly indicated by the use of verbal forms. Whereas the ritual anointing is always expressed by the root *חנן*, cosmetic anointing is indicated by the root *חן*. Cf. Oswalt, *NIDOTTE*, 2:1124.

²⁷Houtman, “Function of Holy Incense,” 465.

²⁸Cf. also Jenson, who maintains that “the holiness of the priests . . . was of the same order as that of the holy areas of the Tabernacle” (*Graded Holiness*, 119).

²⁹Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 554.

The Anointing of the NIN.DINGIR at Emar

Emar, or modern Tell Meskene (some 90 km east of Aleppo) in Syria, was excavated during five salvage campaigns between 1973 and 1976.³⁰ The city existed on this particular site between the fourteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E., after which it was destroyed.³¹ Among the numerous tablets and fragments is a section of Emar 369 that contains the description of the ritual of ordination of the NIN.DINGIR of ^dIM, of which there are six tablet fragments representing four manuscripts.³²

The relevant sections of the ritual texts are lines 3-4 and 20-21, which read as follows:³³

3. *i-ša-ba-tu₄ DUMU.MÍ a-i-me-e DUMU^{um} E-mār it-tar-ra-aš i-na u₄-mi ša-a-šu-ma Ì.DU₁₀.GA iš-tu É.GAL-lì*
4. *ù iš-tu É^dNIN.KUR i-laq-qu-mi a-n|a SAG.DU-ši i-šak-kán-nu 1 UDU 1^{duš} qú-'u-ú 1 hi-zi-bu KAŠ.GEŠTIN*
20. *a-na pa-ni nu-ba-at-ti Ì.DU₁₀.GA ša É^dNIN.KUR ù[a-n]a KÁ^dIM^{lu}HAL i[na SAG.DU]*
21. *ša NIN.DINGIR i-tab-bu-uk ù LÚ.MEŠ ša qi-da-ši iš-t[u É^dIM È-ma a-na É a-bi-ši ú-še-e]r(?) -ra-bu-ši*

³⁰Cf. J.-C. Margueron, "Emar," *ABD*, 2:488-490. See also idem., "Emar, Capital of Aštata in the Fourteenth Century B.C.E.," *BA* 58/3 (1995): 126-138; and J.-C. Margueron and M. Sigrist, "Emar," *OEANE*, 2:236-239; and W. Pitard, "The Archaeology of Emar," in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, ed. M. W. Chavalas (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1996), 13-23.

³¹Margueron suggests that several references to Emar found in the literature from Ebla, dating the city back to approximately 2400 B.C.E., must be understood in terms of the rebuilding of the same city on a different site due to the meandering movements of the Euphrates. "The movement of the river condemned the city to destruction; the only solution was to abandon the city and rebuild it nearby." This would also explain why the excavations suggested that Emar/Tell Meskene was a relatively newly established city ("Emar," *ABD*, 2:489). Cf. J.-C. Margueron, "La recherche sur le terrain," in *Meskéné—Emar: Dix ans de travaux 1972-1982*, ed. J.-C. Margueron (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982), 12-13. See also H. Klengel's review of D. Arnaud's *Recherches au pays d'Astarta: Emar VI; vols. 1-2: Textes sumériens et akkadiens, Planches. vol. 3: Textes sumériens et accadiens, Texte* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985) in *OLZ* 83 (1988): 646-651; and his summary of the allusions to Emar/Imar found in cuneiform literature of the second millennium B.C.E. and the references given there. For more references to the history and archaeology of Emar see Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual," 280-281.

³²See the important work of D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar: A Window on Ancient Syrian Religion*, HSS 42 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), 9; and Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual," 281-282, esp. n. 62.

³³D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astarta: Emar VI; vol. 3: Textes sumériens et akkadiens, Texte* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986), 326-337.

3. The daughter of any son of Emar may be identified. On that same day they will take fine oil from the palace
 4. and from the temple of ^dNIN.KUR, and put (it) on her head. They will offer before ^dIM 1 sheep, 1 *qu'û-jar*, (and) 1 *hizzibu* of wine
 20. Just before the evening watch, they will take fine oil of the temple of ^dNIN.KUR and of the palace, and at the gate of ^dIM the ^{lu}HAL
 21. will pour (it) on the NIN.DINGIR's [head], and when the men of the *qidašu* leave the temple of ^dIM, they will [brin]g her [into the house of her father].

The two references to the anointing act occur during the actions prescribed for the first and second days. After the initial identification of the future high priestess by means of a lot (line 2), the chosen "daughter of any son of Emar" is anointed with "fine oil" from the palace. The introductory time reference to the second occurrence *a-na pa-ni nu-ba-at-ti*, "just before the evening watch,"³⁴ refers to the second day of the ritual,³⁵ which is one of the key days of the nine-day ceremony.³⁶ It is significant to note that on each of the important days of the ritual, reference is made to the time before the beginning of the night, which seems to introduce an important part of the ritual preparing for the following day (cf. lines 20, 40, and 62).

The origin of the oil is from the "palace" and from the "temple of ^dNIN.KUR." The act of anointing is often found in both legal and ritual contexts in Mesopotamian texts³⁷ and possibly also in connection with the

³⁴Fleming, *Installation*, 51. M. Dietrich, "Das Einsetzungsritual der Entu von Emar (Emar VI/3, 369)," *UF* 21 (1989): 80 translates "vor Anbruch der Nacht."

³⁵Line 7 reads "on the next day." Regarding the discussion of ritual time in the ordination ritual of the NIN.DINGIR, see Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual," 322-332.

³⁶The other important days include the second day (shaving ceremony), the third day (enthronement ceremony), and the final or ninth day (procession from house of the father of the NIN.DINGIR to the temple of ^dIM and ascension upon the bed). See also Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual," 328. Dietrich, "Einsetzungsritual," 87-89, interprets the ritual as a seven-day ritual which is based upon the recurring phrase *U₄.7.KÁM*, "for seven days" (lines 46, 48, 51, 54, 57, and 83). Fleming, *Installation*, 63, has speculated that "perhaps comparison with the week-long Israelite festival or simply the magic of the number itself produces a disposition toward the seven-day length, but various details of the text suggest the alternative scheme elaborated below [referring to the nine-day duration of the festival]." The key to this problem is the usage of the prepositional phrase *i-na* and the noun denoting "day." It appears that when a temporal phrase is introduced by *i-na*, it indicates "time when" rather than "how long." However, the inclusion of a seven-day period into the larger framework of the nine-day festival indeed underlines the importance of the seven-day unit in the ritual practice of the ANE. Cf. also G. A. Klingbeil, "Ritual Time in Leviticus 8 with Special Reference to the Seven-day Period in the Old Testament," *ZAW* 109/4 (1997): 500-513; and Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual," 131-139.

³⁷*CAD*, Š/1, 325-327.

anointing of high officials, although Thompson has recently argued convincingly against this interpretation in Egyptian texts.³⁸ The different places of origin of the “fine oil” seem to indicate two different aspects of the social dimension of the election of the high priestess, namely, the public and religious dimensions.³⁹ This interpretation is further supported by the use of two different verbal forms, namely *šakānu*, “pour” and *tabāku*, “pour,”⁴⁰ the common word used for pouring oil on the head. Alternatively, the different terms in connection with the rites of anointing could indicate differing grades of “separation,” which is one of the main motifs of the first days of the ordination rites of the NIN.DINGIR.⁴¹

It is interesting to note that there is one more anointing rite in the ritual: line 35 mentions that on the third day the NIN.DINGIR anoints the top of the *sikkānu* of the goddess Hebat. The text utilizes the same verbal root as used for the description of the second-day anointing, namely, *tabāku*.⁴² The parallel performance of anointing (first the NIN.DINGIR and then the *sikkānu* of Hebat) possibly suggests that the later rite is an imitation of the earlier one. The motivation behind the choice of the stele of Hebat for the anointing rite concerns the role Hebat apparently played in the pantheon of Emar—at least in the pantheon “visible” in the ordination ritual of the NIN.DINGIR. The close proximity to ^dIM would suggest that Hebat was his

³⁸See D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 368; and P. Dion, “Institutional Model and Poetic Creation: The First Song of the Servant of the Lord and Appointment Ceremonies,” in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*, JSOT.SS 67 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 334. However, S. E. Thompson, after discussing the five pieces of evidence frequently cited in support of the concept that officials were anointed in Egypt (Florence Stele 1774, TT 90; P. Rylands IX 8/15-18, reward scenes, and EA51:4-9), concludes that only in EA 51 an Egyptian king undoubtedly anointed a vassal—which should possibly be interpreted that the king was “engaging in a custom common among Asiatics, rather than that he was introducing an Egyptian custom into Syria-Palestine” (“The Anointing of Officials in Ancient Egypt,” *JNES* 53/1 [1994]: 25).

³⁹The election first has to be ratified by the palace, while the second anointing indicates the actual religious aspect of the rite.

⁴⁰W. von Soden, *AHW*, 1295-1296.

⁴¹Fleming has suggested a third possibility: “When the priestess is selected anointing is the rite that first marks her as ^dIM’s. Perhaps the second anointing, before she returns to her father’s house after the shaving day, renews this identification, since she is now effectively on loan back to her father. It is possible that the shaving itself makes necessary the repetition, if her anointed hair has been removed. Finally, the fact of two anointings further emphasizes the separation of the shaving day as a ritual event unto itself” (*Installation*, 177).

⁴²There are other occasions involving the anointing of a stele with oil or blood, e.g., Emar 373.57-58; 373.32; and 375.14. Cf. Fleming, *Installation*, 78, esp. n. 36.

consort.⁴³ By anointing ^dIM's divine consort, the human consort dedicated herself to ^dIM for life. Furthermore, the immediate context of the third day should be taken into consideration: before the NIN.DINGIR can sit upon her throne and be presented with the credentials of her office, both the human and the divine consort have to be brought into a similar ritual state.

Comparison and Contrast

The anointing rites found in Lev 8 and at Emar have both similar and dissimilar features. Obviously they involve two different sexes, although the interchangeability of male and female ritual specialists in ANE rituals has been shown before.⁴⁴ While in the biblical account the necessary ritual space is prepared and consecrated *before* the consecration of the human participant, at Emar this order is reversed. Immediately after the election rite, the future NIN.DINGIR is to be anointed—with oil from the palace—indicating her special status and sanctioning her election. This is followed by another anointing rite at the evening of the second day with oil from the temple, which clearly carries religious connotations. Only on the third day is the stele of the consort of ^dIM to be anointed.

Both M. Noth⁴⁵ and R. de Vaux⁴⁶ have argued that Israelite priests were not anointed until after the Exile.⁴⁷ They based their arguments upon their conception of the literary development of the Pentateuch, and more specifically, on their dating of the "Priestly Source." However, Emar 369 provides an early ANE instance of anointing a priest, while there are many known examples in the Mesopotamian material of this period describing the

⁴³See here K. van der Toorn, "Hebat," *DDD*, 744-746.

⁴⁴Against this interpretation see K. van der Toorn, "Theology, Priests, and Worship in Canaan and Ancient Israel," *CANE*, 3:2052. Cf. also W. von Soden, who indicates the presence of *en*-priests and *en*-priestesses, although he asserts that the priestesses were predominantly employed in the Sacred Marriage rite (*The Ancient Orient. An Introduction to the Study of the Ancient Near East* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 195). In the particular function of the office of the NIN.DINGIR at Emar see Fleming, *Installation*, 81-83, who suggests that at Emar the priestess may not have been seen primarily as the wife of the god she served, but as the head of the divine household.

⁴⁵M. Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 237-238.

⁴⁶R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1961), 105 and 347.

⁴⁷This is also postulated in the review article on "Salbung" in the reference work *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Kutsch writes, for example, in relation to the ANE evidence: "Salbung von Priestern bei der Amtseinsetzung ist weder für Ägypten noch für Mesopotamien und das Hethiterreich belegt." And regarding the OT: "Nach dem Exil wurde die Salbung auf den Hohenpriester übertragen (Lev 21, 10; Exod 29, 7; Lev 4, 3; 8, 12)" ("Salbung," *RGK*, 5:1330-1332).

use of anointing in legal or political contexts.⁴⁸ Fleming writes:

The biblical testimony to anointing Israelite priests should be re-evaluated. Emar's NIN.DINGIR of 𐎎𐎎 is a person delivered into service of a god and the Israelite record of anointing priests may derive from this ancient legal tradition applied to divine service, and *may not be a late application of defunct royal tradition [sic] to post-exilic high priests [emphasis supplied]*.⁴⁹

What is of even more importance, however, is the fact that the texts from Emar are dated to the fourteenth/thirteenth century B.C.E., thus describing a religious reality in Syria at that time. Given the problematic nature of the dating of the Pentateuch, it appears useful to utilize comparative material that can help to establish historical patterns. The state of the dating of the Pentateuch is in some degree of academic upheaval,⁵⁰ since old paradigms (like, for example, the JEDP sequence) are being abandoned and new models are being proposed.⁵¹ The tendency to date texts late creates an interesting and

⁴⁸Cf. also Fleming, *Installation*, 178-179.

⁴⁹Ibid., 179.

⁵⁰Cf. also L. Schmidt, "Zur Entstehung des Pentateuchs: Ein kritischer Literaturbericht," *Verkündigung und Forschung* 40, no. 1 (1995): 3-28. Schmidt reviews predominantly German studies (with the exception of two English works) and concedes that there indeed exists a "Pentateuchkrise" (4), regarding the different (often conflicting) models of interpretation. A similar evaluation can be found in B. Seidel, "Entwicklungslinien der neueren Pentateuchforschung im 20. Jahrhundert," *ZAW* 106 (1994): 476-485, although it appears as if Seidel concentrates predominantly on continental critical scholarship. Concerning the state of Pentateuchal research with special reference to the study of the Book of Exodus see H. Utzschneider, "Die Renaissance der alttestamentlichen Literaturwissenschaft und das Buch Exodus," *ZAW* 106 (1994): 197-223. Cf. also his earlier statement: "Möglicherweise ist die 'Krise' der alten, den gesamten Penta-, 𐎎𐎎. Hexateuch übergreifenden Erklärungsmodelle, zu denen die 'Priesterschrift' gehört, tatsächlich zu schwerwiegend, wie es den Anschein hat. Gerade dann aber darf im Getümmel um die Gültigkeit der alten die Möglichkeit der neuen Erklärungsmodelle das Eigengewicht der Texte nicht verloren gehen" (*Heiligtum und das Gesetz*, 2-3).

⁵¹R. Rendtorff remarks regarding the validity of the Wellhausen-paradigm: "The Wellhausen paradigm no longer functions as a commonly accepted presupposition for Old Testament exegesis" ("The Paradigm is Changing: Hopes and Fears," *Biblical Interpretation* Sample Issue (1992): 12. Cf. also D. Garrett: "The very idea of a consensus among biblical scholars on Genesis has become something of a joke. . . . With astonishing rapidity, previously held 'assured results' and seemingly invulnerable positions are being not modified but abandoned altogether. Widely practiced methods of analysis, indeed methods which are currently being taught, are falling from favor as scholars on the leading edge of research pronounce them to be presumptuous or even useless" (*Rethinking Genesis: The Sources and Authorship of the First Book of the Pentateuch* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1991], 7). Against this, see J. Friedman, who maintains that the "documentary hypothesis has remained intact in its essentials," although there has been developments concerning (1) improved understanding of the historical circumstances and concerns of the authors, (2) improved understanding of the editors and the editorial processes, and (3) shift in the dating of P ("Torah [Pentateuch]," *ABD*, 5:618). On the methodological downfalls of the documentary hypothesis see R. N. Whybray, *The Making of the Pentateuch. A Methodological Study*, JSOT.SS 53

surprising phenomenon: it suggests a vast spectrum of religious life, beliefs, and thinking in the time before, during, and after the Exile.⁵² But besides this tendency of "late dating," one also encounters the problematic inclination to change and reorganize the accepted scholarly consensus (which seemed to have been a mirage anyway), as can be seen in the dating and redating of the P source.⁵³ On methodological grounds, however, it is precarious to base far-reaching conclusions on a theory whose foundations have been so severely modified and altered.

Besides the methodological uncertainties, an overview of the relevant works on Israelite priesthood and the history of Israelite religion shows clearly that the actual biblical data has been abandoned in favor of models that were believed to be infallible.⁵⁴ Since the argument against a preexilic and even

(Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 43-131.

⁵²It should be noted, however, that among historians this period is still fairly "misty"—at least in terms of the history of Palestine itself. See G. A. Klingbeil, "The Aramaic Epigraphical Material of Syria-Palestine during the Persian Period with Reference to the History of the Jews," M.A. Thesis (Stellenbosch, South Africa: University of Stellenbosch, 1992). Cf. also I. Eph'al, who comments that the history of Syria-Palestine in the Persian period "is extremely difficult to reconstruct, primarily because of the paucity of our information concerning the region" ("Syria-Palestine under Achaemenid Rule," *CAH*, 4:141). E. Stern comes to a similar conclusion in *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982), xv. Cf. also the pertinent remarks of K. Kitchen, who writes: "To attribute all, or any, of this to Hebrew 'priestly' circles living humbled in exile in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon, six or seven centuries after such usages in our data, involves belief in some kind of magical 'telepathy' across nearly 1000 miles and several centuries later! . . . 'P', it should be remembered, is strictly pure fiction—there is no such document extant, other than in the scholarly imagination. . . . Hence scholars need to revise drastically the ragbag of inherited 19th century conceptions that 'P' contains and symbolizes. Specific entities within 'it' need to be taken out, each examined on their merits in their proper ancient context, and re-evaluated as necessary" ("The Tabernacle—A Bronze Age Artifact," *Eretz Israel* 24. *Avraham Malamat Volume*, ed. S. Ahituv and B. A. Levine (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 126*.

⁵³Milgrom ascribes to the priestly source an eighth century B.C.E. date (*Leviticus*, 3-8). Milgrom is heavily indebted to A. Hurvitz, who worked on the terminological comparison between what has been designated the priestly source and the book of Ezekiel (*A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, CahRB 20 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1982). For more bibliographic data on Hurvitz' work see Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual," 68 and the references given there. Cf. also M. Haran, who follows Kaufmann's suggestion of the priority of P over D and dates the writing of P during the reign of Hezekiah (*Temples and Temple-Service*, 326-333).

⁵⁴See the survey of the different works concerning the history of priesthood in ancient Israel in Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual," 48-53. The Wellhausenian evolutionary model is applied to the textual data without further investigation. The study of Lev 8 on its own terms is actually a sore sight as can be seen in the reviewed works. Cf. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester*, FRLANT 89 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965); A. Cody, *A History of Old Testament Priesthood*, AnBib 35 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969); L. Sabourin, *Priesthood: A Comparative Study*, SHR 25 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); W. O. McCready, "Priests and Levites," *ISBE*, 3:965-970; M. D. Rehm, "Levites and Priests," *ABD*, 4:297-310; J. Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and*

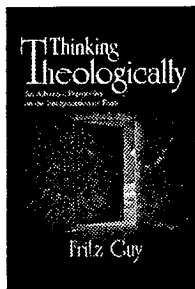
Mosaic *Sitz im Leben* of the ordination ritual of Lev 8 has often utilized the lack of comparative material from the ANE (regarding the anointing of priests), the contrary argumentation should be permissible as well. Since the ordination of the NIN.DINGIR with its anointing sub-rites provides a backdrop to the ordination ritual of Aaron and his sons, the date of the Emar ritual could help to establish a date for the emergence of specific ordination rites, which, together with internal chronological data, could help to establish the date of composition of a given biblical book.⁵⁵ In the case of Leviticus (which according to the classic Wellhausenian definition includes predominantly strands of the Priestly source), a Mosaic date during the fourteenth century B.C.E. is thus thinkable.⁵⁶

Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel, LAI (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995); and L. L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners. A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995).

⁵⁵On the pitfalls and possibilities of the comparative method see M. Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*, AOAT 227 (Neukirchen-Vlyun: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990); W. W. Hallo, "Compare and Contrast: The Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature," in *The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature. Scripture in Context III*, ed. W. W. Hallo, B. W. Jones, and G. L. Mattingly, ANETS 8 (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1990); S. Talmon, "The Comparative Method in Biblical Interpretation—Principles and Problems," in *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977*, VTS 29 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 320-356; T. Longman III, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1991), 23-36; and most recently W. W. Hallo, "Introduction: Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Their Relevance for Biblical Exegesis," in *The Context of Scripture*, vol. 1, *Canonical Composition from the Biblical World*, ed. W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), xxxii-xxviii. Cf. also the extensive discussion and references to the relevant publications in Klingbeil, "Ordination and Ritual," 265-277. The comparative method advocated in this study correlates itself closely with Hallo's and Talmon's position. Comparative material should belong to the same historic (time) and cultural stream. There should also be a close geographical connection. Once a contextual comparison has been undertaken, the outcome must provide for either an assumption of mutual independence or historical/cultural interaction.

⁵⁶After this study had been submitted for publication in *AUSS*, D. E. Fleming published a very convincing study reaching similar results ("The Biblical Tradition of Anointing Priests," *JBL* 117/3 [1998]: 401-414). Fleming focuses both upon the biblical material and the extra-biblical evidence, drawing attention to the cuneiform material from Mesopotamia and Syria (additional to the Emar evidence). His conclusion emphasizes the apparent important difference in settings between the Emar and the Israel anointing rites. While Emar's social context reflects an urban society, Israel's textual evidence testifies to a less centralized societal context.

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THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES AND THE BOOK OF REVELATION

EDWIN REYNOLDS
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies
Silang, Cavite, Philippines

A few studies have offered evidence for a connection between the Hebrew festivals and the book of Revelation.¹ Others have noted specifically the relation between the Feast of Tabernacles and Rev 7:9-17.² This study seeks to explore in greater detail the relation between the Feast of Tabernacles (FT) and the book of Revelation. Specifically, it extensively examines the OT elements of the FT and takes note of parallels in Revelation that seem to suggest a typological function for the FT that finds its fulfillment in the eschatology of the Apocalypse. If such a relation can be demonstrated, we can learn more about the eschatology of Revelation from a close study of the FT.

The Feast of Tabernacles

In order to study the relation between the FT and the book of Revelation, it is important to explore extensively the OT background and significance of the FT. This includes its relation to the other Hebrew festivals, as well as the details of the FT itself and the explicit commemorative and other significance given it in the OT.

General Background

The FT was the major pilgrim festival of the nation of Israel. It was the last of six cultic festivals mandated by Yahweh in Lev 23, namely, the

¹See, e.g., Richard M. Davidson, "Sanctuary Typology," in *Symposium on Revelation, Book 1: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 6 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 119-126; Jon Paulien, "'Seals and Trumpets: Some Current Discussions,'" in *Symposium on Revelation, Book 1: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee, vol. 6 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 190-92.

²See, e.g., J. A. Draper, "The Heavenly Feast of Tabernacles: Revelation 7:1-17," *JSNT* 19 (1983): 133-47; Jeffrey L. Rubenstein, *The History of Sukkot in the Second Temple and Rabbinic Periods*, Brown Judaic Studies, no. 302 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 91-94; Hoakan Ulfsgard, *Feast and Future: Revelation 7:9-17 and the Feast of Tabernacles*, Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament, no. 22 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989).

Passover, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Feast of Weeks, the Feast of Trumpets, the Day of Atonement, and the FT.³ It was also referred to as the Feast of Ingathering (Exod 34:22), because it was celebrated at the end of the agricultural year, after the fall harvest of grain and wine had been gathered in (Lev 23:39; Deut 16:13). Of the six festivals, three in the spring and three in the fall, only three were designated as pilgrim festivals, at which every adult male was required to appear before Yahweh at the tabernacle or temple every year. These were the Feast of Unleavened Bread (including the Passover), the Feast of Weeks, and the FT (Exod 23:14-17; 34:18, 22-24; Deut 16:16).

The spring festivals began with the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the first month of the Hebrew sacred calendar, at the beginning of the spring barley harvest. At that time the nation commemorated their deliverance from slavery in Egypt by roasting and eating a lamb or young goat, followed by the eating of unleavened bread and bitter herbs for seven days. They also offered to God the first sheaf of barley from their fields as an expression of gratitude for the harvest.

Fifty days after the presentation of the barley sheaf on the day following the Passover, the Feast of Weeks (or Feast of Harvests) was celebrated. At that time the firstfruits of the wheat harvest were dedicated to God in the form of loaves of bread made from the firstfruits.

In the seventh month, at the time of the fall harvest, the Feast of Trumpets prepared the people for the judgment to take place on the Day of Atonement. This was accomplished by a solemn blowing of trumpets at the door of the tabernacle or temple. The first day of this festival came eventually to mark the beginning of the civil year, and is known as *Rosh Hashanah*, or New Year's Day.

Nine days later, on the tenth day of the seventh month, was the Day of Atonement, or *Yom Kippur*, the most solemn day of the year. It represented the day of judgment for the people of Israel. At that time, anyone who had not done serious soul-searching, self-denial, and putting away of sin was to be put out of the congregation of Israel. It was to be kept as a fast, not as a feast, and no work was to be done. As soon as this day passed, there was great rejoicing in Israel.

The FT began five days after the Day of Atonement, on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, and continued for seven days. Coming at the end of the agricultural year, celebrating the abundance of the harvest, and

³The text also includes the bringing of an offering of the firstfruits of the harvest, but Exod 34:22 seems to indicate that this was a part of the Feast of Weeks, not a separate festival. Cf. Timothy K. Hui, "The Purpose of Israel's Annual Feasts," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 147 (1990): 150-51. The Mishnah indicates that the firstfruits could be brought any time between Pentecost and the FT, but not before Pentecost (Bikk. 1.3, 1.10).

designated as a time of rejoicing for God's guidance and blessings (Lev 23:40; Deut 16:14-15), it came to be the most popular and well attended of the feasts of Israel.⁴ It was frequently referred to merely as "the Feast."⁵ If an Israelite attended only one pilgrim festival a year, it was normally the FT (cf. Judg 21:19; 1 Sam 1:3, 7, 21).⁶

During the FT the people were supposed to construct temporary shelters of boughs and branches of trees on the hills surrounding the location of the tabernacle or temple, and they were to camp in them as a reminder of the way in which God had sheltered them with his presence during their sojourn in the wilderness. A final, eighth day was designated as a holy convocation and a solemn assembly. There is a division of scholarly opinion as to whether it was considered a part of the FT or a separate event.⁷ It was, at any rate, the final celebration of the Israelite festival year.

General Significance

The festivals of Israel were invested with great religious significance. Some of this significance is very explicit in Scripture, especially its commemorative significance. A number of scholars have also noted a dual or even triple significance for many, if not all, of these festivals, including not only reminders of Israel's past, but also an attempt to call attention

⁴Norman Hillyer states regarding the FT, "Josephus describes it as 'the holiest and greatest feast' [*Ant.* 8.100], and in similar fashion Philo and the Rabbis throughout the Mishnah, distinguish it from all the other religious celebrations." ("First Peter and the Feast of Tabernacles," The Tyndale NT Lecture, delivered at Tyndale House, Cambridge, 9 July 1969, *Tyndale Bulletin* 21 [1970]: 40) He adds, 40-41, "What the seventh day, or sabbath, was in relation to the week, the seventh month seems to have been in relation to the year. It completed not only the liturgical cycle, but also the agricultural year. It marked the autumnal equinox, heralded the long awaited 'former rains', and determined the timing of a sabbatical year."

⁵See John 7:2; George W. MacRae, "The Meaning and Evolution of the Feast of Tabernacles," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 22 (1960): 261.

⁶Rubenstein, 93; R. K. Harrison, "The Feasts and Festivals of Israel," *Baker Encyclopedia of the Bible* (1988), 1:787, concludes that the feasts in Judg 21:19 and 1 Sam 1 "were evidently the feasts of booths," though Neh 8:17 notes that Israel had not lived in booths since the days of Joshua.

⁷The fact that the eighth day is not mentioned in Deut 16:13-15 is cited as evidence that the eighth day was not, originally at least, a part of the Feast. Neh 8:18 seems to refer to Lev 23:36, 39, noting an eighth day which is different from and not a part of the seven. The last, great day of the Feast in John 7:37, therefore, is widely disputed as to whether it refers to the seventh or the eighth day of the Feast. The Mishnah (Sukk. 4:1, 8; 5:8; Arak. 2:3), however, speaks of the Feast as having eight days, and seems to assume that "the last Festival-day of the Feast" (Sukk. 4:8; cf. 2:6) is the eighth day. (Quotations from the Mishnah in this article are from Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah: Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933]). See also the discussion in Mitch Glaser and Zhava Glaser, *The Fall Feasts of Israel* (Chicago: Moody, 1987), 177-178, and in Philip Goodman, *The Sukkot and Simhat Torat Anthology* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973), 329.

to salvific events in their future, both Christological and eschatological.⁸ One of the more cogent assessments is the following:

The sacred seasons of Israel stem directly from divine revelation and were designed to illustrate significant aspects of the eternal redemption that God had already ordained for His own under the OT. The Hebrew calendar of convocations is therefore not to be explained on the basis of natural phenomena, such as the phases of the moon or the Palestinian agricultural cycle, as proposed by liberal theology (cf. Eichrodt, I, 120-23). Neither may it be attributed to pre-Mosaic custom, whether Canaanite or nomadic (cf. Pfeiffer, p. 40). Israel's feasts served rather as divinely revealed expressions of the moral obligations of His people, as memorials of God's saving acts in the past, as sacraments of His saving power in the present, and as types of His anticipated victory over sin in the forthcoming first and second advents of Jesus Christ.⁹

The FT was called *Sukkot*, the name for the booths or shelters which God had instructed them to put up in commemoration of their experience in the wilderness between the time they had left Egypt and their entrance into the promised land of Canaan. During these forty years, they had no permanent home, no place to plant gardens and fruit trees or reap the harvest of their labors. They camped in a parched, arid land, depending for their daily sustenance on bread miraculously supplied from heaven and water springing supernaturally from a rock. They had the divine presence accompanying them, visible in a sheltering cloud for cooling shade by day and in a warming fire for light by night. The Shekinah glory of God appeared also in the tabernacle in their midst (Exod 25:8; 40:34-35, 38).

On the first day of the FT, the people of Israel were required to "take the fruit of majestic trees, branches of palm trees, boughs of leafy trees, and willows of the brook," and they were to "rejoice before the Lord" for seven days (Lev 23:40).¹⁰ The purpose of this exercise was "so that your generations may know that I made the people of Israel live in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt" (v. 43).

⁸See Jean Danielou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, Liturgical Studies, vol. 3 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), 334; Hillyer, 40; Hui, 149-50; and Hans K. LaRondelle, "The Sensus Plenior of Israel's Restoration Promises: The New Testament Typology of Israel's Exodi from Egypt and Babylon," Lecture for the Evangelical Theological Society, Toronto, Canada, 28 December 1981; typewritten ms., Adventist Heritage Center, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI, 8-9.

⁹E. D. Isaacs and J. B. Payne, "Feasts," *ISBE*, fully rev. and illustrated ed. (1979-88), 2:293. Other scholars have pointed similarly to an eschatological antitype for the FT. Danielou, 337-338, describes how Methodius and Jerome both clearly taught such an antitype. He goes on to show how Gregory of Nyssa also shared a similar view, and he personally argues that the FT is connected with the last Parousia (*ibid.*, 346-347).

¹⁰Unless otherwise noted, all Bible texts in this article are quoted from the NRSV.

There appear to have been two key ideas in this exercise. One was to remember their past experience of God's leading and care in their lives. The other was to rejoice at the memory—and at the fact that it was only a memory. At the time they would be celebrating the festival, they were expected to be already settled in the land of promise.¹¹ They no longer needed to dwell in temporary shelters. They were at home. They could build houses and live in them. They could plant fields, orchards, and vineyards and eat the produce from them. Through faithfulness to the covenant, they could drive out their enemies from the land and dwell in safety, with the temple of God and his presence therein established permanently in their midst.

Twelve Significant Elements

From the biblical texts that describe the FT and that were used in the liturgy of the festival, twelve significant components emerge for which we will seek to note parallels in the book of Revelation.

Gathering

One of the key elements of the FT was its designation as a “holy convocation” (Lev 23:35-37; Num 29:12), or a gathering of people who had consecrated themselves to God.¹² These people were to gather in the presence of Yahweh, who had redeemed them from bondage by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, to express their gratitude and unworthiness through various cultic offerings (Lev 23:37, 43; Deut 6:20-24). This gathering was in response to the gathering in of an abundant harvest as a result of God's blessing: “When you have gathered in the produce of the land, you shall keep the festival of the Lord, lasting seven days” (Lev 23:39).

Rest

A second major element of the FT was that of rest. The festival was to begin and end with a sabbath of complete rest from all labor (Lev 23:39). The people were instructed not to carry on their regular occupations (v. 35). This was a symbol of the rest that God gave them

¹¹The instructions to celebrate the annual festivals were given early in Israel's wilderness experience, before the last thirty-eight years of wandering. There is no evidence, however, that Israel celebrated the feasts until after the occupation of Canaan. It would have been difficult to celebrate harvest festivals in the wilderness. Harvest and pilgrim festivals were obviously intended to be celebrated after the occupation.

¹²The Hebrew *qds* connotes the quality of separation or consecration for a sacred purpose (cf. Lev 10:10; 20:7). Hui, 153, notes, “The concept behind the holy convocation is not so much the sacredness of the occasion but rather the ‘sacredness’ of the people. It is a holy convocation because of the ‘holiness’ of the people gathered together.”

from their enemies, both their freedom from enforced labor in Egypt at the beginning of their sojourn (cf. v. 43; Deut 5:15; 16:12) and the peaceful rest from strife they were to experience in the promised land of Canaan at the end of their journey (Deut 12:10-12).

Harvest

A third major aspect of the FT was the focus on the completion of the harvest, the ingathering of all the fruit of their labor at the end of the agricultural year. This is, in fact, the only aspect mentioned in Exod 23:16 and 34:22. In Deut 16:13, the Israelites were instructed to keep the festival “when you have gathered in the produce from your threshing floor and your wine press.” It is because of this emphasis that it was also called the Feast of Ingathering. Thus, another aspect of rest was introduced: rest from their physical labors in the field. This, in turn, contributed to another significant component of the festival: joy.

Rejoicing

The people were instructed that they should “rejoice before the Lord your God for seven days” (Lev 23:40). One can observe in Deut 16:13-15 the close relation that existed between the harvest and the rejoicing:

You shall celebrate the Feast of Booths seven days after you have gathered in from your threshing floor and your wine vat; and you shall rejoice in your feast, you and your son and your daughter and your male and female servants and the Levite and the stranger and the orphan and the widow who are in your towns. Seven days you shall celebrate a feast to the Lord your God in the place which the Lord chooses, because the Lord your God will bless you in all your produce and in all the work of your hands, so that you shall be altogether joyful.

The element of joy reappears when the Feast was reinstated after the return from Babylonian captivity. Neh 8:17, after describing how the Jews built booths and lived in them for the first time in hundreds of years, observes, “And there was very great rejoicing.” This was not just because of the opportunity to live in booths again after such a long time, but was because of the salvific significance that this act had for them. The meaning of every aspect of the feast elicited a response of joy in the participants. Funeral eulogies and fasting were forbidden during the FT.¹³ The Mishnah records regarding the celebration of the water ceremony which had become such a significant part

¹³Hillyer, 41.

of the festival, "They have said: He that never has seen the joy of the Beth ha-She'ubah has never in his life seen joy" (Sukk 5:1).

Remembrance

Another key aspect of the FT is the whole concept of celebrating the remembrance of God's guidance and protection in Israel's past. H. S. Miller says, "The *purpose* of the feast was commemorative, to keep alive the remembrance of the historical fact that Jehovah 'made the children of Israel to dwell in booths when' he 'brought them out of the land of Egypt.'"¹⁴ By building booths to remind them of God's sheltering protection during their wilderness sojourn, they were emphasizing the contrast with their permanent homes in the land of promise, having just completed an abundant harvest from their land.

Shelter

It seems obvious that the building of booths and living in them during the festival was a very important aspect of the FT. God instructed them that the purpose of this exercise was "so that your generations may know that I made the people of Israel live in booths when I brought them out of the land of Israel" (Lev 23:43).

The booths were called *sukkot*, from which the feast got its Hebrew name. The symbolic significance of the *sukkot* was very great. The defining characteristic of a *sukkah* was that it must produce shade. The shade was created by the *skhakh*, the thatched roofing made of branches of palms and leafy trees that therefore constituted the major requirement of the *sukkah*, according to Rabbinic law.¹⁵ This shade was a symbolic reminder of the sheltering divine presence during Israel's sojourn in the wilderness.

The *sukkah* thus symbolizes the clouds of glory, protection, the divine presence, and love. The ritual dwelling in the *sukkah* should cause the occupant to experience these sentiments.¹⁶

¹⁴H. S. Miller, *The Gospel in the Hebrew Tabernacle, Priesthood, and Offerings* (Houghton, NY: Word-Bearer, 1939), 217; cf. Hillyer, 40.

¹⁵Jeffrey L. Rubenstein, "The Symbolism of the Sukkah," *Judaism* 43 (1994): 377. Rubenstein's article is well worth studying for a better understanding of the broad range of significance of the *sukkot* as related to the Feast.

¹⁶*Ibid.* William Raymond Scott points out that the Targums explicitly identify the booths in Lev 23:43 with the cloud of glory which functioned for Israel as God's sheltering presence in the wilderness ("The Booths of Ancient Israel's Autumnal Festival," Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1993 [Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1993], 120-21); cf. Hillyer, 63. There is even an association made in Jewish Midrash between the *sukkah* and the *shekinah* (Rubenstein, "Symbolism," 376). For biblical examples of the

It was not enough to see the shade of the *sukkah*. One must experience it by actually dwelling in the shade.¹⁷ And in this experience one is not alone, for the *sukkah* becomes a symbolic space for God to dwell among his people. "Here the symbolism is reified: God—not his glory or cloud—actually enters the festival *sukkah*."¹⁸ Thus, the experience becomes not just a reminder of the divine presence in their past but a tangible representation of his presence in their present.

Newness

When the Israelites were commanded to observe the FT, they were instructed to "observe the festival of ingathering at the end of the year" (Exod 23:16).¹⁹ This feast occurred at the end of one religious and agricultural calendar and the beginning of a new year, with new opportunities for both spiritual and agricultural life ahead.

The Day of Atonement was just ended, representing the day of judgment for the people of God at the end of the year. The FT was celebrated in purity, the people having received atonement for sin on the Day of Atonement. The process of repentance and confession of sin, however, tended to create a psychological distance between the people and God. The FT provided the reassurance, through the *sukkot*, that God still wanted to shelter his people with his divine presence.²⁰

The harvest was gathered in; now the people would look ahead to the blessing of rain to nurture the seeds of a new growing season. Indeed, this was a time of newness.

Water

Water played an important role in the harvest festival. In order to have a harvest, it was necessary that a dry season precede the festival, providing opportunity for a quality harvest to be reaped, one in which the produce would not be spoiled by too much moisture at the wrong time. But once the harvest was garnered in, the people looked forward to the rains that would prepare the ground for a new planting season so that

parallels between divine shade and sheltering presence, see Pss 17:8; 36:8 (MT); 57:2 (MT); 63:8 (MT); 91:1-4; 121:5-7; and Hos 14:8 (MT).

¹⁷Rubenstein, "Symbolism," 381.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 376.

¹⁹MacRae, 253, joins several other scholars in arguing that the phrase usually translated "at the end of the year" here "indicates rather the 'beginning of the year.'"

²⁰Rubenstein, "Symbolism," 382.

the next harvest would also be a bountiful one. That this rain was understood to be a providence of God connected to their right relationship to him as indicated by their worship of him at the FT is shown by Zech 14:16-19:²¹

Then all who survive of the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year after year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the festival of booths. If any of the families of the earth do not go up to Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, there will be no rain upon them. And if the family of Egypt do not go up and present themselves, then on them shall come the plague that the Lord inflicts on the nations that do not go up to keep the festival of booths. Such shall be the punishment of all the nations that do not go up to keep the festival of booths.

The importance of water at the feast finally resulted in the development of the elaborate ritual of the water-drawing ceremony known as Beth ha-She'ubah, which was celebrated every morning for seven days.²² During this ceremony, the priest, accompanied by a throng of celebrants, would carry a pitcher from the temple down to the Pool of Siloam, fill it at the pool while the people recited Isa 12:3 ("With joy you will draw water from the wells of salvation"), and return to the temple surrounded by the chorus of worshipers chanting the Hallel (Pss 113-118) and waving palm branches and citrons. Once back at the temple, the pitcher of water, along with another pitcher of wine,²³ would be poured into a basin draining out below the bronze altar into the Kidron Valley, while a choir of Israelites chanted Ps 118:25: "Save us, we beseech you, O Lord! O Lord, we beseech you, give us success!" The Talmud explains that the pouring of the libation at the altar was ordained by God as a symbolic prayer for rain for the coming growing season.²⁴

John 7:37-38 highlights the significance Jesus gave to the role of water at the FT when he stood up on the last day of the feast—probably the eighth day, when there was no water ceremony—and cried out,

²¹Verse 8 is also explicit in introducing water in this same context: "On that day living waters will flow out of Jerusalem."

²²For details of the ceremony, which are beyond the scope of this article, see Glaser and Glaser, 174-178.

²³MacRae, 273, connects these two silver pitchers with the "bowls before the altar" in Zech 14:20.

²⁴Abraham P. Bloch, *The Biblical and Historical Background of Jewish Customs and Ceremonies* (New York: KTAV, 1980), 187-188.

Let anyone who is thirsty come to me, and let the one who believes in me drink. As the Scripture has said, "Out of the believer's heart shall flow rivers of living water."

The allusion is probably to passages like Isa 58:11, though the reference is uncertain.²⁵ John interprets the water in Jesus' invitation as referring to the Holy Spirit, "which believers in him were to receive" (John 7:39).²⁶

Fruit

In God's instructions to Israel for the FT, he asked them to gather the fruit of majestic trees (Lev 23:40). In Jewish tradition, the fruit chosen to represent these fruits was the citron, called *etrog*.²⁷ In the celebration of the feast, participants would hold an *etrog* in the left hand, a palm branch in the right hand, and wave them in the air while chanting the liturgy of the feast. The fruit of majestic trees represented God's goodness in providing for them bounties for which they had not toiled significantly during the year. Jean Danielou points out that the *etrog* became associated with the tree of life in the customs of the feast.²⁸

Palm Branches and Leafy Trees

Besides the fruit of majestic trees, the celebrants at the FT were to gather, according to Lev 23:40, "branches of palm trees, boughs of leafy trees, and willows of the brook."²⁹ They were used not only in constructing the booths to provide shelter and shade but also as something to hold and wave in the rituals of the festival.³⁰ "A little bunch

²⁵Isa 58:11 says in part, "You shall be like a watered garden, like a spring of water, whose waters never fail." Cf. also Prov 18:4; Isa 12:3; 44:3; 55:1; Ezek 47:1; Joel 2:28; and Zech 14:8 for other verses that use similar imagery for water and/or the Spirit in the OT. MacRae, 273, notes that sources invested the water ceremonies at the FT with a mystic significance connected with both the waters of Creation and the eschatological streams mentioned in passages like Zech 14:8 and Ezek 47:1-12 (to which Rev 22:1-2 directly alludes).

²⁶Hillyer, 47-48, points out that the Talmud explains that the water-drawing ceremony is so named "because of the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, according to what is said" in Isa 12:3. See also F. J. Badcock, "The Feast of Tabernacles," *JTS*, o.s. 24 (1923): 169-74.

²⁷MacRae, 271. Bloch, 188, 191, says that the citrus fruit was chosen, according to Sukk 35a, because it grows near water, as well as because the fruit and its tree are equally pleasant.

²⁸Danielou, 338-339.

²⁹Cf. Neh 8:15: "Go out to the hills and bring branches of olive, wild olive, myrtle, palm, and other leafy trees to make booths, as it is written."

³⁰MacRae, 272, points out that willow branches were also used in the temple for decorating the altar during the FT. See also Hillyer, 46.

of myrtle and willow twigs tied around a small palm branch” formed what came to be called a *lulab*.³¹ Its chief component, the palm branch, “was a symbol of immortality, of victory, rejoicing and deliverance.”³² Following the instruction to gather the branches, Lev 23:40 says, “And you shall rejoice before the Lord your God for seven days.”³³

Gratitude

In Deut 16:16-17 Israel was instructed that those who attended the festival were not to appear before the Lord empty-handed, but “all shall give as they are able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God that he has given you.” A variety of types of offering were to be brought: burnt offerings, grain offerings, drink offerings, sin offerings, votive offerings, freewill offerings, and offerings of well-being (Lev 23:36-38; Num 29:12-39). Some of these were regular offerings, while others were special or additional offerings just for the FT. More offerings were sacrificed at the FT than at any other festival.³⁴ The principle was that no one should enjoy the blessings of God without an expression of gratitude shown by reciprocation in giving “according to the blessing of the Lord your God that he has given you” (Deut 16:17).

Light

The Bible is less explicit about the importance of light at the FT, but it can be readily derived from various passages, including Ps 118:27³⁵ and Zech 14:7,³⁶ which came to be recited in the liturgy of the festival, and John 8:12 and 9:5, which are frequently taken to be theologically

³¹MacRae, 271.

³²Ibid., 272. MacRae adds, “Besides the peculiar symbolism of the Lulab, all the branches used in the ceremony—even those used to build the booth—may be said to have signified the favor of God in granting a fruitful harvest and in the cycle of annual growth to have symbolized the stage of maturity in nature at which the feast was celebrated” (ibid.).

³³At the Triumphal Entry recorded in John 12:12-15, the people who came to attend the Passover festival “took branches of palm trees and went out to meet him [Jesus], shouting, ‘Hosanna!’” and reciting a messianic passage from the Hallel (Ps 119:26).

³⁴Hillyer, 44.

³⁵“The Lord is God, and he has given us light. Bind the festal procession with branches, up to the horns of the altar.” MacRae, 264, points out that this explicit mention of the light theme and of the branches makes Ps 118 better suited to Tabernacles than to any other feast.

³⁶“And there shall be continuous day (it is known to the Lord), not day and not night, for at evening time there shall be light.” Cf. MacRae, 269.

connected with the FT story in chapter 7.³⁷ It is also well known from the literature of the period. Accounts of the festival in the Mishnah include a description of the illumination of the temple and its surroundings by four enormous golden lampstands, each fifty cubits high, with large golden bowls of oil atop each that, when kindled, cast a light so brilliant that “there was not a courtyard in Jerusalem that did not reflect the light of the Beth ha-She’ubah” (Sukk 5:3). Jesus seems to have utilized this aspect of the FT when he announced while apparently still at the festival, “I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life” (John 8:12), and again, “As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world” (9:5).³⁸

Salvation

Probably the most important passage of Scripture used in the liturgy of the FT was the Hallel, Pss 113-118. This was chanted every day by those participating in the water ceremony. Salvation is one of the dominant themes of the Hallel.³⁹ Ps 118:14 declares, “The Lord is my strength and my might; he has become my salvation.” Near the end of the Hallel is the cry, “Save us, we beseech you, O Lord” (118:25a). From the Hebrew words *hoshi’ah na’* (save now) in this verse, the seventh day of the feast came to be known as Hoshana Rabbah, the day of the Great Hosanna.⁴⁰ The name for the day reveals the focus on this urgent prayer for speedy salvation through the Messiah.⁴¹

Jesus used the opportunity on “the last day of the festival, the great day” (John 7:37), to proclaim that he was the Messiah, the one who could meet Israel’s need for salvation by offering them the water of life. His proclamation highlighted the emphasis placed on salvation at the FT. For the first seven mornings they had gone to the Pool of Siloam to draw water, chanting a paraphrase of Isa 12:3, “With joy we will draw water from the wells of salvation.” But now, in response to their expressed desire for salvation, Jesus would offer them the water of life, revealing that he himself is the well of

³⁷Badcock, 171; MacRae, 275.

³⁸Bloch, 172-173, notes that the lighting of the lamps looked back to the fire which gave light to Israel in the wilderness, and he makes the connection from Ps 105:39,41 with Jesus’ claims at the FT, recorded in the Fourth Gospel.

³⁹Ps 117:4,13; 118:14,21,25.

⁴⁰Goodman, 329, notes, “This liturgy derives from the belief that judgment decreed on the Day of Atonement was finalized on Hoshana Rabbah.”

⁴¹Victor Buksbazen, *The Gospel in the Feasts of Israel* (Philadelphia: Friends of Israel, 1954), 41.

salvation from which they should be drawing (cf. John 4:13-14).

The Eschatological Feast of Tabernacles

In the book of Revelation, imagery similar to these twelve FT elements can be found. It is seen in connection with the events that depict the celebration of the ingathering of the harvest of the righteous, including the period of the millennium and the final, permanent dwelling with God in the new earth.

Tabernacles Imagery in Revelation

There are two major passages in which FT imagery can be found in Revelation. One of these is 7:9-17, in which the redeemed people of God from all nations are gathered before the throne of God, dressed in white robes, with palm branches in their hands, and they are singing praise to God for his salvation. The one who is seated on the throne shelters them, and they hunger and thirst no more, the heat of the sun no more strikes them, and the Lamb is their shepherd and leads them to springs of the water of life.⁴²

The second passage, 21:1-22:5, describes postmillennial events and contains significant FT imagery. Other passages in Revelation which depict events that may relate to the FT include 14:1-5, 14-20; 15:2-4; and 19:11-20:15. These will be discussed below. It is important that we observe the parallels between the twelve significant aspects of the FT observed above and the same aspects in these passages in Revelation.

Gathering

The first important aspect of the FT was the gathering or assembly of a holy people, a people consecrated to God. This is exactly what we see in Rev 7:9-17 and its parallel passage in 14:1-5. A host of people are assembled before the throne of God, clothed in white robes, washed in the blood of the Lamb to indicate their holy or consecrated condition. In 14:4-5 their undefiled and blameless condition is made explicit. They have been vindicated in the judgment which precedes the *parousia* (cf. 14:7; Ezek 9:3-6; Dan 7:9-10,22), and have received the seal of God in their foreheads (Rev 7:3-4; 14:1). This parallels the experience of the people of Israel, who passed through the Day of Atonement judgment to celebrate the FT five days later. This scene, a proleptic celebration with singing and harp playing (14:1-5), takes place in eschatological time, after the return

⁴²Rubenstein, *History of Sukkot*, 91, says, "Rev 7:9-17 employs the most vivid Sukkot imagery in the Christian scriptures." For extensive analysis of FT imagery in Rev 7:9-17, see the works by Ulfgard and Draper cited above.

of Christ signified by the dual harvest of vv. 14-20.

The twofold harvest of 14:14-20 also indicates gathering. The reaping in v. 16 is a gathering (Matt 13:30), as is also the explicit gathering of the clusters of the vine in vv. 18-19. The first gathering is implicitly the gathering of the righteous, in parallel with the gathering and separation of the nations described by Jesus in Matt 25:31-33:

When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory. All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and he will put the sheep at his right hand and the goats at the left. Then the king will say to those at his right hand, 'Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

This gathering is the one that results in the righteous being translated into the presence of God (cf. John 14:2-3; 1 Thess 4:16-17), which is where they are shown in Rev 7 and 14. In 7:9,13-14 and 14:4-5, they are revealed to be a holy people, chaste and blameless, arrayed in white robes, washed in the blood of the Lamb.

In Rev 21:24-26, there is a portrayal of the gathering of God's people from the nations to the holy city, where they worship God and the Lamb before the throne (22:3). This seems to reflect the prophecy of Zech 14:16, which relates this eschatological activity to the celebration of the FT: "Then all who survive of the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year after year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the festival of booths." Admittedly, there are some apparent incongruities in this prophecy, but the broader aspects of the prophecy reveal it to be an eschatological apocalyptic prophecy which finds partial application in Rev 21-22 (cf. Zech 14:6-11). The prophecy ends with everything being declared to be holy (vv. 20-21), recalling the FT designation, "a holy convocation" (Lev 23:34-36).

Harvest

We have seen already that the depiction of the return of Christ in Rev 14 is portrayed in terms of a dual harvest. The harvest of the righteous takes place before the millennium, as shown by Rev 20:4-6, which places the resurrection of the righteous before the millennium, so that they come to life and reign with Christ a thousand years, while the rest of the dead do not come to life until the thousand years are ended (v. 5; cf. v. 13). Those who are raised in the first resurrection are pronounced blessed and holy. Over them the

second death has no power (v. 6). This leaves no doubt as to when the harvest of the righteous takes place (cf. Matt 13:39-43; 1 Cor 15:50-54; 1 Thess 4:15-17). The FT celebrates this harvest, as seen in Rev 7.

Rejoicing

Rejoicing is naturally a key element of the FT imagery in the book of Revelation. This can be seen throughout the postharvest events in the book. In 7:9-10 a great multitude of the redeemed stand before the throne of God and before the Lamb waving palm branches and singing, "Salvation belongs to our God who is seated on the throne, and to the Lamb!" The heavenly hosts join them in vv. 11-12, singing, "Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor and power and might be to our God forever and ever! Amen!" Verse 17 notes that God will wipe away every tear from the eyes of the redeemed multitude.

In 14:2-3 the redeemed, represented by the symbolic number 144,000, are seen again, playing harps and singing a song of their redemption before the throne. This is likely the same song sung in 15:2-4 by those who have conquered the Beast and its image and the number of its name. They stand on the sea of glass with the harps of God in their hands and sing the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb, a song of praise and worship to God for revealing his judgments in their deliverance. The singing of this song is a reminder of the experience of Israel in the wilderness as revealed in the two songs of Moses found in Exod 15:1-18 and Deut 31:30 to 32:43. Since the FT was supposed to be a joyful reminder of God's blessings, protection, and providence during their wilderness experience (Lev 23:42-43), as well as a celebration of the abundant harvest (Deut 16:13-15,17), this song may be seen in light of the FT imagery.

In Rev 19:7 there is an explicit call to rejoice and be glad in celebration of the inauguration of the eschatological messianic age, represented figuratively by the marriage of the Lamb to his bride, the holy city, New Jerusalem (21:9-10). This could be understood in a FT setting, particularly in view of the messianic eschatology of the FT of Zechariah.⁴³

Again in Rev 21:3-4, when God begins finally to dwell with his people in the new earth under the terms of the fulfilled everlasting covenant, there is a repeat of the announcement that God will wipe away every tear from the eyes of the redeemed, and mourning and crying will be no more. This will be a time of unremitting joy and gladness, based on what God has done for his people. The text is a clear allusion to the eschatological prophecy of Isaiah found in Isa 65:17-19:

⁴³Cf. Zech 8:1-8; 9:9-10,16-17;14:8-11,16; Rubenstein, *History of Sukkot*, 49-50.

For I am about to create new heavens and a new earth; the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind. But be glad and rejoice forever in what I am creating, for I am about to create Jerusalem as a joy, and its people as a delight. I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and delight in my people; no more shall the sound of weeping be heard in it, or the cry of distress.

Remembrance

In the song of the redeemed noted above (15:3-4), there is a remembrance expressed of what God has done for his people. While the remembrance of former things will eventually be done away under the final fulfillment of the everlasting covenant in the earth made new (21:4-5; cf. Isa 65:17), this will not have immediate effect at the *parousia*, for the millennium takes place, as we have seen, before the resurrection of the wicked to face the Great White Throne judgment and the lake of fire (Rev 20:5,11-15).⁴⁴ The lake of fire necessarily precedes the creation of new heavens and a new earth, where all things are made new and the former things cannot be called to mind (21:4-5; cf. 2 Pet 3:10-13).

During the postharvest period represented by the FT, then, there is special attention given to the remembrance of God's blessings and providence in providing for the redemption of his people, illustrated by the songs which the redeemed sing.

Shelter

The concept of God as providing shelter and shade is explicit in the passages in Revelation that correspond to the FT. In Rev 7:15-17 there is explicit mention of the shelter he provides, along with other benefits reminiscent of the wilderness sojourn of Israel:⁴⁵

And the one who is seated on the throne will shelter them. They will hunger no more, and thirst no more; the sun will not strike them, nor any scorching heat; for the Lamb at the center of the throne will be their shepherd, and he will guide them to springs of the water of life.

It would be difficult to find a passage that is more explicit in its Feast of

⁴⁴It is noteworthy that during the millennium, the righteous are depicted as seated on thrones and reigning with Christ as priest-kings, or judges (20:4,6; cf. 1 Cor 6:2-3). This seems to imply that they participate in some way in the judgment of the wicked, which is from the books of record (20:12) and comes to an end at the end of the millennium, when sentence is executed. Thus, this time must involve reminders of "former things."

⁴⁵This seems to be presented as a fulfillment of Isa 4:2-6.

Tabernacle imagery than this passage in Rev 7. In fact, J. A. Draper follows C. Vtringa and several other scholars in arguing that “the imagery of Revelation 7 was taken from the FT.”⁴⁶

Rev 21:3-4 presents a similar picture. The voice from the throne of God announces:

See, the home [*skēnē*] of God is among mortals. He will dwell [*skēnoō*] with them as their God; they will be his peoples, and God himself will be with them; he will wipe away every tear from their eyes. Death will be no more; mourning and crying and pain will be no more, for the first things have passed away.

The Greek word *skēnē* used in this passage is the same word elsewhere translated “booth,” “tent,” or “tabernacle,” as in the FT. It is the word often used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew *sukkah* in the context of the Feast of Booths.⁴⁷ The verb *skēnoō* used here in the future tense and translated “will dwell,” comes from the same root. That God himself places his *sukkah* among his people is highly significant for the FT imagery. God will dwell with his people in the *sukkah*. His presence, which was evident in the Shekinah glory in the wilderness tabernacle (God’s *sukkah* in the OT), will become a permanent shelter for them in the earth made new. The result is that death, pain, and suffering can no more touch them. Even though the gates to the city are never shut (21:25), nothing evil can enter (21:27), and nothing accursed will be found there (22:3).

Newness

Although newness becomes explicit after the new heavens and new earth are created and the New Jerusalem is seen descending from heaven (“See, I am making all things new” [21:5]), there is already an implicit newness that begins with the statement under the last bowl plague, “It is done!” (16:17). This pronouncement ushers in the end of human history and the beginning of the eternal reign of Christ (11:15-18; 19:6-7; cf. Dan 7:11-14). It signals the return of Christ in power as King of kings and Lord of Lords (19:11-21), at which time the first resurrection takes place and the saints begin their millennial reign with Christ (20:4,6). Babylon has been judged (16:19; 19:1-3); the Beast and the False Prophet have been cast into the lake of fire (19:20); the rest of the wicked have been slain with the sword coming out of the mouth of the Rider on the white horse (19:21,15),⁴⁸ and the birds of prey are gorged with

⁴⁶J. A. Draper, 133. In fact, he sees Rev 7 as a midrash on Zech 14 (ibid., 133-136).

⁴⁷Lev 23:34, 42 (twice), 43; Deut 16:13; 2 Chron 8:13; Ezra 3:4.

⁴⁸The sword represents the word of God, which judges the thoughts and intentions of

their flesh (v. 21); and the Dragon (Satan) is bound for a thousand years in the Abyss, unable to continue his work of deception until the thousand years are ended (20:1-3). The people of God are translated to heaven (cf. John 14:2-3; 1 Thess 4:16-17), where they reign with Christ as kings and priests for a thousand years,⁴⁹ while the desolate earth awaits its final doom. This represents the end of one age and the entrance into a new age, just as the FT signaled the end of the old agricultural cycle and the beginning of a new cycle.

Water

We should not be surprised to see water playing an important role in the FT imagery of the book of Revelation. In 7:16-17 the great multitude of the redeemed will thirst no more, for the Lamb "will guide them to springs of the water of life." Again, in 21:3, as a part of the fulfillment of the covenant, God declares: "To the thirsty I will give water as a gift from the spring of the water of life." This statement is remarkably parallel to the announcement of Jesus at the FT in John 7:37-38.

In the description of the holy city, the home of the redeemed people of God, this spring of the water of life, which originates at the throne of God (22:1; cf. Ezek 47:1; Zech 14:8), becomes a river which flows through the middle of the street of the city and waters the tree of life (22:2; cf. Ezek 47:2-9,12),⁵⁰ a source of life and health for all. The bride, which is the Holy City, New Jerusalem (21:9-10), joins with the Spirit (cf. John 7:39) in Rev 22:17 to offer a final appeal: "Let everyone who is thirsty come. Let everyone who wishes take the water of life as a gift."

Fruit

The *etrog* used in the FT liturgy finds its parallel in the tree of life of Rev 22:2, "with its twelve kinds of fruit, producing its fruit each month."

the heart (cf. Heb 4:12). This is clearly a symbolic representation. A more literal view may be observed in 2 Thess 1:6-10.

⁴⁹See Michel Gourgues, "The Thousand-Year Reign (Rev 20:1-6): Terrestrial or Celestial?" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 47 (1985): 679-681. Anthony Hoekema, though arguing a different point, agrees on the celestial nature of the millennium: "There is no indication in these verses [20:4-6] that John is describing an earthly millennial reign. The scene, as we saw, is set in heaven" ("Amillennialism," in *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views*, ed. Robert G. Clouse [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1977], 169).

⁵⁰The water-drawing ceremony of the FT seems to have significant parallels to the passage in Ezek 47:1-12, which describes the water flowing from the south side of the temple eastward into the Kidron Valley, from whence it flows into the Arabah and down to the Dead Sea. The Dead Sea is brought back to life by this water of life.

This is in harmony with Jewish eschatological speculations and customs.⁵¹

But this is not the only fruit that appears in the FT parallels in Revelation. Even more in harmony with the biblical symbolism, the redeemed themselves appear after the harvest “as firstfruits for God and the Lamb” (14:4). As firstfruits, the 144,000 function as the representatives of the whole harvest of the redeemed.⁵² Thus the equation is made in Rev 7 between the symbolic number which is heard and the literal innumerable multitude which the symbolic number represents, not now composed of the twelve tribes of Israel, but of every tribe, nation, people, and language (vv. 4,9). This is the crop which is harvested in 14:14-16, in contrast to the fruit reaped in 14:17-20. The FT is, to a large degree, a celebration of the harvest, so the fruit of the harvest is a significant element of the eschatological FT.

Palm Branches and Leafy Trees

The tree of life, not only with its twelve kinds of fruit but also with its leaves, which “are for the healing of the nations,” becomes in Rev 22:2 one of the significant elements of the eschatological FT, closely associated with the river of the water of life (v. 1).

Palm branches also appear in the postharvest passages of the book of Revelation. The great multitude in 7:9-10 stand before the throne and before the Lamb, with palm branches in their hands, singing, “Salvation belongs to our God who is seated on the throne, and to the Lamb.” We note elsewhere the significance of this song in relation to the theme of salvation, but at this point we should note the parallel with the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem described in John 12:13. At that time, the messianic character of the event was understood by the people—from Zech 9:9—and the palm branches were thus used in hailing Jesus as the messianic King, the Son of David, who had come to bring peace to the nations and establish his dominion from sea to sea, to the ends of the earth (Zech 9:10). While they apparently failed to remember that this would be accomplished through the blood of his covenant with them (v. 11), those who thus hailed him may have recalled that “on that day the Lord their God will save them for they are the flock of his people” (v. 16). They thus hailed his coming as Messiah by carrying palm branches and chanting, “Hosanna! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord—the King of Israel” (John 12:13).⁵³

⁵¹Danielou, 338-339.

⁵²This conclusion may be drawn from Rom 11:16, and is supported by Exod 23:6; 34:22; Num 18:12; Deut 26:1-11; 2 Chr 31:5; Neh 10:35; Pss 78:51; 105:36; Jer 2:3; Rom 8:23; 1 Cor 15:20-23; and Jas 1:18.

⁵³Danielou, 341, sees the solemn procession on the seventh day of the FT as pointing to the coming of the Messiah and as partly fulfilled in this first coming, but to be more fully

It is significant that Jesus himself pointed to the future for the final fulfillment of the sentiment of this prophecy when he stated in Matt 23:39, "You will not see me again until you say, 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord.'"⁵⁴ Rev 7:9-10 may be viewed as the final application of Zechariah's prophecy. But this time the jubilant throngs hail their Messiah with a due recognition of the role of the blood of the covenant, for "they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (v. 14).

Gratitude

A significant part of the pronouncements of praise to God in Rev 7:9-12; 15:3-4; and 19:1-8 is thanksgiving for the salvation wrought by God and the Lamb on behalf of their people. As the redeemed contemplate the way God has led in their history, they cannot bring any gift that is adequate to represent the debt they owe. Yet they cannot appear before the Lord entirely empty-handed (Deut 16:16), so they bring him an offering of praise. This is in harmony with the counsel given in Heb 13:15, in the context of the sacrifice of Jesus (v. 12) and our "looking for the city that is to come" (v. 14): "Through him, then, let us continually offer a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that confess his name."

Light

Several times in the description of the New Jerusalem in Revelation, the matter of light receives special attention. When John is first shown the city in 21:11, he describes it as having "the glory of God and a radiance like a very rare jewel." In v. 23 we are told that "the city has no need of sun or moon to shine on it, for the glory of God is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb."⁵⁵ The next verse continues, "The nations will walk by its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their glory into it."⁵⁶ In the following verse, John adds a note

fulfilled at the second coming of Jesus at the glorious *parousia*.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵This is a direct allusion to Isa 60:19: "The sun shall no longer be your light by day, nor for brightness shall the moon give light to you by night, but the Lord shall be your everlasting light, and your God will be your glory."

⁵⁶This seems to be an allusion to Isa 60:3: "Nations shall come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your dawn" (cf. 60:1; 42:6). These passages, along with Zech 14:7, apparently formed the basis for the significance of light in the FT liturgy. Buksbazen, 40, notes that the rabbis explain that the seventy bullocks sacrificed at the FT were for the seventy nations of the world, "looking toward their conversion to the God of Israel and their gathering under the Shekinah glory."

explaining why the gates will never be shut: "There will be no night there." Again in 22:5 this idea is reinforced: "And there will be no more night; they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light."

When Rev 7:15 describes the great multitude as worshiping God day and night in his temple,⁵⁷ it should probably be understood on these same terms: since there is no night, there is no cessation of the activity of worship. The continual light afforded by the glory of God makes it possible for ceaseless activity to take place, namely, the worship of God (cf. 4:8), just as with the bright lights burning all night in the temple during the FT, lighting the city like daylight.

Salvation

The white-robed multitude of Rev 7:10 cry out in a loud voice, "Salvation belongs to our God who is seated on the throne, and to the Lamb!" In 19:1 a similar declaration is made in light of God's just judgments on Babylon, but the shout in 7:10 is probably to be understood in light of the announcement in 12:10, "Now have come the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Messiah, for the accuser of our comrades has been thrown down, who accuses them day and night before our God." This proclamation is made in light of the work of Christ on the Cross (12:11). It is the answer to the Hosanna ("Save now") which played such an important role in the FT liturgy. Jesus accomplished the provision for salvation at the Cross, and he effects that salvation when he translates those redeemed by his blood into his eternal kingdom, as seen in Rev 7.

Post-Parousia or Postmillennial?

It seems evident from the twelve correspondences cited above that the FT finds its parallel in those passages in Revelation that refer to eschatological events. This conclusion seems to be supported by other studies which demonstrate that the typology of Israelite cultic festivals is embedded in the literary structure of Revelation.⁵⁸ However, the point at which the FT symbolism begins to pertain is disputable.

Richard M. Davidson carries the Day of Atonement typology past the

⁵⁷In Rev 21:22 there is no temple seen in the city, for God and the Lamb are its temple. This suggests that the temple in the new earth has ceased to have its function, which is to provide for mediation and reconciliation between God and man. But judgment also takes place in the temple. The representation of the temple as still existent in Rev 7 suggests that the time in view is before the end of the millennium and the creation of the new earth, when sin and sinners are destroyed and all things are made new. Judgment still takes place during and at the end of the millennium (20:4,11-15), so the temple still has a function until then.

⁵⁸See Davidson, 119-126; Paulien, 190-192.

close of human probationary time and the *parousia*, through the millennium and the Great White Throne judgment, to the final destruction of sin and sinners. He begins the FT typology with the creation of all things new and God's dwelling with his people in Rev 21:1-7.⁵⁹ Jon Paulien is less explicit, but appears to follow a similar interpretation.⁶⁰

This interpretation has some merit, particularly the arguments that not all things are new until Rev 21, and that the primary FT imagery, apart from chapter 7, appears in chapters 21-22. At the same time, there are some valid arguments for seeing FT typology already from the time of the *parousia*. The harvest which is celebrated is the harvest of the good fruits, the righteous, which are gathered into the garner, not the harvest that is set aside for destruction. Further, the Day of Atonement typology ends with the close of the work of the High Priest in the sanctuary, the vindication of God's people, the High Priest's departure from the sanctuary, and the banishing of Azazel into the wilderness. These events all take place before or at the time of the *parousia* (11:15-19; 15:5-6,17; 20:1-3).

Some have argued that the banishing of Azazel belongs to the millennium; therefore, the millennium must belong to the Day of Atonement typology rather than to FT typology. However, it should be noted that the binding of Satan in the Abyss, which is the basis for this argument,⁶¹ takes place before the millennium, not during the millennium. Once Azazel is banished, the Day of Atonement typology ends. It does not continue for a thousand years. The focus of the FT is not on Azazel's wandering in the wilderness, or on the fate of those cast out of the camp, but on the celebration of the vindication of God's people in the Day of Atonement judgment and on the celebration of God's blessings in an abundant harvest. This takes place almost immediately.⁶²

It seems possible, therefore, to understand the FT typology as applicable already during the millennium,⁶³ in which the focus is on the

⁵⁹Davidson, 124-125.

⁶⁰Paulien, 191.

⁶¹See Davidson, 124.

⁶²Ellen G. White, *The Story of Patriarchs and Prophets As Illustrated in the Lives of Holy Men of Old* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1958), remarks, "This feast was to be preeminently an occasion of rejoicing. It occurred just after the great Day of Atonement, when the assurance had been given that their iniquity should be remembered no more. At peace with God, they now came before Him to acknowledge His goodness and to praise Him for His mercy. The labors of the harvest being ended, and the toils of the new year not yet begun, the people were free from care, and could give themselves up to the sacred, joyous influences of the hour."

⁶³The relation between Rev 19 and 20 and the express delineation in 20:4-6 of the relation of the two resurrections to the millennium seems to place the millennium after the

saints living and reigning with Christ for a thousand years. Although there is a further development at the end of the thousand years, when the earth is cleansed of sin and sinners and is recreated as an eternal abode for the righteous, there seems no good reason to exclude the millennial reign of the saints from the postharvest FT celebration. They have already been vindicated and received their main reward, which is to reign as kings and priests with Christ (1:6; 5:10; 20:4,6). It remains only for them to inherit the earth made new, purged of sin. That becomes the final event of the fulfillment of the covenant, but the primary aspect of the covenant is not about land, but is relational: "I will be your God, and you will be My people."⁶⁴ This has taken place already at the *parousia*. Revelation makes clear that the saints receive their reward at the *parousia*, not at the end of the millennium (11:8; 22:12).⁶⁵

Is there any view in Revelation of the saints during the millennium that would support such a view? The evidence in Rev 20:4-6 is rather sparse in terms of content that can be tied to FT typology. It is quite possible, however, to see Rev 7:9-17 and Rev 14:1-5 as millennial views. Certainly, both passages are found in contexts closely associated with the translation of those living through the final events of earth's history. There seems to be no valid reason to separate these scenes from that history by a thousand years. Although it is true that there is a reference in 7:17 to the wiping away of tears (mentioned also in 21:4), it is stated in future terms ("and God will wipe away every tear from their eyes"), so one need not insist that it requires a postmillennial setting.⁶⁶ Not only is the passage in the immediate context of the sealing of the saints and the great day of God's wrath, but also from their waving of palm branches, with praise and thanksgiving to God for their salvation, one gets a sense of the freshness of their experience, though this is not conclusive. However, the question and answer of the elder in vv. 13-15 seems to be definitive for the setting of the vision. The elder asks John, "Who are these,

parousia. For an excellent study showing this, see Gourges, 679-681.

⁶⁴Lev 26:12; Jer 7:23; 11:4; 24:7; 30:22; 31:1,33; 32:38; Ezek 11:20; 14:11; 34:30; 36:28; 37:23,27; Hos 2:23; Zech 8:8; 13:9; 2 Cor 6:16; Heb 8:10; cf. Exod 19:5-6.

⁶⁵White, 541, seems to understand the FT typology this way: "The Feast of Tabernacles was not only commemorative but typical. It not only pointed back to the wilderness sojourn but, as the feast of harvest, it celebrated the ingathering of the fruits of the earth, and pointed forward to the great day of final ingathering, when the Lord of harvest shall send forth His reapers to gather the tares together in bundles for the fire, and to gather the wheat into His garner."

⁶⁶Most of the statements found in 7:15-17 are in the future tense, probably because they are from OT promises which were originally future in nature. Nothing can be deduced from the tense of these sayings one way or another about the precise time of their fulfillment.

robed in white, and where have they come from?" He answers his own question: "These are they who have come out of the great ordeal; they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. For this reason they are before the throne of God, and worship him day and night within his temple."⁶⁷ The implication seems to be that the white-robed throng have only recently arrived at this setting before the throne of God and the Lamb. The same would appear to be true for the 144,000 in 14:1-5, particularly in light of the new song they are singing, which no one could learn except those redeemed from the earth. If the group in chapter 7 and the group in chapter 14 are taken to be the same group, a strong argument can be made for seeing the FT imagery in these passages as suggesting that the FT begins at the *parousia* rather than at the end of the millennium.⁶⁸

Conclusion

It has been shown that there is broad evidence for a FT typology that is fulfilled in the eschatology of Revelation. Twelve separate parallel elements have been traced in both the FT and the book of Revelation. The results of this study should leave little doubt that the FT is fulfilled in the post-*parousia* events described in Revelation. While the FT typology may apply in an ultimate sense to the postmillennial new creation, there appears to be good reason to apply it also to the millennial period, based on a careful study of the typology and its application in those passages of Revelation that apparently contain elements of FT typology.

⁶⁷Beatrice Neall, "Sealed Saints and the Tribulation," in *Symposium on Revelation, Book 1: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 6 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 270, notes that while a temple is mentioned in Rev 7, there is no temple within the New Jerusalem in eternity (21:22). The conclusion could be drawn that the setting of Rev 7 is different from the setting of Rev 21, namely, millennial, as opposed to postmillennial.

⁶⁸Aaron Kinne, *An Explanation of the Principal Types, the Prophecies of Daniel and Hosea, the Revelation, and Other Symbolical Passages of the Holy Scriptures* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1814), 100, holds that the FT prefigured the millennial prosperity of the church and the rest and felicity of the church and saints in heaven. Although he is thinking in amillennial terms, his insights connecting the FT with the millennium are significant. John Ritchie, *The Feasts of Jehovah: Bright Foreshadowings of Grace and Glory*, 3d ed. (Kilmarnock, UK: John Ritchie, n.d.), 58, says, "The antitype of the FT, like those of the two that preceded it—is still in the future. Nothing that has yet taken place, answers to this season of festive joy; its answer is to be found in the future day of glory, when Christ and His risen saints shall fill the heavens above, reigning over a restored and rejoicing world." He sees the millennium as the antitype of the FT, following the two harvests of Rev 14:14-20, while "the long Sabbath of Eternity" following the creation of a new heaven and a new earth is represented by the eighth day of the festival, "the last great day of the feast." *Ibid.*, 59. Glaser and Glaser, 212-13, cite Rev 21:3-4 as "the ultimate and eternal significance of the FT."

THE CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF REVELATION 12:1-15:4 THE GREAT CONTROVERSY VISION

WILLIAM H. SHEA
Biblical Research Institute
Silver Spring, Maryland

ED CHRISTIAN
Kutztown University of Pennsylvania
Kutztown, Ohio

Several scholars have noted that the book of Revelation contains seven visions or divisions (sometimes framed by the prologue and epilogue), arranged in a chiastic pattern, though they don't agree exactly on where the divisions begin and end.¹ We agree with Paulien that the division at the heart of the seven part chiasm is Rev 12:1-15:4 (with 11:19 as an introduction). In this paper we will call this passage the Great Controversy Vision, because its focus is the great struggle between the dragon and the Lamb which makes necessary the plan of salvation—from the dragon's expulsion from heaven by Michael to the authority won by Christ at the cross to the overcoming made possible by the blood of the Lamb to the Son of Man's return for the harvest

¹For example, in Jon Paulien's paper "Revisiting the Structure of Revelation," presented Nov. 20, 1997, at the yearly conference of the Evangelical Theological Society, these divisions were listed as (1) The Seven Churches [1:9-3:22]; (2) The Seven Seals [4:1-8:1]; (3) The Seven Trumpets [8:2-11:18]; (4) The Final Crisis [11:19-15:4]; (5) The Seven Bowls [15:5-18:24]; (6) The Millennium [19:1-20:15]; and (7) The New Jerusalem [21:1-22:5]. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, in the appendix to *Invitation to the Book of Revelation* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1986), finds a somewhat different division which includes the prologue and epilogue: (A) Prologue [1:1-8]; (B) The Community under Judgment (Seven Messages) [1:9-3:22]; (C) God's and Christ's Reign (Seven Seals and Seven Trumpets) [4:1-9:21, 11:14-19]; (D) The Community and Its Oppressors [10:1-11:13, 12:1-15:4] (divided into three sections: Prophetic Commissioning [10:1-11:13], Enemies of the Community [12:1-14:5], and Eschatological Harvests [14:6-20, 15:2-4]); (C') Judgment of Babylon/Rome [15:1, 5-19:10] (divided into three sections: Seven Bowls [15:5-16:21], Rome and Its Power [17:1-18], and Judgment of Rome [18:1-19:10]); (B') Final Judgment and Salvation [19:11-22:9]; (A') Epilogue [22:10-21]. Hans LaRondelle's divisions, outlined in *How to Understand the End-Time Prophecies of the Bible* (Sarasota, FL: First Impressions, 1997), 105, are more general but more clearly chiastic: (A) The Church Militant [1-3]; (B) Christ Begins the War [4:1-8:1]; (C) Trumpets Call to Repent [8:2-11:19]; (D) Overview of the Christian Age [12-14]; (C') Probationary Time Ends: Retributive Judgments [15-16]; (B') Christ Ends the War [17-20]; (A') The Church Triumphant [21-22]. Kenneth A. Strand, in his groundbreaking *Interpreting the Book of Revelation* (Naples, FL: Ann Arbor, 1979), posits an eight part chiastic structure in which the division under discussion in this paper is 11:19-14:20.

of the righteous and the wicked to the victorious saints on the “sea of glass.” The Great Controversy Vision is the Bible’s most explicit explanation of why there is suffering on earth, why God allows it, and what God is doing about it. It is not only the heart of Revelation, but can be seen as a summary of the book.

The structure of the Great Controversy Vision is unusual, but appropriate to its purpose. It consists of three chiasms and a three-step parallelism with a bridge running between them. Imagine these in a sort of *chi* or X pattern (see Figure 1). On the left, Rev 12:1-13:1, which we have called the Dragon’s War Chiasm, reveals the serpent’s persecution of the saints, how it came about, and what God has done about it. On the right, Rev 14:1-15:4, which we have called the Lamb’s Victory Chiasm, reveals the saints’ deliverance—God’s final warnings, Christ’s coming, the harvest of both the righteous and the wicked, and the redeemed who “stand on the sea of glass.” At the heart of the Dragon’s War Chiasm is the revelation of the inauguration of salvation through Christ and the saints’ appropriation of that salvation through the blood of the Lamb. At the heart of the Lamb’s Victory Chiasm is Christ’s return, the consummation of salvation.

What must come to pass between the inauguration and the consummation of salvation? This is revealed in Rev 13, which serves as a sort of beastly interlude between two highly Christocentric chapters and as an elaboration of Rev 12:17 (“And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.”). In the first half of the chapter, at the top of the *chi*, facing down, we find the Sea Beast Parallels, which specify a set period of forty-two months of persecution of the saints, equivalent to the “1,260 days” of 12:6 and the “time, and times, and half a time” of 12:14.² In the second half of the chapter, at the bottom of the *chi*, facing up, we find the Land Beast Chiasm. No set period is given in the chapter for the persecution under the land beast, but it must follow the “deadly wound” received by one of the heads of the sea beast, because it raises up an image of the apparently slain and resurrected beast and allows it to speak again. Thus, according to this reading of the vision’s structure, to get from the Cross to the Coming, the saints must pass between or survive these two beasts. How are they to do that? At the center of Rev 13 is a bridge of words from persecution to deliverance. This bridge is 13: 9-10, which promises judgment against the persecutors and warns God’s saints that their duty in the face of the dragon’s war against them is not taking up arms but patient, faithful endurance.

²See John F. Walvoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ*, (Chicago: Moody, 1966), 191, 195, 200.

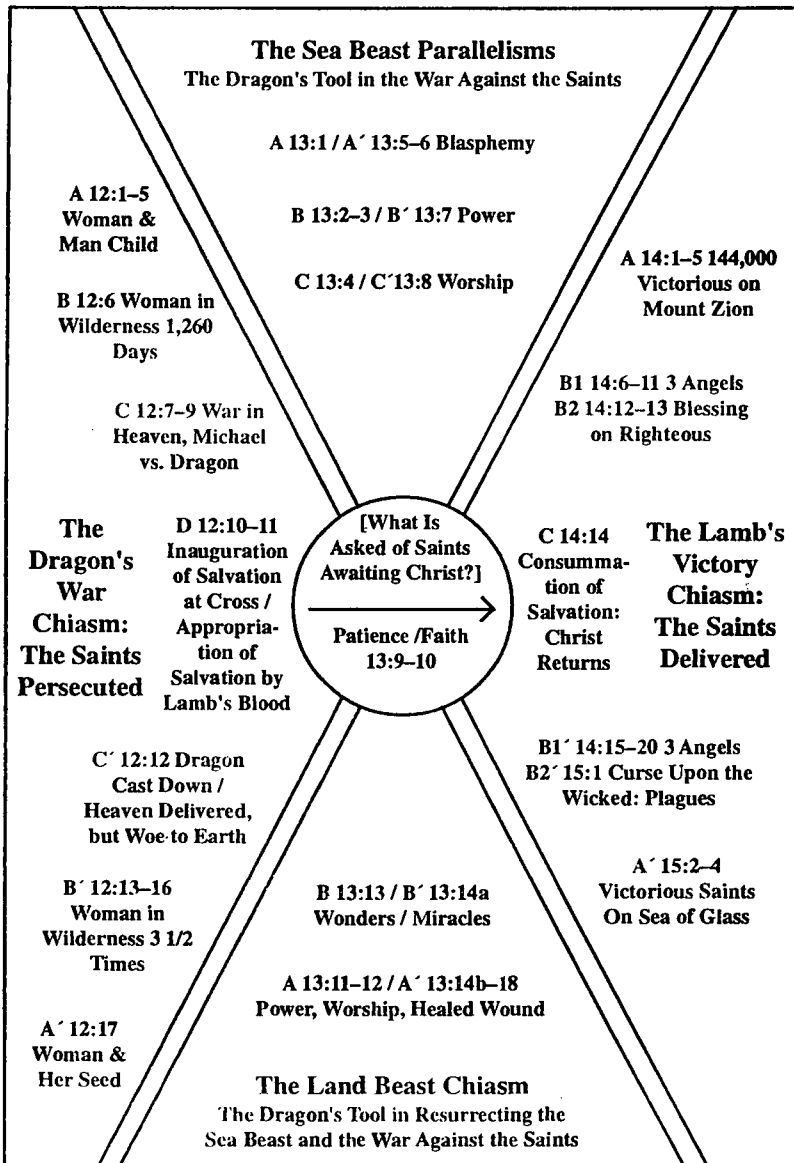


Figure 1: Rev 12:1-15:4/The Great Controversy Chiasms. What separates the inauguration of salvation at the cross in Rev 12 from the consummation of salvation when Christ returns in Rev 14 is the beasts. The correct response from the saints is not war against the beasts, but patient waiting, faithful endurance, until the Bridegroom returns.

Chiastically, the central verses of this vision and of the entire book of Revelation are 12:10-11 and 14:14, the Christocentric revelation of the inauguration, appropriation, and consummation of salvation through the blood of the Lamb. However, 13:9-10 offers the saints a safe route between them, even though it is not itself part of any of these structures. God's primary appeal to his suffering saints is for patience and continuing faith and faithfulness, trusting that their deliverance will come not by their own works, but by the work of Christ.

Kenneth Strand has shown that each of the visions of Revelation begins with what he calls a "Victorious-Introduction Scene," a verse or passage set either in the heavenly sanctuary, in its earthly courtyard (Christ among the lampstands), or in the New Jerusalem (with God dwelling there).³ The sanctuary scene for the Great Controversy Vision is 11:19. The echoes here of several OT appearances of God suggest that the following vision will include a judgment of God on the world. However, this verse (11:19) does not fit into the Dragon's War Chiasm. This is not unusual. Paulien's "duodirectionality principle," which states that in Revelation, passages beginning and ending visions or major scenes in visions may fit well as part of both the preceding and the following scenes or visions, applies here.⁴ One might see 11:19 as balanced by the heavenly worship in 15:3-4, forming a frame around the vision, but the latter passage is already balanced by 14:7. Perhaps both are appropriate simultaneously, though we were not able to show this in our figures.

One might also notice, however, that the Great Controversy Vision is separated from the rest of Revelation and enclosed by the book's only glimpses of the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary and the ark of the covenant:⁵

³"'Victorious-Introduction' Scenes," *Symposium on Revelation—Book I*, Frank B. Holbrook, ed. Daniel & Revelation Committee Series—Vol. 6 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Committee, 1992), 51-72. Strand posits an eight vision structure, but the weak point in his important work, as Paulien pointed out in the above-cited paper, is the lack of a clear "Sanctuary Introduction" in Rev 16:18-17:3, suggesting that the seven bowl plagues and the fall of the harlot Babylon might be seen as a single vision. There is also, however, some strong chiasmic support for Strand's reading, as shown by C. Mervyn Maxwell in *God Cares*, vol. 2 (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1985), 54-65.

⁴See his "Looking Both Ways: A Study of the Duodirectionality of the Structural Seals in the Apocalypse," a paper presented to the Hebrews, General and Pastoral Epistles, Apocalypse Section of the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Chicago, Nov. 19-22, 1988. Paulien also applies this in *Symposium on Revelation—Book II*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1992), 202-204.

⁵We owe this insight to Jeff, Dave, and Robert McAuliffe, a trio of brothers and amateur Revelation scholars who have a number of very interesting insights.

And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunders, and an earthquake, and great hail (Rev 11:19).

And after that I looked, and, behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened: And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles. And one of the four beasts gave unto the seven angels seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever. And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power; and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled (Rev 15:5-8).

Not only are both passages set in the most holy place, but both include manifestations of “the glory of God” similar to those on Mount Sinai when the law was given (cf. Exod 19:16-19). It is possible to see the Great Controversy Vision, in fact, as in interlude or parenthetical interruption meant to explain the source of our suffering and what God is doing about it, a summary of the plan of salvation, deliberately inserted into the sanctuary scene preceding the pouring out of “the seven bowls of God’s wrath” (16:1, NIV) and justifying this terrible anger against sin. If the Great Controversy Vision were removed, the two passages would not fit together smoothly, though 11:19 and 15:8 fit together seamlessly. This suggests that the Great Controversy Vision was deliberately placed where it is, with 15:5 added to remind the reader of 11:19 following the three chapter interlude of Revelation 12-14.⁶

Rev 12:1-13:1 The Dragon’s War Chiasm

Within both the Dragon’s War Chiasm and the Lamb’s Victory Chiasm, there are in fact two chiasms to be found: one a general topical chiasm⁷ and the other a more detailed verbal and topical chiasm.⁸ The topical chiasms are seen in Figure 1. For the Dragon’s War Chiasm, these two fit together well. For the Lamb’s Victory Chiasm, the topical balancing of three angels on each side of Christ’s coming in v. 14 is

⁶We offer this only as a possible reading worth exploring, not to discount the work of Strand, Maxwell, and others.

⁷Shea’s work.

⁸Christian’s work, incorporating Shea’s suggestions.

important and valid, but differs from the steps in the verbal chiasm. This difference is interesting, but it does not invalidate either one. Chiastic structure does not always follow the apparent organization or meaning, but sometimes highlights an alternate approach.

Except for Rev 12:10-12, introduced by the words "And I heard," the entire Dragons' War Chiasm seems to be silent (see Figure 2 for the full chiasm and Figure 3 for a table of parallels). It should be imagined as a series of brief animations, rather than as an extended vision of actual events. John is describing what he is shown, rather than summarizing the war. The summarizing has already been done for him, so he knows what is important and must be included. Verses 10-12 could be seen as a vocal commentary on the events seen in vv. 9-10, a sort of "voice over," to use the cinematic term. However, there is another way of dividing these verses, which we will use here.

In A the moon is under the woman's feet, as if she were standing on it; in A' the dragon is standing beside the sea. (Throughout this essay, parallels noted in the KJV exist in the Greek as well. Parallels existing in the Greek but less apparent in the KJV will be quoted from the Greek.)⁹ One is in the sky, one on the earth, but their standing is antithetically parallel, for chiastic purposes. (The KJV translates 13:1 as "I stood," but the RSV, NIV, and NASB translate it "he stood," referring to the dragon.) It is widely accepted that in prophetic language, a woman symbolizes a church, in this case a pure church (many commentators see this church as Israel). This paper will not, in general, explicate the symbols of the Great Controversy Vision—that has been well done by several writers. It is worth noting here, however, that the woman's pain in childbirth echoes the curse which came on Eve at the fall (Gen 3:16). This is not to say the woman is Eve. It implies, rather, that God's true church goes all the way back to Eden, that he has always had "chosen people" on earth, and helps to establish Rev 12 as a summary of the dragon's war against God and his saints (we find another allusion to the fall in v. 9, "that old serpent, . . . which deceiveth the whole world). Verse 5 also reminds us of Mary giving birth to Jesus, suggesting the way in which the church is corporate, yet composed of faithful individuals. (While both Eve and Mary are alluded to here, the woman symbolizes neither Eve nor Mary but God's people, which some see as Israel but others as the assembly of the saints throughout history.)

If "stars of heaven" is a metaphor for angels and "remnant of her

⁹We've chosen to use the KJV because in these chapters its word choice is quite close to the Greek, allowing us to show most textual parallels in English. The English parallels we discuss exist in the Greek as well, unless otherwise noted. Parallels seen in the Greek but not apparent in the KJV are transliterated.

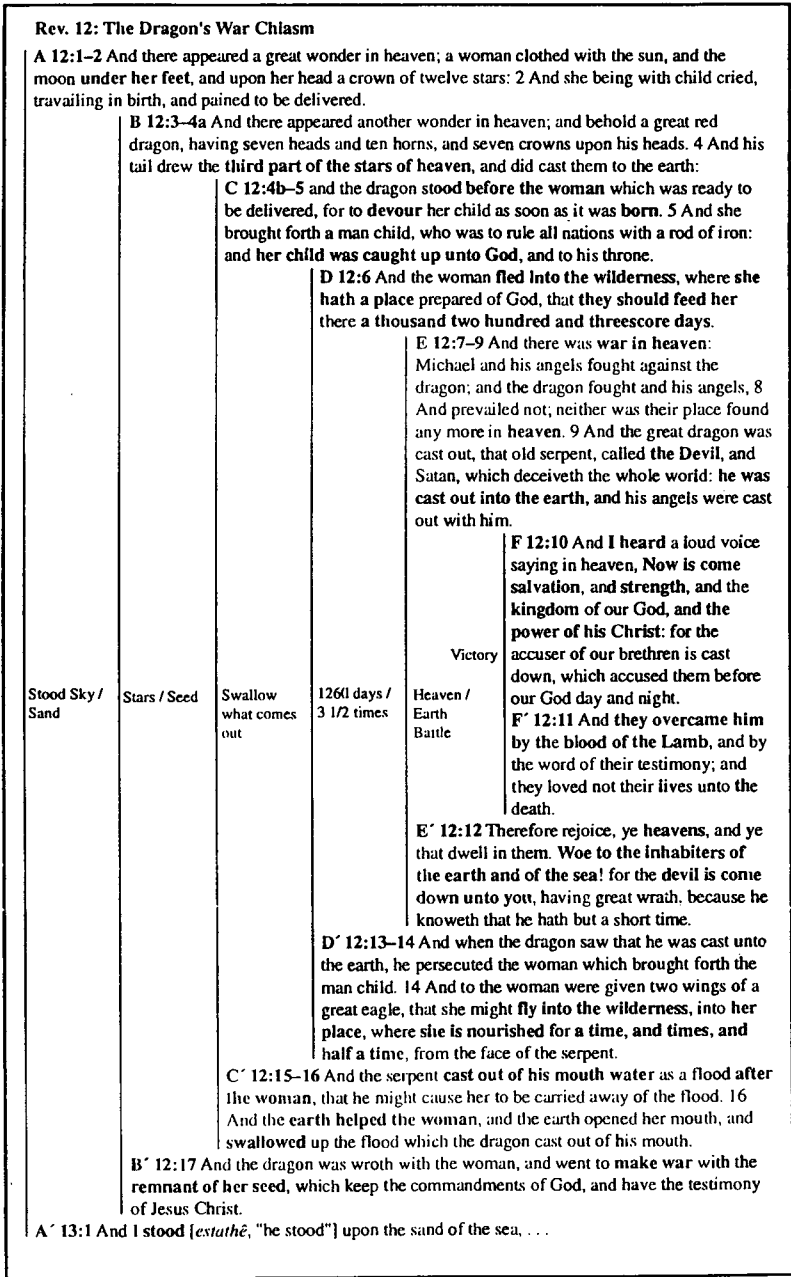


Figure 2. Rev 12/The Dragon's War Chiasm.

Rev 12:1-13:1 The Dragon's War Chiasm		
"under her feet" [standing] S "sun" "moon" "stars" [heavens] A "pained to be delivered" T	A/A'	"stood upon" "sand of the sea" [implied waiting to deliver sea beast]
"dragon" [first mention] V "stars of heaven" T "his tail drew . . . and did cast" [act of war] T	B/B'	"dragon" [last mention] "remnant of her seed" "make war"
"before the woman" A "devour" [eat] A "devour" S "her child was caught up unto heaven [outside aid] T	C/C'	"after the woman" "cast out of his mouth" [vomit] "opened her mouth, and swallowed" "earth helped the woman" [outside aid]
"fled into the wilderness" V "she hath a place prepared of God [protection] V "they should feed her" S "a thousand two hundred and threescore days" S	D/D'	"fly into the wilderness" "her place" [protection] "she is nourished" "a time, and times, and half a time"
"he was cast out into the earth" S "the great dragon was cast out" T "heaven" V "the Devil" V "earth" V	E/E'	"the devil is come down to you" "Therefore rejoice, ye heavens" "heaven" "the devil" "earth"
"Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ" S	F/F'	"they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony"

Heart of Chiasm: The inauguration of salvation and its appropriation by the blood of the Lamb

V=Verbal Parallel; T=Thematic Parallel; S=Synonymous Parallel; A=Antithetic Parallel

Figure 3. Rev 12 Parallels

seed" is a metaphor for God's saints on earth, then both B and B' deal with the dragon's war against God's offspring, who are "fellowservants" (cf. 19:10): angelic offspring (cf. Job 1:6, KJV) in B and human offspring in B'. This is the beginning and ending of the conflict between the dragon and the woman. In 12:17, "the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ," refers to the faithful ones who refuse to accept the "mark of the beast" in the

Land Beast Chiasm and are seen victorious in heaven in the Lamb's Victory Chiasm.

In C the dragon stands "before the woman," while in C' he sends a flood "after the woman." In C the dragon wants to swallow the woman's child; in C' the earth swallows the dragon's flood. In C the manchild is "born" of the woman, coming out of her; in C' the flood comes out of the dragon, like vomit. In C God helps the child by catching it up to heaven; in C' the earth helps the woman, offering protection.

D and D' form a clear *inclusio* around the center of the chiasm and point to an intermediate period of conflict with a specified duration. In D the woman flees "into the wilderness"; in D' she flies there. In D "she hath a place prepared of God," while in D' she flies to "her place." In D she is fed there; in D' "she is nourished" (same Greek root). The close parallels in D and D' make it clear that the 1260 days and 3 1/2 times are the same period. (If a "time" is a prophetic year and a prophetic year is composed of twelve thirty-day prophetic months, then 3 1/2 times—forty-two months—equals 1260 prophetic days.)

A-D and D'-A' deal with the persecution of the woman and her offspring by the dragon. This leads readers to the implied question, "Why is this happening?" (Such implied questions are not unusual in chiasmic structures.) The answer is given in E and E': there is suffering and sin and evil and death on earth because before the beginning of the dragon's persecution of the woman, there was rebellion in heaven, and the dragon was cast down, so he now torments the world. In E there is war in heaven and the dragon is cast out; in E' heaven rejoices that the dragon is cast out, but warns that he is cast to the earth, so the venue of the war is changed. E is seen, but E' is heard. It reveals the implications for the earth of E.

The revelation of the heavenly war brought down to earth leads to another implied question which we as readers might ask: "What is God doing about this problem?" The answer is twofold, given in F and F'. Note again that whereas most of the chapter is a description of what was seen, vv. 10-12 describe what was "heard." God's answer in F announces the inauguration of salvation from the accuser through Christ's sacrifice of atonement at the Cross, through which he gained "power" to save and cast down the accuser. God's answer in F' is the appropriation of salvation by the woman and her offspring, overcoming the dragon "by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony." This is not a panacea for all suffering now, but it offers armor, a level of protection, for believers.

Thus, in the chiasmic heart of Rev 12, Christ reveals to John that the battle between the dragon and the saints is the earthly dimension of the Great Controversy between the dragon and the Lamb. Christ is revealed as the

center of what God is doing about suffering and evil. Rev 12 lies at the chiasmic heart of the whole book, which is itself the “revelation of Jesus Christ.” Thus, the idea of the Great Controversy between Christ and Satan is a truly biblical and Christocentric prophetic message.¹⁰ Some scholars have argued that vv. 7-12 all deal with the dragon’s fall from heaven. Others have argued that they all deal with the Cross. The chiasmic structure of the chapter reveals that both are partially right: the Cross is God’s solution to the evil which began with the dragon. We would see the statement in v. 10, “for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night,” as referring not to a physical event, a physical casting down when Christ died, but to a spiritual event, echoing the physical event of v. 9. The dragon still accuses believers from afar, having been cast down, but now they are clothed with Christ’s righteousness and blood and are reckoned as righteous before the throne.

The idea of deceiving, of leading the world astray, found in E, is also found in the Land Beast Chiasm and several times in the Millennial Vision of Rev 19-21. The idea of war, found in E and B’, is also found in Rev 19:11, where Christ makes war; in 19:19, where the beast and his armies gather for war; and in 20:8, where Satan gathers the wicked for war. This shows that the Millennial Vision is the working out of the Great Controversy Vision.

The Sea Beast Parallelism

Rev 13:1-8 is a three-step parallelism which expands on 12:6 and 12:13-14, D / D’. Within it is the period of forty-two months, equivalent to the 1260 days of 12:6 and the 3 1/2 times of 12:14 (see Figure 4 for the Rev 13 structures and Figure 5 for a table of parallels).

In both A and A’ we find the verbal parallel of “blasphemy,” “blasphemies,” “blaspheme.” In A the sea beast has “the name of blasphemy” on his heads, whereas in A’ the nature of that blasphemy is revealed: it is blasphemy against God’s name and tabernacle and against “them that dwell in heaven.” We also find the verbal parallel “name,” though in A it is a “name of blasphemy,” while in A’ it is the name of God.

In B and B’ the primary parallel is “power.” In B this power is synonymous with the beast’s “seat, and great authority.” We also find a synonymous parallel between “all the world” and “all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.”

In C and C’ the parallel is “worship.” In C this is both the worship of the dragon and the worship of the beast, whereas in C’ only the

¹⁰The insight that Rev 12:7-9, 12 refer to the heavenly warfare, while vv. 10-11 refer to the cross, we owe to Pastor Sergio Manente.

<p>Rev 13:1-8 The Sea Beast A/A' Summary: The Sea Beast Which Blasphemes and is Worshipped</p>	
<p>A 13:1b-2a And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. 2 And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as [the feet] of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion:</p>	<p>A' 13:8 And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.</p>
<p>B/B' Power and Authority Defined</p>	
<p>B 13:2b-3 and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority. 3 And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast.</p>	<p>B' 13:7 And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.</p>
<p>C/C' Blasphemy Defined</p>	
<p>C 13:4 And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?</p>	<p>C' 13:6 And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.</p>
<p>D/D' How Long?</p>	
<p>D 13:5a And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;</p>	<p>D' 13:5b and power was given unto him to continue forty [and] two months.</p>
<p>Bridge Between Rev 12 and Rev 14</p>	
<p>A 13:9 If any man have an ear, let him hear. B 13:10a He that leadeth into [lit. "is for"] captivity shall go into captivity B' 13:10b he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword. A' 13:10c He is the patience and the faith of the saints.</p>	
<p>Rev 13:11-18 The Land Beast C/C' How Will It Be Known? Signs That Deceive</p>	
<p>C 13:13 And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men,</p>	<p>C' 13:14a And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast;</p>
<p>B/B' Power and Authority Defined/Image and Mark of the Sea Beast</p>	
<p>B 13:12 And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.</p>	<p>B' 13:14b-17 saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword, and did live. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed. And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.</p>
<p>A/A' Summary: Land Beast and Its Work</p>	
<p>A 13:11 And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.</p>	<p>A' 13:18 Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six.</p>

Figure 4. Rev 13/The Sea Beast and Land Beast Chiasms and Bridge.

Rev 13:1-8: The Sea Beast Parallelisms		
“blasphemy” V “name” [of blasphemy] A	A/A'	“blasphemies” blaspheme against God” “blaspheme his name . . . his tabernacle . . . them that dwell in heaven” “name” [of God]
“gave him his power [<i>dunamin</i>] . . . seat . . . authority [<i>exousia</i>]” S :all the world” S	B/B'	“power [<i>exousia</i>] was given him” “all kindreds, and tongues, and nations”
“worshipped the dragon . . . and . . . worshipped the beast” V	C/C'	“worship him”

Rev 13:11-18: The Land Beast Chiasm		
“he exerciseth all the power of the first beast” V “worship” V “the earth and them that dwell therein” V “whose deadly wound was healed” V	A/A'	“he had power to give life unto the image of the beast” “worship” “them that dwell on the earth” “which had the wound by a sword, and did live”
“in the sight of men” V “wonders” S	B/B'	“in the sight of the beast” “miracles”

Heart of Chiasm: In response to implied questions, “How can the land beast be recognized?” It deceives by its miracles.

Sea Beast Parallels Land Beast	
“they worshipped the beast” V	“worship the first beast”
“his deadly wound was healed” V	“whose deadly wound was healed”
“power” V	“power”
“Lamb” V	“lamb”
“beast” V	“beast”
“they worshipped the dragon” V	“he spake as a dragon”
“make war with the saints” T	“as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed”

V=Verbal Parallel; T=Thematic Parallel; S=Synonymous Parallel; A=Antithetic Parallel

Figure 5. Rev 13 Parallels.

worship of the beast is specified, though through the beast the dragon is also worshiped implicitly.

Thus, these parallelisms reveal that the primary attributes of the sea beast are blasphemy and power leading to the false worship of the beast rather than the Lamb. There is also a chiastic element to these parallelisms, though less significant than the parallels. In both B and B' the stressed attribute is power. Power is also significant in C and in A', though in C the dragon's ability to give power to the beast leads people to worship the dragon, while in A' the power given to the beast allows it to continue to blaspheme. All four of these—B, C, A', and B'—also stress that power is “given” to the beast by the dragon, and such gifts are found only in these verses. The dragon also specifically gives the beast a mouth and the ability to make war against the saints, aspects of its power.

In Exod 15:11, part of the “Song of Moses,” we find the question, “Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?” When people ask, “Who is like unto the beast?” they are putting the beast in God's place and bringing God's throne to earth (Dan 8:11). The name Michael, found in 12:7, means “Who is like God?” When people ask, therefore, “Who is like unto the beast?” the beast is revealed as a satanic counterfeit or parody of Michael. It is also claiming to act in the place of Christ, as his vicar, so to speak, worthy of worship. In Exod 15:3, again in the “Song of Moses,” we find the praise, “The Lord is a man of war: the Lord is his name.” This, again, is parodied in the question, “Who is able to make war with him?” People are worshiping the beast rather than God, and in doing so they are also worshiping the dragon, even though they may be unaware of this (and even though the sea beast power itself may be unaware of this). Note that Exod 15 praises God for drowning Pharaoh in the sea, whereas in Rev 13 the beast comes up from the sea, a sort of resurrection of this power which said, “I know not the Lord” (Exod 5:2). Again, this is a parody of the resurrection of the slain Lamb, and also an echo of the deadly wound which is healed.

The Bridge

After viewing the dragon's war against the saints and watching the rise of the beast from the sea, John must have wondered how a remnant of God's people could possibly survive. The answer comes in the center of Rev 13, in vv. 9 and 10. It begins with a “for your ears only” warning. Next comes a cryptic message, not entirely clear in the Greek, which Alfred Marshall gives as follows in his literal translation: “If anyone [is] for captivity, to captivity he goes; if anyone by a sword will kill, it behoves him by a sword to be killed.”¹¹ Leon Morris correctly sees in this

¹¹*The Interlinear KJV-NIV Parallel New Testament in Greek and English* (Grand Rapids:

verse an echo of Jer 15:2, but he misreads the context and ignores the similar language in Jer 43:11-13. He writes:

The first couplet teaches an acceptance of the realities of life. If it is in the providence of God that the Christian is for captivity, then to captivity he will surely go (*cf.* Je. 15:2). But the second has to do with requital. Anyone who kills with the sword will be killed as he has killed (*cf.* Mt. 26:52). If the Christian takes the sword he will not establish the faith, for the truth of Christ cannot be defended by violence. He will simply perish by the sword.¹²

While these things are true, they are not what the verse means. The meaning of the OT verses being echoed is so clear that it must control our reading of the passage in Revelation.

Jeremiah 15:2 reads, "And it shall come to pass, if they say unto thee, Whither shall we go forth? then thou shalt tell them, Thus saith the LORD; Such as are for death, to death; and such as [are] for the sword, to the sword; and such as are for the famine, to the famine; and such as [are] for the captivity, to the captivity." The echo is clear, but in context God is speaking to a Jerusalem which has forsaken him and backslidden (vss. 5, 6). If Rev 13:9-10 is speaking about backslidden saints who have worshiped the beast, then perhaps Jer 15:2 is the source, but there is an alternative worth consideration.

Jeremiah 43:11 reads, "And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt, and deliver such as are for death to death; and such as are for captivity to captivity; and such as are for the sword to the sword." This echo is stronger than the previous one. It is a prophecy in which God reveals his plan to use the king of Babylon to destroy Egypt, especially its temples honoring the sun, because of what Egypt will do to God's people when they flee there, leading them even further into spiritual adultery (vss. 10-13). The "captivity" and the "sword" here are clearly intended not for God's people, but for the enemies of God's people. Thus, likewise, in Revelation the first half of vs. 10 offers a message of hope, a promise that the prayers of the saints will be answered. The persecutors of God's people, whether apostate or infidel, will not act with impunity, but will receive God's judgment and pay for what they are doing. The seven trumpets and the seven plagues outline these judgments. One reason there is so much war and captivity on earth, it seems, is that God is using countries to pay back other countries for what they have done to the saints.

Zondervan, 1975).

¹²*Revelation*, rev. ed., Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 165.

This leads to the most important sentence in the bridge connecting Christ on the cross with Christ in the clouds, the bridge between the persecution of the saints and their deliverance: "Here is the patience and the faith of the saints." It may be that the saints are warned here that their role in the battle between the dragon and the Lamb will be patient and faithful endurance. As Isa 30:15 says, "For thus the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, has said, 'In repentance and rest you shall be saved, In quietness and trust is your strength'" (NASB). They needn't ask, "Why are we suffering?" Their persecution and suffering have been predicted, so when it occurs they will know it is for a reason, not because they have been deserted by God or are being punished.

"Patience of the saints" in 13:10 is echoed in 14:12, near the chiasmic center of the chapter: "Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." "[T]hey that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus"—the definition of "the saints"—echoes "the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ" in 12:17.¹³ Faith [*pistis*] and faithfulness are essentially the same thing here. Those who have Christ's "faith" and "testimony" also "keep the commandments of God." This is their faithfulness: "they follow the Lamb wherever he goes" (14:4). They are not in rebellion—they do what God has asked of them, not what they have rationalized that God really wants. They do what Christ has told them to do in the gospels and through his "servants the prophets" (11:18).

One might see Rev 13:9-10 as a small chiasm: a call for the saints to hear and a call for those who hear to endure patiently, frame a synchronous parallelism. However, the chiasmic nature here is not strong or convincing. Nevertheless, the passage serves as a crux which sets forth both the judgment on the persecutors and the duty of the saints as the Great Controversy is worked out. It is poetry, whereas the rest of the

¹³Ekkehardt Mueller has suggested to us that the close parallel between 13:10 and 14:12 leads him to doubt the validity of the chiasms we find in these chapters and suspect that we are missing a more important chiasm. We respond with three points. First, the parallel between 12:17 and 14:12 is as strong as that between 13:10 and 14:12. Second, the parallels between the two dragon/serpent/Devil/Satan identifications in 12:9 and 20:2 are just as close, yet are in separate divisions of the book and not related chiasmatically. Third, there does seem at first to be a chiasmic relationship between 13:10 as A and 14:12 as A'. One can also match as B 13:11-18, with the phrases "worship the first beast" and "mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads," with B' 14:9-11, with the phrases "worship the beast and his image" and "mark in his forehead, or in his hand." These are strong parallels which could be convincing in the right context. However, one finds no more chiasmic parallels in the verses between these two passages, 14:1-8. We conclude that the echoes of Rev 12 and 13 in 14:12 are meant to tie these chapters together thematically and linguistically into a single vision or division but are not chiasmatically significant.

Great Controversy Vision is prose. The verbal repetitions in the Greek are a delight to the ear. Note that the wordplay of “*ous akousatō*” carries over into the English of “ear” and “hear.”

*Ei tis echei ous akousatō,
ei tis eis aichmalosian;
eis aichmalosian hupagei,
ei tis en machairē apoktanei,
dei auton en machairē apoktanthēnai.
Ōde estin hē hupomonē kai hē pistis tōn hagiōn.*

Also, when the call for those with ears to hear appears in the Bible, it is a clue that what follows will be in code. This call to hear is balanced by a terse statement of what those who hear are to do with this secret message: continue to be patient and strong in faith as they wait. The message itself is at the center of the statement, and it is only available to those who know the OT prophets sufficiently well to catch and understand the echo of Jer 43:11.

The Land Beast Chiasm

The Land Beast Chiasm has no time period attached to it, but the fact that it makes an image of the apparently slain beast from the sea shows that its rise to power comes only after the sea beast receives its deadly wound. It comes up with “horns like a lamb” (not necessarily lamb’s horns, but, like a lamb in having two horns), perhaps suggesting a peaceable nature and apparent righteousness, but its voice is like that of its master, the dragon.

In A and A' we find the verbal parallels of “power,” “worship,” and “wound” (referring to the sea beast’s deadly wound which is healed), though these do not occur in the same order.

The heart of the Land Beast Chiasm, B / B', answers the hearer’s implied question, “How will this beast be recognized?” or perhaps, “How does it get its power to incite or compel worship?” The answer is that it deceives the world by doing great wonders, even making “fire come down from heaven.” This is evidently a parody of Elijah on Mount Carmel (though it could also refer to a parody of the tongues of flame from heaven when the Holy Spirit was poured out on Pentecost, and thus a parody of the Holy Spirit’s working in the church). C specifies “wonders,” and C' explains the function of these wonders. There is a synonymous parallel between “wonders” and “miracles.”

The question of the identity of this beast or the number of the sea beast is not illuminated by these chiasms, except that he will be known by

his bringing “fire . . . down from heaven” and working miracles (though some would see the fire here as metaphorical).

The Lamb's Victory Chiasm

Whereas the Dragon's War Chiasm unveils the inauguration of salvation through Christ as a response to the persecution of God's people, the Lamb's Victory Chiasm of Rev 14:1-15:4 unveils the consummation of that salvation: the return of Christ on a cloud to harvest his saints (see Figures 6 and 7).

In the general thematic chiasm for this passage, the 144,000 on Mount Zion (A) are balanced by the victorious righteous ones on the sea of glass (A'). The three angels who proclaim their messages in B1 are balanced by three more angels in B1'. Where B2 is a parenthetical blessing on the righteous, B2' is the antithetical announcement of a parenthetical curse on the wicked. C reveals the coming of Christ.¹⁴

In the more detailed verbal chiasm, the four steps of A / A' first reveal God's saints: they are the 144,000 who have received the seal of God and come out of “the great tribulation” (cf. 7:4, 14), those who have gained “victory over the beast.” Next, in A2, harps are heard, and in A2' these saints have harps. In A3 they sing “a new song,” and in A3' that song is named: “the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb.” In A4 the first messenger angel calls on the earthdwellers to “worship” the Creator, and in A4' the redeemed promise to “worship.”¹⁵

Some scholars have argued that in 14:1-5, the 144,000 are still on earth. In this view, “mount Zion” may be literal, or may indicate that they are figuratively dwelling with God, wherever they may actually be. The presence of the Lamb means that in the midst of their persecution, Christ is with them. The harps “heard” from heaven but not seen are said to suggest that the

¹⁴Some might say that dividing B into B1 and B2 or A into A1-A4 breaks the chiasmic structure. Actually, it would be possible to present A1-A4 simply as A, as is done in Fig. 6. The separation, however, further reveals the careful and deliberate organization of this vision, where sometimes parallelisms separated by several verses nestle into a general pattern of reverse parallelism. In the case of the A and A' parallels, this is particularly significant, as some scholars insist that 15:1-4 belongs only with the next division, rather than having a duodirectional quality.

¹⁵Some may argue that to include the first angel's message as part of A in order to complete the chiasm is structurally unsound. As we have said earlier, a weakness of the verbal and thematic chiasms we find in 14:1-15:4 is that they don't mesh exactly. However, the verbal parallel between 14:6-7 and 15:3b-4 exists, and it seems more honest to show it rather than to ignore it in order to keep the three angels' messages together for structural or doctrinal reasons. One of the wonderful things about chiasmic structure in Revelation is that at times the steps do not separate where we expect. This forces us to see the text in different way, thus expanding our understanding of it and adding to its complexity.

Rev. 14 Chiasm: The Lamb's Victory Chiasm

A 14:1-7 [A1 14:1 144,000] And I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads. [A2 14:2 Harps] And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps. [A3' 14:3 Song] And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.[A4 14:4-7 Worship] These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the firstfruits unto God and to the Lamb. 5 And in their mouth was found no guile: for they are without fault before the throne of God. 6 And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, 7 Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

B 14:8-10a [B1 14:8 Wine of Babylon's wrath] And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication. [B2 14:9-10a Wine of God's wrath] And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, 10 The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation;

C 14:10b-11 and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: 11 And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

D 14:12-13 Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. 13 And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.

E 14:14 And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown [stephanon], and in his hand a sharp sickle.

D' 14:15-16 And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe. 16 And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.

C' 14:17-18a And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle. 18 And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire;

B' 14:18b-15:1 [B1' 14:18b Wine of Babylon's wrath] and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe. [B2' 14:19-5:1 Wine of God's wrath] And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God. 20 And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs. 1 And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God. A' 15:2-4 [A1' 15:2a Victorious Ones] And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire: and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, [A2' 15:2b Harps] having the harps of God.[A3' 15:3a Song] And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, [A4' 15:3b-4 Worship] saying, Great and marvellous art thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints. 4 Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest.

Call to
worship the
Creator &
reward of
those who
do
(144,000 on
Mount Zion
/ victors on
sea of glass;
harps, song,
worship)

<p>Consumma- tion of Salvation:</p>	<p>Faithful saints & their harvest</p>	<p>Fire & smoke for beast & image worshippers comes from altar</p>	<p>Wine of God's wrath for those who drink the wine of Babylon's wrath & their harvest</p>
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Figure 6. Rev 14/The Victory Chiasm.

Rev 14:1-15:4 Reaping and Wrath		
“an hundred forty and four thousand” S “mount Zion” S “his Father’s name” AV	A1/A1'	“them that had gotten the victory over the beast” “the sea of glass” “his [the beast’s] name”
“harpers harping with their harps”	A2/A2'	“having the harps of God”
“And they sung as it were a new song” V	A3/A3'	“And they sing the song of Moses . . . and the song of the Lamb”
“worship” V “the hour of his judgment is come” V “they which follow the Lamb withersoever he goeth” T “worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters” S “fear God and give glory to him” V	A4/A4'	“worship” “thy judgments are made manifest” “just and true are thy ways” [which they follow] “all nations” “Great and marvelous art thy works” “Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name?”
“the wine of the wrath of her [Babylon’s] fornication” T	B1/B1'	“her [Babylon’s] grapes are fully ripe”
“the wine of the wrath of God” V “poured out without mixture” T	B2/B2'	“the great winepress of the wrath of God” “blood came out of the winepress”
“tormented with fire” V “smoke of their torment ascendeth” T	C/C'	“out of the altar, which had power over fire”
“the saints” “the dead which die in the Lord” S	D/D'	“the harvest of the earth is ripe” [wheat harvest—the righteous]

Heart of Chiasm: Christ comes in clouds to gather his people

V = Verbal Parallel; T = Thematic Parallel; S = Synonymous Parallel; A = Antithetic Parallel

Figure 7. Rev 14:1-15:4 Parallels.

144,000 and John cannot see them. The song sung by these victorious ones anticipates their soon salvation. Their being “without fault before the throne of God” reveals their position “in Christ.”

Other scholars have argued that in this passage the 144,000 are clearly in heaven, “before the throne,” with Christ. A simple reading of the text requires agreement with this view. To suggest otherwise, while possible, requires a great deal of explanation and twisting of words.

The chiastic structure of A and A', however, suggests that A need not necessarily be the chronological preface to B and what follows. The parallels with A' are so extensive that they suggest another alternative: A and A' describe the same people in the same place at the same time, but A is a preview of what happens in A'. Why is this done? First, it balances the structure of A'. Second, it reminds the saints of what is to come, reminds them that their patient endurance of persecution will be rewarded, and offers salvation as something so certain that it can be seen as already in progress. This preview technique is used several times in Revelation, as in 19:1-10, the announcement of the marriage supper of the Lamb, which is a preview of 21:1-8, the consummation of that marriage. In Rev 7 the 144,000 are also seen, but there they are on earth, balanced by the "great multitude" seen in heaven. In Rev 14, they are at last in heaven, in preview at the beginning of the chapter, and in fact at the end of the chapter.

B1 and B1' mention the wine of Babylon's wrath, whether in the cup or on the vine. Babylon's wrath against the saints is why Babylon must be punished. B2 and B2' focus on the wine of God's wrath, again in the cup or threshed from the vine. This wrath is God's response to Babylon's wrath against God's saints. The reference to the "seven last plagues" in B2' is parenthetical, but is not evidence of a misplaced verse. Instead, it serves to tie together the harvest of the wicked with the seven plagues. It suggests that it is the seven bowl plagues which lead to the destruction of Babylon "in one hour" (18:17) and that these plagues, which destroy the earth and those in it, may be seen as synonymous with "the winepress of the wrath of God" (14:19).

In C the third angel messenger proclaims the fire and smoke which will attend the destruction of the beast and his worshipers. In C' another angel comes from the altar "which had power over fire." The altar of incense in the temple had coals on it, and smoke ascended from it, along with the prayers of the saints (including prayers for deliverance, one might fairly assume; see 5:8 and 8:4). This suggests a tie between the destruction of the wicked in C and the smoke and fire which come from the temple in C'. Rev 15:7-16:1 reinforces this idea—not that the plagues are actual coals from the altar in heaven, but that they are God's righteous response to the prayers of the saints for judgment against their oppressors (6:10).

D reveals the patient, faithful saints, "they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." We are reminded of the bridge between Rev 12 and 14, and of the same faithful saints in Rev 12:17. In D' Christ is told to "reap" with a sickle, and he does. (We can fairly assume that this is the harvest of the saints, given that the grape harvest that follows receives God's wrath. This view is reinforced by

Christ's parables in Mark 4:26-29 and Matt 13:24-30 and 37-43.) The symbolic, nonliteral nature of much of this is seen in the fact that he reaps them with a sickle, and with one sweep. The command in D to write a blessing is also found at the heart of Chiasm II of the Millennial Vision Chiasms (Rev 19:9).¹⁶ In both cases it is a blessing for the redeemed. The promise is similar to that in 1 Thess 4:13-14: the faithfulness of the saints who "die in the Lord" will not be forgotten. This faithfulness is referred to in the phrase "their works do follow them." The words "rest" and "labours" echo the fourth commandment, which is more clearly alluded to in A (v. 7). Thus, death is seen as a sort of Sabbath rest from the world, in anticipation of the resurrection.

At the heart of the Lamb's Victory Chiasm is the appearance of Christ himself on a "white cloud." He is wearing a golden victory crown because he has won the war against the dragon, the Great Controversy which has continued so long and claimed so many lives. He has kept his promise: He has come.

Conclusion

As a summary of the great war and the plan of salvation, the Great Controversy Vision does not go into the details of the destruction of the wicked and the deliverance of the saints. That will be done elsewhere. However, for those who wish to teach the Great Controversy paradigm, the warfare model of the activities of Christ and Satan, there is no better place to start.

There are a number of significant parallels in these structures which strengthen our case for their relationship to each other (see Figure 8, and recall that these exist in the Greek as well as the KJV unless otherwise noted). These do not usually occur in balanced patterns, but reveal the special interests and language found both in this division and in the separate structures in this division. For example, the word "dragon" occurs eight times in the Dragon's War Chiasm, three times in the Sea Beast Parallelisms, and once in the Land Beast Chiasm. The word also occurs once in Rev 16:13, where three evil spirits come from the dragon's mouth, and once in Rev 20:2, where the dragon is chained in the abyss, but nowhere else in the NT. This shows that the dragon is a key figure in this division and helps to separate it from the others. The word "devil" occurs five times in Revelation, but in Rev 12 it is found in both E and E'.

The word translated "cast" (down or out) in the KJV, based on several forms of *ballō*, occurs eight times in Rev 12, but also occurs three

¹⁶See Ed Christian, "A Chiasm of Seven Chiasms: The Structure of the Millennial Vision, Rev 19:1-21:8," *AUSS*, 37 (1999): 209-225.

Great Controversy Vision Parallels				
Dragon's War	Sea Beast	Bridge	Land Beast	Harvest
"dragon"	"dragon"		"dragon"	
<i>ballō</i> ["cast down"]				<i>ballō</i> ["swinging" "throwing"]
	"gave" "was given"		"gave" "was given"	
<i>exousia, dynamis</i> ["power" "authority"]	<i>exousia, dynamis</i> ["power" "authority"]		<i>exousia</i> ["power" "authority"]	<i>exousia</i> ["power" "authority"]
"a thousand two hundred and threescore days" "time, and times, and half a time"	"forty and two months"			
"deceiveth"			"deceiveth"	
	"beast"		"beast"	"beast"
			"image of the beast" "mark" "number"	"image of the beast" "mark" "number"
"Lamb"	"Lamb"		"lamb"	"Lamb"
"keep the commandments of God"		"the patience and faith of the saints"		"the patience of the saints . . . keep the commandment"
"loved not their lives unto the death"		"captivity" "killed"		"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord"
"war in heaven" "war with the remnant of her seed"	"war with the saints" "who is able to make war with him"	"leadeth into captivity" "killeth with the sword"	"should be killed" "maketh fire come down from heaven"	"on his head a golden crown" [<i>stephanon</i> : victor's crown]

Figure 8. Great Controversy Vision Parallels.

times in Rev 14, where it refers to the swinging of the sickle and the throwing of grapes into the winepress of God's wrath. More than a third of the usages of the word in Revelation are found in this division.

The words "gave" or "were given" [*didōmi*] occur six times in the Sea Beast Parallelisms and three in the Land Beast Chiasm. The words also occur in Rev 12:14, where the woman is given eagle's wings, and Rev 14:7, where the angel calls on people to give God glory, but Rev 13 is the only place in the book where the dragon gives anything.

The word "authority" [*exousia*] occurs four times in the Sea Beast Parallelisms and once in the Land Beast Chiasm. This is the only usage in Revelation where the authority comes from the dragon. (In the KJV, the word "power" occurs four times in the Sea Beast Parallelisms and three times in the Land Beast Chiasm, but not all of these are in the Greek, and some are not translations of *exousia*, so this is not very significant, except perhaps thematically. However, a form of *exousia* occurs in B, C, A', and B' in the Sea Beast Parallelisms.)

The word "blasphemy" occurs four times in the Sea Beast Parallelisms, but nowhere else in the Great Controversy Vision. In other usages in Revelation, the people of the earth blaspheme after the fourth, fifth, and seventh plagues (Rev 16:9, 11, 21), the harlot rides a beast with blasphemous names (Rev 17:3), and there are blasphemous false Jews in Smyrna (Rev 2:9).

Versions of the word *poleō* ("cause" or "make" by force) occur thirty times in Revelation, but of those, ten times are in Rev 13, and eight in the Land Beast Chiasm. (Thus, in the Sea Beast Parallelisms the emphasis is on things "given," and in the Land Beast Chiasm on things "caused" by force.) The word is often used here to suggest compulsory or forceful action. This seems to be a major characteristic of the land beast.

The word "deceiveth" is first used in Revelation in Rev 12:9, when the devil deceives, and Rev 13:14, when the land beast deceives. Elsewhere, it occurs when the prostitute deceives in Rev 18:23, when the false prophet deceives in 19:20, and when the devil deceives in Rev 20: 3, 8, 10.

One might also note that while the woman is standing, the actual word "standing" or "stood" is used only three times in the Great Controversy Vision. In 12:4, *estēken*, the dragon stands before the woman, the enemy stands in this world. In 13:1, *estathē*, the dragon stands on the sand of the sea, so the enemy again stands in this world or the righteous stand in this world. In 15:2, *estātas*, the righteous stand on the sea of glass, in the next world.

There is another aspect of the Great Controversy Chiasms which has impressed us. These chiasms are made up of things heard and things seen, of vision and voice, of a variety of scenes, of the literal and the symbolic, and

John seems to be writing it all down in the order in which he sees it. If he were to rearrange what he has been shown, in order to fit a chiasmic pattern, he would have to falsify the vision by moving, for instance, a detail from one scene into another scene. Certainly he has some choice over which words to use as he writes, but he is told to write what he sees and hears. Our conclusion, thus, is that the shape of the Great Controversy Chiasms may be less the result of conscious artistic decisions on John's part than it is the shape in which he received the revelation. If this shape is the work of some later editor who cut and pasted the original text, then that person either recognized and worked within the chiasmic structure or developed it, because the structure is there and it appears to be intact: there seem to be no extraneous passages in this division of the revelation. The chiasmic structure serves as organization, helping the alert reader understand. It serves also as authentication, suggesting that the text as we have it is the text as given.

TERMINOLOGICAL PATTERNS AND GENESIS 38

WILFRIED WARNING

Schulzentrum Seminar Marienhöhe
Darmstadt, Germany

In recent studies a detailed analysis of the narrative outline of the Judah and Tamar episode has been presented.¹ These analyses interpret Gen 38 as a literary whole possessing a distinct structural unity and design, a narrative in which the “analysis of structure or ‘form’ has brought to light the ‘content’”;² and concerning the position of Gen 38 in the extant text and its linguistic and thematic interrelation with the Joseph story it has been concluded:

¹E. M. Menn proposes that “since the motifs of birth and naming appear earlier in the narrative as well (Gen 38:3-5), Genesis 38 may be viewed as a double tale of procreation, in which initial biological and social discontinuity is twice overcome, first in Gen 38:1-5 and next in Gen 38:6-30” (*Judah and Tamar* [Genesis 38] in *Ancient Jewish Exegesis: Studies in Literary Form and Hermeneutics*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 51 [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997], 15). The second part of the narrative, vv. 6-30, is subdivided by her as follows: vv. 6-11; 12-19; 20-23; 24-26; 27-30 (19-28). A. J. Lambe, considering Gen 38 “one of the best examples of . . . the Bible’s ‘smaller literary wholes,’” presents a different and somewhat chiasmic outline consisting of “five phases of development” (“Genesis 38: Structure and Literary Design,” in *The World of Genesis: Persons, Places, Perspectives*, JSOTsup 257, ed. P. R. Davies and D. A. J. Clines [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998], 102-120). The proposed five phases of this overarching structure are: (1) equilibrium (vv. 1-6), (2) descent (vv. 7-11), (3) disequilibrium (v. 12a), (4) ascent (vv. 12b-26), and (5) equilibrium (vv. 27-30) (103). Furthermore, he maintains that each of the five sections has been chiasmically structured (109-119). It should be noticed, however, that the postulated chiasms are mainly based on conceptual and only partly on terminological considerations.

²Lambe, 102. Cf. J. A. Emerton, “Some Problems in Genesis 38,” *VT* 25 (1975): 338-361; idem, “An Examination of a Recent Structuralist Interpretation of Genesis 38,” *VT* 26 (1976), 79-98; idem, “Judah and Tamar,” *VT* 29 (1979), 403-415; C. Westermann, *Genesis*, BK.AT 1/3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 42; Chr. Levin, *Der Jahwist*, FRLANT 157 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 271; G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 16-50*, WBC 2 (Dallas: Word, 1994), 363-365. E. Blum considers Gen 38 to be “eine überlieferungsgeschichtlich einheitliche Erzählung, die zudem als ursprünglich selbständige Einzelerzählung vom Kontext der Josephgeschichte abzuheben ist” (*Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*, WMANT 57 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984], 224). Th. Krüger raises anew objections to the literary coherence of this story, claiming that “Gen 38 seine vorliegende Gestalt im Zusammenhang der nachexilischen Diskussion über die Möglichkeit eines Konnubiums mit Nicht-Judäern bzw. Nicht-Juden erhalten hat” (“Genesis 38—Ein ‘Lehrstück’ alttestamentlicher Ethik,” in *Konsequente Traditionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Klaus Baltzer zum 65. Geburtstag*, OBO 126, ed., R. Bartelmus, Th. Krüger, and H. Utzschneider [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993], 205-226).

Judah's pivotal role in Gen 37-50 brings into question the appropriateness of the common designation of these chapters as the "Joseph Story." Although Joseph receives primary attention, Genesis 37-50 actually features two of Jacob's sons, Judah and Joseph, by describing the events of their lives after they part company with their brothers and by portraying their rise to positions of leadership, within the family and over Egypt, respectively. . . . Perhaps Genesis 38, with its focus on Judah, appears intrusive at least in part because Gen 37-50 is generally viewed as Joseph's story. If one broadens one's understanding of the subject of these chapters to include events important for Israel's history, then Genesis 38 doesn't appear intrusive, but rather of paramount importance.³

While E. M. Menn's results are in clear contrast to many studies scrutinizing the provenience and present position of Gen 38,⁴ I not only agree with her conclusions, but I would even hypothesize: in the context of the *Endgestalt*, i.e., the final shape of the text of Genesis, that this narrative has been purposefully placed in its present position by the ancient author, the term "author" being used and understood as referring to the person(s) responsible for the present text, the person(s) who composed the literary unit we call, e.g., "Gen 38" or "Genesis," literary entities which did not exist prior to their being composed in their present compositional context, whatever the prehistory of the respective *Vorlagen* might have been.

In a recent study carefully and consistently following R. Rendtorff's hermeneutic principle that "the understanding of the biblical text in its present

³Menn, 79, and n. 134; cf. U. Cassuto, "The Story of Tamar and Judah," *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1973), 29-40; Wenham, 365.

⁴E.g., Westermann, 42, maintains that Gen 38 is "eine in sich abgeschlossene Einzelerzählung; . . . Die Erzählung von Judah und Tamar ist nicht, wie bisher gesagt wurde, in die *Josephgeschichte* eingefügt worden, sie hat mit ihr nichts zu tun, sondern in die *Jakobgeschichte* bzw. den Schluß der Jakobgeschichte (Gn 37 Vorlage und 46-50)" (his emphasis). R. Rendtorff interprets Gen 38 as a Judahite continuation of the Jacob story which has been inserted together with Gen 49 (*Das Alte Testament. Eine Einführung* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983] 145). Blum, 224, considers Gen 38 as "ursprünglich selbständige Einzelüberlieferung [die] vom Kontext der Josephgeschichte abzuheben ist." Because of its theology, Krüger, 205-226, prefers an exilic-postexilic date for Gen 38; H.-Ch. Schmitt maintains: "Somit spricht alles dafür, daß es sich bei dem Verfasser von Gen 38 um einen schriftgelehrten Kenner der theologischen Tradition seiner Zeit handelt. Da er dabei sowohl auf das Deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk als auch auf das Heiligkeitgesetz Bezug nimmt, kann durchaus damit gerechnet werden, daß es sich auch bei ihm um den in Gen 48-50 beobachteten nachpriesterlichen spätdeuteronomistischen Redaktor handelt, der Pentateuch und Deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk miteinander verbinden will" ("Die Josephgeschichte und das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk Genesis 38 und 48-50," in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature. Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicalarum Lovaniensium 133, ed. J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne [Leuven: University Press, 1997], 403). Cf. J. A. Soggin, *Das Buch Genesis. Kommentar* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), 445-454.

form is the preeminent task of exegesis,⁵ almost the total vocabulary of Leviticus has been scrutinized.⁶ This analysis shows that the present text present itself as a carefully composed literary entity. In the course of that study it has been shown that by tabulating the total vocabulary of a given passage, the distinct distribution, the relative frequency, and the structural positioning of significant terms and/or phrases come to light, and it is these structural elements which have been termed "terminological patterns." Furthermore, it has become evident that these terminological patterns create short-range linkages in a self-contained textual unit, but at the same time long-range terminological patterns have been discovered. Because of the symbolic significance ascribed by the ancients to the number "seven" (representing completion and completeness), it has been maintained that "in a variable-length list often the *seventh* slot and, in case of a longer list, at times the *twelfth* position are emphasized by means of some special term/phrase."⁷

At this point, two examples taken from the aforementioned study should suffice. First, in Lev 11, which in Pentateuchal studies is often viewed as consisting of several distinct redactional layers, the hiphil participle of the verb עלה "go up"⁸ and the noun ארץ "land"⁹ appear both for the *seventh* time in the unique statement: כִּי יִּי אֲנִי הִמְעִלָה אֶתְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם "for I am the Lord who brought you up from the land of Egypt" (v. 45). Second, in a macrostructure, i.e., structural outline encompassing major parts of the book of Leviticus, an eleven-part terminological pattern based on the phrase ארץ מצרים "the land of Egypt,"¹⁰ comes to light. Within this terminological pattern a carefully construed chiasmic structure crops up, an outline with a singular seventh position (25:38), where a cluster of theological tenets can be detected which is unique in the Hebrew Bible. In my view it is noteworthy that in both examples the terminological patterns clearly cross the boundaries of "P" and "H" material, thereby calling into question the validity of these boundaries.

In the present bipartite study we shall begin by searching for short-range terminological patterns within the narrow confines of Gen 38, and it is only in a second step that long-range terminological linkages will be looked for, structures seemingly interlinking major parts of the present book of Genesis.

⁵R. Rendtorff, *Leviticus*, BK.AT 3, 1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985), 4.

⁶W. Warning, *Literary Artistry in Leviticus*, Biblical Interpretation Series 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

⁷*Ibid.*, 32.

⁸Vv. 3, 4², 5, 6, 26, 45; cf. Warning, 52-53.

⁹Vv. 2, 21, 29, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46; cf. Warning, 53-54.

¹⁰Lev 11:45; 18:3; 19:34, 36; 22:33; 23:43; 25:38, 42, 55; 26:13, 45; cf. Warning, 139-142.

*Terminological Patterns Within Genesis 38**The Verb נתן*

The eight occurrences of the common verb נתן “give” (2011 / 150)¹¹ in Gen 38 have probably been employed as a structural device in outlining the content of the narrative. Whereas the first and last occurrences of the verb have not been thematically integrated in the following structure, the other six members have been chiasmatically arranged, and in my opinion the close verbal and conceptual connection of the corresponding parts can hardly be contradicted. In v. 14 it is stated that “she had not been given to him as a wife,” and correspondingly Judah admits in v. 26 that “I have not given her to my son Shela”; v. 16 makes mention of Tamar’s question, “What will you give me, if you come into me” and v. 18b reports, “and he gave [them to] her and came into her”; v. 17 refers to her terms, “if you will give me a pledge until you send it” and v. 18a makes mention of Judah’s answer, “What pledge shall I give you?”

9		זרע לאחיו	נתן	לבלתי
14	A	<u>לו לאשה</u>	<u>לא נתנה</u>	כי ראתה כי גדל שלה והוא
16	B	<u>לי כי תבוא אלי</u>	<u>מה תתן</u>	ותאמר
17	C	ערבון עד שלחך	אם תתן	ותמאר
18a	C		לך	ויאמר מה העררון אשר אתן
18b	B	ותהר לו	<u>ויתן</u>	<u>לה ויבוא אליה</u>
26	A	<u>לשלה בני</u>	<u>לא נתתיה</u>	כי על כן
28		יד	ויתן	ויהי בלדתה

The distinct terminological patterns presented in this table support the thematic coherence of the narrative, emphasizing the “not-giving” of Tamar as a wife for Shela and the bargaining about what to give/receive

¹¹The numbers given in parentheses are to be understood in the following way: according to A. Even-Shoshan, ed., the verb occurs 2,011 times in the Hebrew Bible and 150 times in Genesis (*A New Concordance of the Old Testament* [Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1990]).

as a pledge prior to having sexual intercourse.

The Verb בוא

By means of intricately interrelating the six occurrences of the verb בוא (אל) “come (into)” (2,565/150) in each case denoting “to have intercourse with,” with two of the five occurrences of the verb הררה “conceive, be pregnant” (54/22),¹² an impressive inclusion has been created. The *inclusio*, being based both on terminological and thematic correspondence, is construed by the verbatim statement ויבא אליה ותהר “and he came into her and she became pregnant” (vv. 3, 18). In a similar vein as in the preceding structure the thematic interrelation of statements made in vv. 8 and 9 and in v. 16a and b cannot be contradicted. “Go into your brother’s wife” (v. 8) is matched by v. 9, “so whenever he went into his brother’s wife,” and Judah’s request, “please let me come into you” (v. 16a), is countered by Tamar in v. 16b, “What will you give me to come into me?”

2-3	<u>אליה ותהר</u> ותלד בן	<u>ויבא</u>	ויקחה
8	אל אשת אחיך	בא	ויאמר יהודה לאונן
9	אל אשת אחיו	בא	והיה אם
16a	אליך	אבוא	ויאמר הבה נא
16b	אלי	תבוא	מה תתן לי כי ותאמר
18	<u>אליה ותהר</u> לו	<u>ויבא</u>	ויתן לה

By way of deliberately distributing the two “procreative verbs”¹³ בוא אל and הררה, the ancient author construes two portentous sexual encounters in Judah’s life into a fine inclusion, thus encompassing a major part of Gen 38. Whereas the first one turns out to be a failure, at least in the long run because of Er’s untimely death, Judah’s intercourse with Tamar resolves a problem which his forefathers, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham, had to face before, childlessness. Furthermore, Judah’s and Tamar’s intimate encounter not only results in the birth of twins, but Tamar thus secures for Judah the honor of becoming the progenitor of King David. The significance of the twins’ birth is further underscored by the following terminological pattern, which is based on the noun “name.”

¹²This verb also occurs in 38:4, 24, 25.

¹³Menn, 17.

The Noun שם

It is a well-known fact that in ancient genealogies the seventh slot has at times been reserved for a highly honored person (cf. Gen 5:21-24/ Jude 14; Ruth 4:18-22).¹⁴ In view of this fact it may be more than accidental that the seventh time the noun שם “name” (864/103) appears, the name of Perez, the ancestor of the Davidic dynasty, is given. In my opinion, Menn correctly maintains that the significance of the detailed description of the “double event of birth and naming in comparison with the formulaic description of the three single births in the first birth narrative attests to the relative significance of the twins.”¹⁵

1	חירה	ושמו	ויט עד איש עדלמי
2	שוע	ושמו	וירא שם יהודה בת איש כנעני
3	ער	שמו	ויקרא את
4	אונן	שמו	ותקרא את
5	שלה	שמו	ותקרא את
6	תמר	שמה	
29	<u>פרץ</u>	<u>שמו</u>	<u>ויקרא</u>
30	זרח	שמו	ויקרא

If it is true that this story is aiming at the climactic birth of twins, with Perez as the more important of the two sons,¹⁶ the author has obviously attained his objective by placing Perez’s name in the seventh position.

Each of the three preceding terminological patterns, being based on the two verbs נתן and בוא and the noun שם, supports the notion of literary unity. The first terminological pattern extends from vv. 2 to 18, the second from v. 9 as far as v. 28; and the last one, reaching from vv. 1 to 30, encloses the whole narrative from its very beginning to the end. While Gen 38 thus turns out to be a fine example of Hebrew narrative art, it is certainly even more amazing to detect the author’s adroit artfulness in interlinking Gen 38 with what precedes and follows.

¹⁴J. M. Sasson, “Generation, Seventh,” *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible Supplement* (1976), 355.

¹⁵Menn, 28.

¹⁶Cf. Menn, 82.

Terminological Patterns Beyond Genesis 38

In the aforementioned study on terminological patterns in Leviticus, no less than twenty-one macrostructures have been pointed out, each structural outline encompassing a major part of the present book of Leviticus. In a very similar way the ancient author of Genesis has seemingly created long-range terminological patterns interlinking Gen 38 with the preceding patriarchal stories and even the *Urgeschichte*.

There can be no doubt that in the Judah-Tamar narrative the development of the plot depends very much on Tamar's artfulness in beguiling her father-in-law. In order not to be recognized and thus to have her scheme wrecked, she has to put aside, i.e., to take off (סור) her widow's clothes (v. 14); and in order to hide behind anonymity, she had better cover (כסרה) her face with a veil (v. 14). After having recovered from mourning his wife's death, Judah goes up to his men who are shearing sheep. On his way he notices a veiled woman, and considering her to be a prostitute, Judah turns (נטרה) to her and in plain terms inquires about her price for venal love (v. 16). Following this portentous intercourse—in the word's double meaning—with her father-in-law, Tamar returns home and again puts on her widow's clothes (בגד) (v. 19).

According to many commentators, Gen 38 should be seen as an originally independent narrative standing clearly outside of the Joseph story.¹⁷ Whatever the oral and/or written prehistory of this episode might have been, each of the terms pointed out, which are indispensable to the plot of the story, appears in this very narrative for the *seventh* time in Genesis. Did the author of the extant text possibly attempt to convey the "completeness" and "perfection" of this encounter, a sexual encounter during which the ancestor of David was conceived, by means of using each of the above-mentioned terms in the extant text of Genesis for the *seventh* time? In order to bring home the distinct differences between a diachronic interpretation as, for example, presented by Chr. Levin in his redaction-critical study on the "Jahwist," and the exclusively synchronic approach taken in the present study, the following has been done: in the right margin of each of the following tables Levin's results have been inserted, and in each case *his* sigla have been used,¹⁸ whereas

¹⁷E.g., Rendtorff, *Einführung*, 145; Blum, 224; Soggin, 452-453; cf. C. Paap, *Die Josephsgeschichte Genesis 37-50: Bestimmungen ihrer literarischen Gattung in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, European University Studies. Series XXIII: Theology, vol. 534 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995).

¹⁸Levin, 51: J^Q = pre-Jahwistic sources ("vorjahwistische Quellen"); J^R = Jahwist redaction ("jahwistische Redaktion"); J^S = post-Jahwistic additions ("nachjahwistische Ergänzungen"); P = Priestly Source ("Priesterschrift"); R = final redaction ("Endredaktion"); R^S = "post-final-redaction" additions ("nachendredaktionelle Ergänzungen"). If we cast a glance at the respective commentaries, Levin's assigning texts to different redactional layers turns out to be one of many

the sigla have not been added to the terminological patterns presented above, since Levin considers Gen 38 *in toto* to be the result of what he calls “post-Jahwistic additions.”

The Verb סור

The distribution of the verb סור “turn aside; take off” (300/11) in Genesis is seemingly of significance because of the seventh position. Tamar’s taking off her widow’s clothes and covering herself with a veil in order not to be recognized in the encounter with her father-in-law constitutes the first indispensable move in order to achieve her objective, i.e., to be impregnated by Judah:

8:13	נח את מכסה התבה	ויסר	J ^R
19:2	נא אל בית עבדכם	סורו	J ^Q
3	אליו ויבאו אל ביתו	ויסרו	J ^Q
30:32	משם כל שה נקד וטלוא	הסר	J ^R
35	התישים העקדים ביום ההוא את	ויסר	J ^R
35:2	את אלהי הנכר אשר בתככם	הסרו	J ^S
38:14	<u>בגדי אלמנותה מעליה</u> <u>ותכס בצעיף ותתעלף</u>	<u>ותסר</u>	J ^S
19	בגדי אלמנותה צעיפה מעלה ותלבש	ותסר ותלך	J ^S
41:42	פרעה את טבעתו מעל ידו	ויסר	J ^S
48:17	אתה מעל ראש אפרים	להסיר	J ^S
49:10	שבט מיהודה	לא יסור	R ^S

possibilities proposed by commentators. Therefore, we should be cognizant of two sobering statements, the first one made by R. N. Whybray concerning the present state of Pentateuchal studies: “There is at the present moment no consensus whatever about when, why, how, and through whom the Pentateuch reached its present form, and opinions about the date of composition of its various parts differ by more than five hundred years” (*Introduction to the Pentateuch* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 12-13). Second, concerning a final redactor, Blenkinsopp remarks: “The contribution, even the existence, of a final redactor is one of the fuzziest issues in the study of the formation of the Pentateuch. One thing does seem clear, however, though not always acknowledged: the final redaction was not the work of P” (J. Blenkinsopp, “P and J in Genesis 1:1-11:26: An Alternative Hypothesis,” in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. A. B. Beck, A. H. Bartelt, P. R. Raabe and C. A. Franke [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 6).

Having taken off her widow's clothes, she has to take the second step in disguising herself by covering her face with a veil and it is the distribution of the verb כסה "cover" in Genesis which will be discussed next.

The Verb כסה

The seventh occurrence of the verb כסה "cover" (156/8) in Genesis is likewise found in Gen 38:14a. Because it seems rather unlikely that the seventh occurrences of the two verbs, סור and כסה, would appear accidentally in a single sentence, "She took off [ותסר] her widow's clothes, and covered [ותכס] herself with a veil to disguise herself" (v. 14a), we should reckon with some author's deliberate structural design:

7:19	והמים גברו מאד מאד על הארץ	ויכסו	כל ההרים הגבהים	P
20	חמש עשרה אמה מלמעלה גברו המים	ויכסו	ההרים	P
9:23		ויכסו	את ערות אביהם	J ^R
18:17	ויי אמר המכסה	אני מאברהם		R ^S
24:65	ותקח הצעיף	ותתכס		J ^S
37:26		וכסינו	את דמו	J ^R
38:14	<u>ותסר</u> בגדי <u>אלמנותה מעליה</u>	<u>ותכס</u>	<u>בצעף ותתעלף</u>	J ^S
15	ויראה יהודה ויחשבה לאונה כי	כסתה	פניה	J ^S

Having completed her part by carefully disguising herself, she has now to wait for Judah to become actively involved and perform his part. As soon as the widower looks upon the putative prostitute, his sexual desire seems to be aroused, because he (instantaneously) turns to her, and it is the verb נטה "turn" which will be considered next.

The Verb נטה

The overall distribution of the verb נטה "turn aside; bend down low; spread out, pitch [a tent]" (185/9) in Genesis gains in momentum because of its seventh position in Gen 38:16. Having turned toward the "prostitute," Judah immediately comes down to business: "He turned [ויט] to her by the roadside and said, 'Please let me come into you', for he did not know that she was his daughter-in-law" (38:16):

12:8	אהלה	ויט		J ^Q
24:14	נא כדך ואשתה	הטי		J ^R
26:25	שם אהלו	ויט		J ^S
33:19	שם אהלו	נטה	... אשר	R ^S
35:21	אהלה	ויט	ויסע ישראל	J ^R
38:1	איש עדלמי ושמו חירה עד	ויט		J ^S
16	<u>הבה נא אבוא אליך</u> <u>אליה אל הדרך ויאמר</u>	<u>ויט</u>		J ^S
39:21	אליו חסד	ויט	ויהי יי את יוסף	J ^R
49:15	שכמו לסבל	ויט		R ^S

The five preceding structures based on the verbs נתן, בוא, סור, כסה, and נטה have possibly been used by the ancient author to depict both the piquantness and pointedness of this portentous encounter. Following the sexual intercourse with her father-in-law, Tamar returns to her father's house and puts on her widow's clothes again, and it is the noun בגד "clothes; garment" we shall look at next.

The Noun בגד

The seventh occurrence of the noun בגד "garment" (215/14) in Genesis is closely related to the two preceding structures. Whereas the seventh occurrences of the verbs סור and כסה describe Tamar's *taking off* her widow's clothes and *covering* herself with a veil, the noun בגד is used for the seventh time in depicting the reversal: "And she rose, went away and she took off her veil and put on her widow's clothes [בגדי אלמנותיה] again" (38:19):

24:53	ויתן לרבקה	ובגדים	... ויוצא העבד	J ^R
27:15	עשו	בגדי	ותקח רבקה את	J ^Q
27	ויברכהו	בגדיו	וירח את ריח	J ^Q
28:20	ללבש	ובגד	ונתן לי לחם לאכל	J ^S
37:29		בגדיו	ויקרע את	R ^S

38:14	אלמנותה מעליה ותכס בצעיף ותתעלף	בגדי	J ^S ותסר
19	<u>אלמנותה</u>	<u>בגדי</u>	J ^S ותסר <u>צעיפה</u> <u>מעליה ותלבש</u>
39:12a		בבגדו	J ^Q ותתפשהו
12b	בידה	בגדו	J ^Q ויעזב
13	בידה	בגדו	R ^S כראותה כי עזב ויהי
15	אצלי	בגדו	R ^S ויעזב
16	אצלה	בגדו	J ^Q ותנח
18	אצלי	בגדו	R ^S ויעזב
41:42	<u>שש וישם רבד</u> <u>הזהב על צארו</u>	<u>בגדי</u>	J ^S וילבש <u>אתו</u>

There can be no doubt that the ancient author aptly includes the taking off (v. 14) of her widow's clothes and the re-dressing (v. 19) in significant terminological patterns.

Furthermore, as can be gathered from the preceding table both in Gen 38 and the Joseph story, the "garment motif"¹⁹ seemingly plays a

¹⁹V. H. Matthews, "The Anthropology of Clothing in the Joseph Narrative," *JOT* 65 (1995), 28. Cf. Warning, 86-88, who calls attention to the striking בגד-structure in Lev 16. Whereas the majority of scholars view this chapter as composite, a close reading of the extant text reveals an impressive seven-part chiasmic structure, by means of which Lev 16 shows itself as a creatively composed literary whole:

4	A	<u>קדש</u> הם	בגדי	
23	B		הבד	בגדי
24	C		<u>בגדיו</u>	ובפש את
26	C		<u>בגדיו</u>	ולבש את
28	C		<u>בגדיו</u>	והמשלח את השעיר לעזאזל יכבס
32b α	B		הבד	והשרף אתם יכבס
32b β	A	<u>הקדש</u>	בגדי	ולבש את

significant role. Six occurrences of the nominal form בגדו (בו) ("his garment") in Gen 39 are capped by the *seventh* שש בגדיו "linen garment" in 41:42: "Then Pharaoh . . . dressed him in robes of fine linen and put a gold chain around his neck." In view of Joseph's reply to Potiphar's wife, "How could I do such a wicked thing and sin against God?" (39:9b), this subtle and surprising structure seemingly corroborates the significant statement, "the Lord was with Joseph" (39:2, 21). Are we to understand this structure as a subtle authorial hint pregnant with theological meaning? Because of his being faithful to the Lord and leaving בגדיו "his clothes" in the hands of the mendacious seductress, Joseph is finally "rewarded" by being dressed in "fine robes of linen" and is made "second-in-command" in Egypt. If we take the fourteen texts of the above structure at face value, we cannot help but admit that by means of the noun בגד the author of the extant text of Genesis has created a perfect terminological pattern by means of which a major section of the present-day book of Genesis has been structured.²⁰

Conclusion

The search for terminological patterns has seemingly proven profitable. Both within the narrow confines of Gen 38 and the framework of the book of Genesis, the structuring function of terminological patterns has been brought to light. Hence there can be hardly any doubt that by having scrutinized the structure, i.e., the "form," the "content" has been elucidated. If it is true to fact that in "literature the form is meaningful . . . ; in literature the form creates meaning . . . ; in literature the meaning exists in and through form,"²¹ then the terminological patterns presented above should be evaluated as exquisite examples. In view of the fact that in scrutinizing the structure of a given biblical text "our option consists of the alternative between more or less substantiated hypotheses, not between a hypothesis and no hypothesis,"²² we ought to be mindful that "the reliability of theories is conditioned by their degree

²⁰Further terminological and thematic links between Gen 38 and its immediate context have been pointed out, for example, by Cassuto, 30-31; Blum, 245; Wenham, 363-365; Menn, 75-78.

²¹A. Alonso-Schökel, "Hermeneutical Problems of Literary Study of the Bible," *VTSup Congress Volume 28. Edinburgh 1974* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 7.

²²R. Knierim, *Text and Concept in Leviticus 1:1-9: A Case in Exegetical Method*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1992), 2.

of explanatory power."²³ Since it is of course self-evident that in matters like these "all one can aspire to is to elevate a possibility into a serious probability or, in other words, to propose a better hypothesis,"²⁴ the reader is called upon to weigh the evidence and then to decide for herself or himself, whether in Pentateuchal studies a systematic synchronic approach should at last be taken more seriously.

In my opinion the message conveyed through the distinct terminological patterns enables us to better understand the eminent role that Judah holds among his brothers in the last chapters of Genesis and that his (royal) descendants have held throughout the history of Israel. And in case the foregoing observations are true to the authorial intentions, we may conclude that by means of dexterous structural designs the biblical writer subtly promulgates profound theological tenets.

²³A. G. van Aarde, "Historical Criticism and Holism: Heading Toward a New Paradigm?" in *Paradigms and Progress in Theology*, ed. J. Mouton et al. (NP: HSRC Studies in Research Methodology, 1988), 54.

²⁴Blenkinsopp, 1.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

GUSTAVO GUTIERREZ'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN THE LIGHT OF THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

Researcher: Víctor Figueroa-Villarreal
Advisor: Atilio R. Dupertuis, Th.D.
Date Completed: November 1999

The proclamation of the Kingdom of God has been reformulated in every age and interpreted accordingly with regard to time and place. Traditionally within Roman Catholicism the Kingdom of God was identified with the church. This view produced a triumphalist attitude within the Roman Catholic Church. The Second Vatican Council brought a new attitude of openness toward the modern world, and with it the council opened the door for Roman Catholic liberation theologians to look for new ways to find what they regarded as the just solutions to the problems of Latin America.

The purpose of this research is to examine Gustavo Gutiérrez's understanding of the Kingdom of God in the light of Vatican II's teachings. To attain this goal, the study undertakes three tasks: First, it describes his understanding of the Kingdom. Second, it analyzes it. Third, it evaluates his understanding against the background of the Roman Catholic position as set forth in the documents of the Second Vatican Council.

After a general overview of the historical and theological development of thought about God's Kingdom within Roman Catholicism, the dissertation focuses on the post-Vatican II developments in Latin American Roman Catholicism. It also investigates Gustavo Gutiérrez as theologian—his life, methodology, and hermeneutics.

Then this study describes and analyzes Gutiérrez's view of the Kingdom of God, and the particular trends that may have influenced him, regarding both content and methodology. Attention is given to the way his view of God's Kingdom functions in his theology. It also includes the concept of the Kingdom of God as portrayed in the documents of the Second Vatican Council.

Finally, the dissertation evaluates Gutiérrez's understanding of the Kingdom in the light of Vatican II's teachings, and presents the final conclusions.

THE DELIMITATION OF PERICOPE
A CASE STUDY IN MATTHEW

Researcher: Mark B. Regazzi
Adviser: Robert M. Johnston, Ph.D.
Date Completed: April 2000

Problem

In Gospel studies the term "pericope" has been generally defined as a "unit," but there is no uniformity in the application of the term in either studies of the Gospels, or in harmonies, synopses, and Gospel parallels ("comparators"). The present study was undertaken to determine what factors influence editors of comparators in determining the beginnings and endings of pericopes.

Methods

A list was compiled of the major comparators of the twentieth century. The text references (e.g., Matt 1:1-17; 1:18-25, etc.) for the pericopes which contained passages from Matthew were entered by each comparator into a computer. The references were collated, sorted in canonical order, and a cross-tabulation was generated to indicate which pericopes were found in each comparator. Each pericope was then analyzed to determine the reasons for its beginning and ending. The reasons were taken from narrative indicators within the text of Matthew, from evidence taken from the structure of the comparators containing each pericope, and from evidence that might be found in data external to the composition of the comparator (possible audience, ecclesiastical orientation, et al.).

Results

The beginnings and endings of pericopes most often occurred because of changes in narrative elements or other indicators within the text. A number of the Matthean pericopes in the comparators were determined by the editor's understanding of the relationship of the Gospel material (Synoptic Problem, parallels, etc.). Relatively few beginnings and end-points were determined by influences exterior to the harmony, synopsis, or Gospel parallel. A structured list of the types of beginnings and endings to pericopes was then developed.

Conclusions

There is no uniformity in the determination of pericopes in Gospel comparators. A pericope is what the author or editor determines it to be. This lack of standardization also applies to commentaries and studies on the Gospels.

BOOK REVIEWS

Audi, Robert and Nicholas Wolterstorff. *Religion in the Public Square: The Place of Religious Convictions in Political Debate (Point/Counterpoint)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996. 190 pp. Paperback, \$11.95.

Robert Audi and Nicholas Wolterstorff demonstrate the complex realities surrounding religious and political arguments concerning the need for a consistent ethical rationale for determining the proper presence of religious principles in political debate. Their arguments highlight the contemporary dialogue between political liberalism and theologically based responses. Both authors defend the legitimacy of liberal democracy, but differ on the epistemological basis for interpretation and implementation of church-state relations within government law and policies.

Robert Audi makes extensive use of notes for qualifying numerous points. He draws on works by others and also by himself, including his new book *Religious Commitment and Secular Reason* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Nicholas Wolterstorff uses only eighteen notes, compared to Audi's seventy-eight, and identifies his epistemological study entitled *John Locke and the Ethics of Belief* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) as a basis for significant aspects of his argument.

Audi's essay argues that the separationist principle of neutrality is applicable both to government and to individual religious citizens. The obligation for morally upright citizens to be politically responsible is fulfilled within a liberal democratic society by following what he calls a "theo-ethical equilibrium," composed of an overlap between certain moral and civic virtues. This equilibrium acts as an independent guide to moral rights and religious obligations of a religious person while he or she participates in political processes involving coercive laws and policies. When endorsing a coercive action, religious citizens and institutions must have at least one adequately justifiable freestanding secular rationale. In other words, no coercive action may be endorsed on religious authority alone if there is lacking a corresponding secular rationale and motivation. Essentially, Audi transforms the Constitution's first-amendment restraint on Congress into an ethic of self-restraint for religious individuals and institutions.

Nicholas Wolterstorff responds that Audi assumes the separation principle to be inherent in, and the restriction principle implied in, the concept of liberal democracy. Further interaction by the authors on this aspect would have greatly enhanced the book. If the two principles were not inherent to liberal democracy, would liberal democracy still be liberal? Wolterstorff believes so: liberal democracy imposes no such ethical constraints.

Wolterstorff's first essay penetratingly analyzes the epistemological basis of the liberal rationale for the "religious-reason restraint" in political debate as articulated in the two most influential versions of the liberal position, namely,

the traditional (John Locke) and the contemporary (John Rawls). Wolterstorff concludes that no one, including Locke himself, ever successfully developed a science of morality and Locke's countercritique of his own position effectively undermined the basis of his rationale.

Wolterstorff then assesses Rawls's position that political decisions and discussions are based on what the *consensus populi* yields as the guiding principles. Wolterstorff effectively counters that a consensus of everyone is out of the question, because unreasonable persons make it impossible for all to agree on what is reasonable.

Wolterstorff rightly insists that the liberal requirement to restrain the role of religion in political considerations is an inequitable infringement on the free exercise of religion and ignores the cruel brutalities of modern comprehensive secular ideologies. He argues for politics in which individuals listen to others and their particularities. This means discarding the liberal principles of religious restraint except in the manner, laws and provisions, and goal of political justice in public discussion and debate—matters applicable to *all* citizens. Wolterstorff calls his perspective the *consocial* position, which agrees with the liberal position but rejects the "religious reason restraint" principle and interprets the neutrality principle of the Constitution as requiring government to *impartially* treat religion.

Audi's essay and response reveal his excellent ability to differentiate and qualify Wolterstorff's positions as much as his own. His position is well developed and sensitive both to the need for religious involvement in political discussion and to the potential for coercion. Audi makes it clear that his position is much less restrictive on the role of religious reasons in political matters than those versions Wolterstorff addresses—a point the latter concedes while adjusting the line of his argument to include Audi's version. Wolterstorff aims at resolving the theoretical paradoxes of the liberal position in order to harmonize the theory of liberal democracy with the reality that all liberal democracies are *more or less* liberal democracies. As a result, he seems indifferent to the potential of religious coercion through political means.

Wolterstorff's focus on paradoxes limits his articulation of the practical ramifications of his consocial position. His interpretation of neutrality as impartiality has merit for resolving the inequitable economic burden that religious parents assume in providing religious education for their children. However, he fails to explain the paradoxes that impartiality raises in other church-state issues. For instance, how does impartiality operate equitably in the public school system for religious parents who want religious education for their children in the public schools? Furthermore, in exchange for the unrestricted involvement of religious reasons in public debate and economic equality for religious schools, representatives and educators must assume the burden of competence in religious matters, a burden the founding fathers considered the officers of the state as incompetent to bear. To be fair, Wolterstorff attempts a daunting task by addressing the paradoxes of liberalism *and* by redefining liberal democracy as consocial in light of the fact that liberalism in the United States has had several centuries of studied refinement.

Bailey, Mark, and Tom Constable. *The New Testament Explorer: Discovering the Essence, Background and Meaning of Every Book in the New Testament*, Swindoll Leadership Library. Waco: Word, 1999. v + 576 pp. Hardcover, \$29.99.

Mark Bailey and Tom Constable are long-time faculty members at Dallas Theological Seminary in Texas. In the present volume Bailey wrote the material on the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, while Constable wrote on the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline Epistles, general Epistles, and the book of Revelation. The authors provide essential information on each biblical book regarding authorship, date, geography, and the general argument and theme of the book. At the end of the volume there is a useful bibliography on each NT book.

This introduction to the NT is different from others in many ways. Instead of serving as a summary of scholarly theory and critical literature, it surveys the entire early Christian literature in a comprehensive way. The aim is to make this corpus accessible for beginning students, to aid and encourage them to read the NT.

The book generally communicates a strong sense of each author's integrity and faith. In some ways it deviates from the usual format followed by works of this kind, but the authors have largely succeeded in making a text that is not "over the heads" of relatively biblically illiterate first-year undergraduates, but which nevertheless does not depreciate the content.

Scant attention is paid to less conservative theories regarding authorship, date, or composition of individual books. Bailey and Constable consistently provide the most conservative and traditional information, yet seldom present reasons for rejecting other views.

Some anomalies appear. Matthew is said to stress Jesus as "Savior of Israel and the World" (6), even though that title is singular to Luke, while no reference to Matthew's unique emphasis on Jesus as "Son of David" or "Royal Messiah" appears. It is curious to read that Mark emphasizes the resurrection (98) when in fact it does not describe that event in detail.

Constable briefly presents and answers objections to the authenticity, authorship, and date of 2 Thessalonians and 1 Peter. A similar approach with books that are more often questioned is needed (e.g., Ephesians, the pastoral epistles, and 2 Peter).

Particularly interesting is the way Constable develops and explains the book of Revelation. He presents a perceptive explanation of this book's relation to OT prophecy, especially the book of Daniel.

Since this introduction makes the NT more accessible to general readers, it will be of benefit to pastors and laypersons. Because of its orientation, it will be appreciated most by conservative evangelicals.

Silver Spring, Maryland

OTIS COUTSOUMPOS

Baldwin, John Templeton, ed. *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary: Why a Global Flood Is Vital to the Doctrine of Atonement*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000. 219 pp. Hardcover, \$14.99.

Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary could best be compared to an intellectual appetizer, encouraging hunger for more, not bloating the reader with waffle and

superfluous detail, but cutting directly to flavorful core issues and arguments. At a diet-sized 219 pages this fat-free book takes on a weighty argument, logically connecting the substitutionary death of Christ with the global flood of Noah and a one-week creation of life on earth as recorded in Gen 1. The editor, John T. Baldwin, professor of theology at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary (SDATS), is not the first to have recognized a theological interdependence between these three events, but he may present in this book the most compelling arguments yet put forward for the connection. One of the most unexpected commentators on this subject, the novelist and historian H. G. Wells (*The Outline of History—Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind*, 4th rev. ed. [London: Cassell, 1925], 2:616), noted:

If all the animals and man had been evolved in this ascendant manner, then there had been no first parents, no Eden, and no Fall. And if there had been no fall, then the entire historical fabric of Christianity, the story of the first sin and the reason for an atonement, upon which the current teaching based Christian emotion and morality, collapsed like a house of cards.

At its core the logic of *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary* is simple: if evolution over long periods of time requires death as part of the creative process, then evolution is inconsistent with the doctrine of atonement. If death was necessary to create man, then the sin of man could not be the cause of death and, consequently, the death of Christ could not act as a substitute for the wage of sin by taking on death in mankind's place. Thus, if the substitutionary death of Christ is true, life on earth must have been created in a short period of time and the fossil record as found in geological strata must be accounted for by processes other than evolution over long periods of time. Baldwin argues that this alternate process for producing the geological column is the global flood of Noah documented in Scripture.

But are the data, the biblical record, and nature logically consistent with a Creation, Flood, or atonement? The collection of essays in *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary* combine to directly address this surprisingly complex question. Each chapter peels off a subquestion that must be addressed if the big question is to be answered. The eight authors represent a multidisciplinary team, each addressing an area of his expertise. This writing team first gratifies by successfully saying in few words, understandable to an educated lay audience, what represents a lifetime of work. Several then go on to courageously trespass outside of their disciplines. In one of two chapters he authored, Baldwin reveals a startling understanding of geology. Scientist and informed lay people gain a new degree of respect for theologians when, as Baldwin shows, there is at least one who has taken up the challenge of understanding a discipline that makes claims directly contrary to his theology. Baldwin clearly grasps the limitations of arguments he is making, and this is one of his greatest strengths. For example, after listing some regional evidence of catastrophic events which could be evidence for a global Flood, he is honest and rigorous enough to caution, "Such examples do not prove the biblical flood, but illustrate a new direction in conventional geological theory pointing toward regional catastrophe" (117). Honest evaluation of evidence characterizes this publication, setting it apart from any number of equally well intentioned, but

less rigorous, works that touch on related themes. While some may refer to evidence, this book shows and explains the data.

The nine chapters of *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary* deal with separate questions, all of which convincingly argue necessary conclusions if the doctrine of atonement is to be consistent with the biblical or scientific evidence. Gerhard Hasel, former dean of the SDATS, penned as his final words the second chapter, a vigorous defense of the literal 24-hour days of creation. Randy Younker, associate professor of Old Testament and biblical archaeology at the SDATS and director of the Institute of Archaeology, reconciles apparent inconsistencies between Gen 1 and 2 in a masterful explanation of the Hebrew text that was fully understandable to this native English speaker. Combining the Hebrew text with masterful logic, Richard Davidson, J. N. Andrews Professor of Old Testament Interpretation and chair of the Old Testament Department at the SDATS, demonstrates that the Bible clearly intends to convey the idea of a global flood while excluding the possibility of a local catastrophe. Up to this point the book has established what the Bible has to say. Ariel Roth, retired director of the Geoscience Research Institute, picks up the stream of logic and, using the Grand Canyon as his example, explains how geological data can be shown to be consistent with fast acting violent processes such as a flood and lack characteristics expected to result from slow processes over long periods of time.

Having established what the biblical and geological data are saying, the logic of *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary* turns on the sixth chapter which, like the first, is authored by John Baldwin. In the first chapter Baldwin argues that from Genesis to Revelation the Bible consistently invokes the Creation week. In chapter 6 he draws together his argument for unity between the OT and NT, along with Younker's argument for unity between Gen 1 and 2, the literal meaning of "days" demonstrated by Hasel, and the global nature of the flood argued by Davidson and Roth, to convincingly show why each, if true, is consistent with the doctrine of atonement while alternatives to the conclusions drawn in the previous five chapters are logically inconsistent with this doctrine. Subsequent chapters bolster this argument by showing either problems with alternative ideas or its consistency with other commonly-held doctrines. Norman Gulley, professor of systematic theology at Southern Adventist University, summarizes the intellectual bankruptcy of current evolutionary theory. Problems resulting from the adoption of theistic evolution when trying to reconcile evolutionary theory and the biblical account of origins are addressed by Ed Zinke, a former pastor and research scholar at the Biblical Research Institute. Martin Hanna, a Ph.D. candidate at the SDATS, closes the book arguing that nature and Scripture complement one another as they both comment on the same being, Jesus Christ the Creator. He thus argues against the temptation to create a dichotomy between science and theology.

There is one major flaw in *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary*: it is directed at a vastly smaller audience than it should be. It has been published for a Seventh-day Adventist audience and not the vastly wider evangelical Christian audience that desperately needs books of this depth and quality. This defies the very kind of elegant logic the book is so rich with. About three sentences, aside from the chapters authored by Zinke and Hanna, would require minor modification to expand this book's appeal

to a much broader readership. Even the Zinke and Hanna chapters could easily be modified without in any way compromising the elegance of the book's writing or logic. Clearly there are still publishers out there unaware of the wide interest in science, evolution, and Scripture. In an age when Phillip Johnson's new book *The Wedge of Truth: Splitting the Foundations of Naturalism* can gain instant best-seller status, a broad market is clearly in place for books that deal with the origin of life. *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary* should be a player in the big leagues and not arbitrarily confined to the Seventh-day Adventist sideline.

Another frustration stems from one of the books strengths: its brevity. Because it is short, there are few opportunities to get bogged down in boring waffle; but while each essay makes a complete point, there are times when all of the arguments for a specific position are not addressed. For example, Randall Younker does an excellent job of demonstrating the coherence of Gen 1 and 2 without paying even passing reference to the argument of William Shea that the two chapters combine to form a chiasmic structure indicating the hand of a single author producing a coherent written product (W. H. Shea, "The Unity of the Creation Account," *Origins* 5, no. 1:9-38). *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary* exposes the reader to an array of fascinating evidence and elegant logic that effectively shows the interrelationship between the Creation, Flood, and atonement; but once readers are hooked, many will want to dig deeper into parts that pique their interest. Maybe this is not a shortcoming, but the book's greatest strength.

Andrews University

TIM STANDISH

Beale, G. K. *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. The New International Greek Testament Commentary, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. lxiv + 1245 pp. Hardcover, \$75.00.

The new Revelation volume in the NIGTC series by G. K. Beale is, along with Aune's three-volume commentary in the Word series, a monument to scholarly detail. Taken together, these two massive commentaries provide an unprecedented collection of detailed resources for the study of Revelation. Not only is each commentary impressive in its own right; each tends to be strong in areas where the other is relatively weak.

Both volumes have impressive introductions. But while Aune's commentary is relatively weak in its handling of allusions to the OT in the book of Revelation (see my detailed analysis in "The Book of Revelation and the Old Testament," *Biblical Research* 43 [1998], 61-69), Beale's introduction offers, in my opinion, the best short discussion of the subject available (76-99). The same could be said of Beale's outstanding discussion on the use of symbolism in the Apocalypse (50-69). These two parts of the introduction are worth the price of the entire book. A third exceptional section of the introduction is Beale's convincing analysis of the role of Rev 1:19 in the structuring of Revelation (152-170). The exhaustive bibliographies of previous research in Aune's work, on the other hand, along with his detailed analyses of the manuscript tradition and of the grammar and vocabulary of the Apocalypse, are of such a quality as to require little repetition

by Beale (see my earlier review of Aune in *AUSS*, 37 (1999): 286-288).

In comparison to earlier commentaries on Revelation, Beale has sought to provide a more holistic approach to the text than the atomistic treatment of a Charles or an Aune. He has tried to detect not just the meaning of the parts, but also the flow of thought from paragraph to paragraph. He has combined this approach with extensive attention to the author's use of the OT in light of the intervening Jewish exegetical tradition. He is, therefore, less concerned with issues of introduction, such as authorship, genre, and source criticism, than he is with the original meaning and intention of the text as we have it.

Beale dates the book of Revelation late in the reign of Domitian. He takes issue, however, with Leonard Thompson's widely accepted thesis that there is little evidence for Domitianic persecution of Christians. While many scholars will be unpersuaded, Beale offers the most cogent challenge to Thompson's thesis that I have seen. With regard to genre, Beale advocates a "mixed" approach, recognizing elements of letter, apocalypse, and prophecy in Revelation. His interpretive perspective is also eclectic, favoring a "modified idealism" but allowing for preterism, futurism, and other approaches as indicated to him by the text.

In contrast to the studied objectivity of Aune's commentary, Beale offers a reading that is overtly from faith. Beale believes in the God of the Apocalypse, and he believes in predictive prophecy. Many passages in the commentary throb with faith-building insights. Those who have tired of the more secular works of an earlier generation will find Beale's spiritual readings refreshing.

While I consider Beale's introduction to be the strongest part of the commentary, the verse-by-verse comments also contain a wealth of detailed insights. His comments are strongly based on the Greek text, but not rigidly so. Among the interesting conclusions he draws are the following: The sealed scroll of Rev 5 is a covenant scroll of inheritance (he seems unaware of Stefanovic's comprehensive study of the sealed scroll); the rider on the white horse represents a satanic force that oppresses believers; the 144,000 are a figurative number based on OT census lists and are to be understood as the totality of the redeemed (his discussion is outstanding, 416-423); the two witnesses of Rev 11 represent the persecuted church; 666 was never to be taken literally but represents the imperfection and incompleteness of the beast and his followers; and the kings of the east in 16:12 represent a subcategory of evil powers.

One of the great strengths of Beale's commentary is found in excurses that offer a comprehensive elaboration on the use of the OT in various passages of Revelation. There are seven excellent examples of this in one fifty-page stretch (400-450). These include a discussion of the theological significance of the OT allusions in Rev 6:15-17 (402-404), the relation of the Abrahamic promise to Rev 7:9 (429-430), the background and nature of the great-tribulation concept (Rev 7:14, 433-435), the OT background of clothing washed white (Rev 7:14, 436-439), the idea of believers as priests (Rev 7:15, 439-440), the OT background of the temple concept (Rev 7:16-17, 440-441), and the OT background of "silence" (Rev 8:1, 446-448).

In any work of this size there will be areas open to criticism. I will limit myself to one in this brief essay. While Beale's faith perspective offers certain strengths, it involves more than just the acceptance of the Bible as the Word of God. He seems to

strongly identify with specific doctrinal convictions that don't always arise naturally out of the text of Revelation. While the verse-by-verse commentary is generally objective and text-based, there are times when Beale seems to force the text in the direction he needs it to go. I first gained this impression through the use of Aune and Beale in graduate exegesis classes. Most of my students are conservative Christians in faith-orientation. I expected, therefore, that they would appreciate Beale's spiritual approach to the text more than Aune's detailed objectivity. To my surprise, when they had applied their exegetical training to a specific text first, then consulted Aune and Beale, they almost always felt that Aune had come closer to exposing the intention of the text. Beale seemed to them more inclined to manage the result in favor of a particular belief structure.

An example of this can be found in Beale's discussion of Rev 3:5. This text says that the one who continually overcomes (present participle) will not have his name removed from the book of life. The most natural reading of this text implies that those who do not persist in overcoming can lose their position before God. Beale spends five pages (278-282) seeking to show that a doctrine of "once saved always saved" is not endangered by this text. Aune, by way of contrast, has no such difficulty with 3:5 (vol. 1, 223).

Since neither my students nor I am free from subjectivity, the above observation is not meant to detract from the massive contribution of the whole volume; it is expressed only as a caution to the reader. What I would love to see is a commentary on Revelation that would maintain Aune's standards of detailed objectivity while carrying the spiritual and theological punch of Beale. Until someone creates such a work, these two commentaries will complement each other well.

Andrews University

JON PAULIEN

Blouin, Francis X., Jr., ed. *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. xl + 588 pp. Cloth, \$150.00.

The documents produced by the Roman Catholic Church are of great significance for researching the development of Christianity. For a long time scholars have desired easy access to all materials of the Vatican Secret Archives (Archivio Segreto Vaticano [ASV]). Since the reign of Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922), these archives have been partially opened, but they have not been available in an organized way. Several reference guides have been developed that list holdings of medieval and Renaissance records in the ASV, yet none of these embraces in "a single work the totality of historical documentation that might properly be considered Vatican archives" (xv).

Blouin and his research team of archivists and historians of the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan accepted the challenge of organizing the ASV records so that they can be easily accessible. At the request of Josef Metzler, O.M.I., prefect of the ASV, Blouin's team has used modern computer database technology to present information on surviving documentation generated by the Papacy in a standardized format.

The project has produced an impressive reference guide that contains a

complete printout of the resultant database. This database also identifies documents related to the Papacy in the Archives of the State of Rome, the various Vatican congregational archives, and Vatican documents found in Dublin and Paris. While the guide provides a comprehensive overview of extant historical documentation generated by the Papacy since the ninth century, the major part of the archives extend from the sixteenth century to the present.

The introduction to the guide is extremely useful because it leads the reader into an archival mind-set. It provides a historical and analytical framework for the entries and provides insight into the nature and activity of a given office or agency.

The guide is organized around the bureaucratic organizational structure of the Papacy that was established under Pope Sixtus V in 1588. It identifies more than 450 agencies of this church-state government that functioned between the years 800 and 1960. The documents have been divided into the following categories: The College of Cardinals, Papal Court, Roman Curia, Apostolic Nunciatures, Internunciatures and Delegations, Papal States, Permanent Commissions, and Miscellaneous collections.

Entries are of two types. The first type describes the history of the agency; provides background on the office, agency, institution, family, or person; and lists additional scholarly references. The second type describes the series of records that the agency has generated. Each record of the series descriptions includes the database ID and what is accessible in the RILIN database of the Research Libraries Group (USA), inclusive dates of documents in the series, the amount of shelf space taken up by the series, the way the series is organized, the scope of contents, references to several previous guides to the ASV and other collections of papal documentation, a listing of all official indices and inventories, notes on a variety of information, and the physical location of the records.

The guide has some limitations for researchers. One is caused by the Vatican policy not to allow documents less than seventy-five years old to be researched. All records produced after January 22, 1922, are inaccessible. This means that the agencies created by the curial reforms of the Second Vatican Council, the reforms of Paul VI and John Paul II, and the governmental structure of the Vatican created in 1929 at the time of the Lateran Treaty have not been included in the guide. While the guide was authorized by the prefect of the ASV, it represents a complete overview of the holdings of the ASV as seen by the project staff during the academic year 1989-1990, and one should be aware that it has not been considered an official inventory of the Vatican archives.

The researcher should also keep in mind that location of the materials before 1922 may be problematic when there are no finding aids listed. Not all the examined materials in the repositories have been fully processed. While the holdings of the various repositories continue to evolve, no provision has been made for the maintenance of the project database. One can only hope that the Vatican, which has not contributed financially to this large project, will feel some responsibility to the world of scholarship in keeping the database current.

Anyone wishing to research these valuable materials should be aware that access to the archives is a privilege granted upon a written application to the prefect of the archives.

Although the database is comprehensive and will do much to promote a

deeper understanding of the history and government of the Papacy, scholars should keep its limitations in mind when they arrive at historical judgments. Throughout history many Vatican documents have been lost. For example, due to prohibitive transportation costs, only 2,200 of 3,200 chests of documents removed to Paris by Napoleon were returned. Some documents may have been sold for scrap paper. Others, especially those pertaining to the Inquisition, were "deliberately destroyed by the papal commissioners dispatched to oversee the transfer and eager to see the legacy of the Inquisition extinguished" (xxi). Some materials remained in the Archives Nationales in Paris. So any historical judgments based on the remaining documents will be tentative.

The guide concludes with three appendices, a 44-page double-columned bibliography, an indispensable index of agency names, an index of series titles, and a chronological index. It will be a valuable addition to any person or institution having an interest in the history of the Christian church.

Andrews University

P. GERARD DAMSTEEGT

Briggs, Robert A. *Jewish Temple Imagery in the Book of Revelation*. Studies in Biblical Literature, vol. 10, ed. Hemchand Gossai. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. xvi + 275 pp. Hardcover, \$52.95.

Jewish Temple Imagery in the Book of Revelation, by Robert A. Briggs, is a revision of his 1996 dissertation at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, under the direction of Gerald Borchert. Briggs's purpose is to demonstrate not only that the primary Jewish temple motifs come together and fit in Revelation, but also how they do so, what they signify, and the fact that they are consummated there. He calls his book a "backgrounds" study, in which he examines the sources of the temple imagery in Revelation. He has chosen, however, to limit his work to the OT and nonbiblical Jewish sources, such as the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, and Josephus. He evaluates the relative significance of these sources for the author of Revelation, concluding that the primary source is the OT.

Briggs begins with a brief examination of the fundamental meaning of the word "temple" in the Ancient Near East. He concludes that a "temple" is a palace of the god(s), the *axis mundi*, and ultimately a microcosm of the universe itself. Briggs then turns to the issue of the date when Revelation was written, arguing that documents written after that time cannot serve as "sources" of Revelation. He argues for the minority position that Revelation was written in the late sixties rather than in the time of Domitian. Such a position causes him to exclude from consideration as "sources" works such as 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra.

Briggs then addresses the problem of how to evaluate potential parallels or allusions to earlier literature, adopting the approach of Charles Hedrick. He, therefore, takes as a working assumption that John was familiar with and grounded in the OT as Scripture. So all clear temple parallels between Revelation and the OT are accepted as genuine. If a particular temple parallel is also found in a nonbiblical Jewish source, that parallel is "trumped" by the OT reference, which is considered the primary source of the concept. Briggs's procedure, then, is to carefully survey the OT background of the temple motif first. This information is then compared with

temple passages in the nonbiblical Jewish documents. Wherever parallels between Revelation and the nonbiblical sources are not found in the OT, the nonbiblical parallels are considered more likely to be genuine.

A further issue for this study is the ambiguity of many of the crucial passages in Revelation itself. It can be difficult to determine whether a particular motif in Revelation is a temple motif or is grounded instead in throne-room, law-court, or synagogue imagery. Much scholarly debate has been devoted to this issue, particularly with regard to the throne scenes of Rev 4 and 5. In comparing Revelation with the OT, Briggs does not consider broad, structural parallels; rather he takes a more piecemeal approach, comparing specific motifs. First, he examines allusions to the temple in Jerusalem (11:1-2), then the concept of a visionary temple (1:12-16). He then examines references to the temple furnishings: lampstand, pillar, altar of incense, and ark of the covenant, and concludes with references to a heavenly temple and the eschatological temple.

After comparing his survey of the OT background to the temple motif with the nonbiblical Jewish sources, Briggs concludes that there are very few unique temple concepts that could have affected John independently of the OT. Possible examples of such unique concepts include 1 Enoch 90:28-29 (with its concept of temple pillars that may be reflected in Rev 3:12), a few concepts in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah (angelic thrones in heaven, the shining being of 6:11-15), the holy city as temple in the Temple Scroll, and the living temple notion in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Not even these few parallels are certain to be genuine. It appears to Briggs, therefore, that John worked fairly exclusively with OT material in his use of the temple motif. Wherever Ancient Near Eastern temple concepts appear in Revelation, they seem to have been mediated to him primarily through the OT. Developments in temple ideology since the writing of the OT documents also seem to have had little influence on the composition of the book of Revelation.

Briggs notes an interesting anomaly. While the OT background to the temple motif seems to function as the primary source for Revelation, John modifies the motif in some surprising ways. There is no question, for example, that his picture of the New Jerusalem is heavily grounded in Ezekiel's picture of an eschatological temple. Yet there is no eschatological temple in the book of Revelation! How can the conflicting data be reconciled? Briggs believes that the concept of "temple" was a divine expedient from the beginning. A temple was a means of physical divine presence among a fallen people. But when God acted mightily in the earthly life and heavenly ministry of Jesus, the temple concept was first spiritualized in the context of the church and then completed in the eternal state of affairs. Thus Briggs concludes that the temple themes of the OT are not only the ultimate source of those in Revelation; they are also clarified within the book.

The book raises a number of issues in my mind. Given the preponderance of opinion that Revelation was written in the time of Domitian, it seems unfortunate that Briggs did not consider the possibility that works like 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra might be helpful windows into the process of thought reflected in Revelation. Perhaps they are no more pertinent to the temple motif in Revelation than Philo or Josephus proved to be, but Briggs's book does not deal with them. While later works cannot be "sources" for Revelation in the strictest sense, they can bear

witness to the influence of a tradition that may have affected earlier works as well (consider the role of Nag Hammadi studies within NT scholarship).

It is also disappointing that Briggs has limited himself to the temple concept in Revelation, since the Revelation may draw more on accounts of the Mosaic tent-sanctuary than the Solomonic temple. A larger examination of the effect of the entire Hebrew cultus on the language of Revelation could have expanded the purview of Briggs's work in a helpful way.

There is no evidence in the book that Briggs took into account the cultic nature of the visionary introductions in Revelation. The visions of the seven letters, seals, trumpets, and bowls are all prefaced by introductory scenes containing cultic elements. The unnumbered section of Rev 12-14 is also prefaced by the ark-of-the-covenant passage in 11:19. So there seems to be a cultic or temple pattern in Revelation that goes without comment in Briggs's book, but which would seem to be extremely significant to his investigation.

While there are a number of questions that can and should be raised about Briggs's approach, assumptions, and conclusions, this book is valuable in that it is the most thorough attempt thus far to address the sources of the temple motif in Revelation. Briggs's conclusion that the primary source of the temple motif is found in the OT coheres with work by Beale, among others, on the general use of the OT and other ancient backgrounds in Revelation. While John was unquestionably a child of his times, he was above all a student of the Jewish Scriptures. Briggs offers us a unique, though limited, window into the impact of John's prior reading on his authorship of the book of Revelation.

Andrews University

JON PAULIEN

Freedman, David Noel, and John R. Huddlestun, eds. *Divine Commitment and Human Obligation: Selected Writings of David Noel Freedman*, 2 vols. Vol. 1: *Ancient Israelite History and Religion*, Vol. 2: *Poetry and Orthography*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997. Vol. 1, xxix + 545 pp. Vol. 2, xx + 269 pp. Hardcover, \$45.00, \$30.00.

Scholarship in biblical studies during the last half of the past century has witnessed tremendous changes and reversals in the approach to the text and its application to the modern world. In the postmodern era the hermeneutics of the Hebrew Bible has witnessed a transformation to narrative, ideological, and social-scientific criticisms, feminist interpretation, poststructuralism, and even deconstructionism. Although the basic presuppositions of the historical-critical method remain at the core of current proposals, the trend to divorce the text from any history is gaining a strong position in current theological writing and training across North America, where core training in biblical and Ancient Near Eastern languages, archaeology, and cultural backgrounds is becoming a rare phenomenon. The historic work of David Noel Freedman stands in stark contrast to these current trends. A student of W. F. Albright and for decades professor of Hebrew Bible at the University of Michigan, Freedman is currently Chair in Biblical Hebrew Studies at the University of California, San Diego. His impact in biblical studies comes from a variety of perspectives. As a biblical scholar, he has written scores of articles and reviews and contributed to numerous reference works. He is

probably most well-known for his editing of the Anchor Bible Commentary series, the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992), and the one-volume *Eerdman's Dictionary of the Bible* (2000). From the perspective of archaeology, he edited *BA* for nearly a decade (1975-1982) and served as president of ASOR and SBL. He has already had several *Festschriften* presented to him by students and friends. The present two volumes, edited by one of his students, provide a selection of sixty-two of his articles, ranging in original publication from 1949 to 1993.

The first volume contains essays under the rubric "Ancient Israelite History and Religion," but as a brief overview will attest, it contains articles of considerably more wide-ranging content. Certainly the religion of ancient Israel is evident in articles such as "History and Eschatology: The Nature of Biblical Religion and Prophetic Faith" (72-81), "Kaufmann's *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (review)" (94-95), "Temple without Hands" (330-340), "'Who Is Like Thee Among the Gods?': The Religion of Early Israel" (383-402), and "Yahweh of Samaria and His Asherah" (403-408). In the latter article Freedman suggests that the ungrammatical expression "YHWH and his Asherah" may be explained by YHWH's defeat of Baal on Mt. Carmel, where, with the removal of Baal, Asherah became the consort of YHWH. This view of Asherah's prominence throughout the land of Israel has been influential in other circles (see W. G. Dever, "Asherah, Consort of Yahweh? New Evidence from Kuntilet 'Ajrūd," *BASOR* 255 [1984] 21-37; Saul M. Olyan, *Asherah and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel* [SBLMS 34; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988]).

Ancient Israelite history is the focus of "The Law and the Prophets" (139-151), "The Biblical Idea of History" (218-32), and "The Age of David and Solomon" (286-313). Freedman's diverse interests and far-reaching mastery of literature also enable him to deal with numerous important aspects of OT research, including individual books and sections ("Notes on Genesis" [3-7], "The Book of Ezekiel" [8-30], "The Chronicler's Purpose" [88-93], "Pentateuch" [99-133], "The Law and the Prophets" [139-151]); themes ("Divine Commitment and Human Obligation: The Covenant Theme" [168-178], "Religious Freedom and the Old Testament" [211-217]); prophets ("Discourse on Prophetic Discourse" [350-366], "Headings in the Books of the Old Testament Prophets" [367-382]); canon ("Canon of the Old Testament" [267-278], "The Earliest Bible" [341-349], "The Formation of the Canon" [470-484]); law ("The Nine Commandments: The Secret Progress of Biblical Israel's Sins" [457-469]); methodology ("The Continuing Revolution of Biblical Research" [133-138], "On Method in Biblical Studies: The Old Testament" [152-160]); textual criticism ("The Problems of Textual Criticism in the Book of Hosea" [314-329]); compositional history ("The Deuteronomic History" [279-285]); Ancient Near Eastern texts ("The Babylonian Chronicle" [31-42], "The Prayer of Nabonidus" [50-52], "The Old Testament at Qumran" [233-240]); archaeology ("Archaeology and the Future of Biblical Studies" [185-199]); biblical unity ("The Unity of the Bible" [43-49], "The Symmetry of the Hebrew Bible" [496-520]); modern biography ("W. F. Albright as Historian" [447-456]); ecumenism ("Modern Scripture Research and Ecumenism" [161-167], "Toward a Common Bible" [200-210]); ministry ("The Hebrew Old Testament and Ministry Today" [179-184]); and specific studies ("The 'House of Absalom' in the Habakkuk Scroll" [1-2], "The Name of the God of Moses" [82-87], "Mistress Forever': A Note on

Isaiah 47:7" [249-250], "'Son of Man, Can these Bones Live?': The Exile" [251-266], "Dinah and Shechem, Tamar and Amnon" [485-495]).

The second volume focuses on "Poetry and Orthography"—areas of research that Freedman has impacted in a major way. The selection of articles in this volume avoids duplication of other articles reprinted in two previous volumes—namely, *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980) and, with A. Dean Forbes and Francis I. Anderson, *Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992); yet it focuses on the same areas. There are articles that deal with poetry ("Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry" [5-12], "Psalm 29: A Structural Analysis" [70-87], "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33" [88-107], "Prose Particles in the Poetry of the Primary History" [171-182], "Acrostic Poems in the Hebrew Bible: Alphabetic and Otherwise" [183-204], "Deliberate Deviation from an Established Pattern of Repetition in Hebrew Poetry as a Rhetorical Device" [205-212], "Another Look at Hebrew Poetry" [213-226], "The Structure of Isaiah 40:1-11" [232-257], "Patterns in Psalms 25 and 34," [258-269]); orthography ("The Massoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls: A Study in Orthography" [13-28], "The Orthography of the Arad Ostraca" [39-43], "Orthographic Peculiarities in the Book of Job" [44-60], "Some Observations on Early Hebrew" [61-69], "The Spelling of the Name 'David' in the Hebrew Bible" [108-122], "Orthography [of the Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll]" [123-170]); and other studies related to Semitic languages ("The Pronominal Suffixes of the Third Person Singular in Phoenician" [1-4], "A Second Mesha Inscription" [29-30], "The Use of Aleph as a Vowel Letter in the Genesis Apocryphon" [31-38], "On the Death of Abner" [227-231]).

The major strength of these two volumes is that they have made available to the individual in a convenient format a collection of works from various sources during the better part of three decades. Many are accompanied by references to their prior reappearances. The only minor weakness is the lack of subject, author, and text indices that would have provided an added benefit to researchers. The fine editorial work is a tribute to John R. Huddleston, who has fittingly honored Freedman and provided a benefit for all who relish the technical aspects of biblical and Ancient Near Eastern studies.

Southern Adventist University
Collegedale, Tennessee

MICHAEL G. HASEL

Geisler, Norman. *Chosen but Free: A Balanced View of Divine Election*. Minneapolis, MN: Bethany, 1999. 256 pp. Hardcover, \$16.99.

My Presbyterian brother-in-law assures me that few of his denominational colleagues still subscribe to a belief in predestination. My friends at Westminster are still hard-core TULIP-fanciers, however; and a growing number of evangelical pastors, teachers, and seminaries are embracing the more extreme varieties of Calvinism's most distinctive doctrines: [T]otal depravity, [U]nconditional election, [L]imited atonement, [I]rresistible grace, and [P]erseverance of the saints.

Norman Geisler's new book, *Chosen But Free*, aims to halt these shifts away from the traditional evangelical/fundamentalist "once saved, always saved" position. It is also meant to combat the influence of R. C. Sproul's recent books

supporting Calvinism. Geisler hardly needs an introduction. He has written over forty books, primarily in apologetics; he is president of Southern Evangelical Seminary; and he has served as president of the Evangelical Theological Society.

Although I myself prefer an Arminian approach and disagree with many of Geisler's statements and readings of texts, I strongly recommend this book. Anyone who is a strict Calvinist should read it. Anyone who isn't should read it. Anyone who has students who ask about the meaning of election should read it, so that he or she knows the options and the texts used to support them. Geisler is a scholar writing to an intelligent audience, but nearly all of the book is quite accessible to an educated layman or student (a useful approach for all of us who wish to be understood).

The body of this book is only 133 pages, but it is followed by twelve substantial appendices in ninety pages, which many readers will turn to at once. There Geisler argues that extreme, TULIP-loving Calvinism developed after Calvin and that Calvin himself was not a Calvinist but rather more moderate, almost like a Baptist. Geisler explains free will, argues for unlimited atonement, condemns double-predestination, insists that regeneration and faith occur simultaneously, disagrees with Jonathan Edwards' argument against free will, and condemns Calvinistic voluntarism (the idea that things such as double-predestination are right merely because God wills them). These appendices make for rousing reading and provoke extensive marginal notes.

Geisler begins the book with a sound chapter establishing the biblical teaching on the sovereignty of God. He follows with a chapter explaining the entrance of sin into God's creation and evaluating the extent to which God can be held responsible for it. His conclusion is that the existence of sin is strong evidence for the working of free will as part of God's sovereign intent.

At present, Geisler sees four approaches to election and free will: extreme and moderate Calvinism and extreme and moderate Arminianism. He sees moderate Calvinists and Arminians as cousins, who don't look related but end up at the same homecoming. By "extreme Arminianism" Geisler has in mind the "Openness of God" faction, such as Clark Pinnock and Richard Rice, whom he sees as having jettisoned God's sovereignty almost entirely. Chapter 6 is devoted to combating these ideas. However, although I too disagree with this group, I do not find his arguments very convincing. For example, Geisler uses verses establishing God's moral immutability to argue that God is *impassible* and never changes his mind. (This idea was borrowed from Plato and grafted into Christian doctrine.) The chapter is worth reading, but much more thoroughly and satisfactorily covered in Geisler's book *Creating God in the Image of Man?: The New "Open" View of God—Neotheism's Dangerous Drift* (Minneapolis: Bethany, 1997). This latter book includes a useful chart that shows the many distinctions between the "Openness of God" school and Process Theology.

Geisler devotes two chapters to biblical support for and against extreme Calvinism, and for most readers this will be the most useful part of the book. By "extreme Calvinism" he means those who believe in total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and perseverance of the saints. He examines the major texts used to support these doctrines one by one, and marshals other biblical texts to show that in their extreme form they are mistaken (even though he will later argue that he accepts all of them in a modified and more correctly

understood form). I found Geisler's readings of these texts devastatingly persuasive, but I admit my bias. When students ask questions about these texts, I'll be glad to have this book handy.

After reading chapters on the extreme forms of Calvinism and Arminianism, I was eager to read the chapter called "A Plea for Moderation." I expected a sound biblical synthesis of the texts and a new appreciation for God's sovereignty and our election within a world where free will is operative. Instead, Geisler presents the Baptist case for "eternal security" (i.e., "once saved, always saved") and tries to explain away the numerous texts supporting the conditionality of salvation. After reading Geisler's careful refutation of extreme Calvinism, I was shocked by his arguments for his own position. Every one of them was weak and easily refuted. It is amazing that such a pervasive doctrinal edifice should be built on such a shallow biblical foundation.

One section of the chapter is called "True Believers Lose Rewards, Not Salvation" (124). Thus, when Paul writes in 1 Cor 9:27, "I beat my body and make it my slave so that after I have preached to others, I myself will not be disqualified for the prize," that prize is not, Geisler says, eternal life, but how much treasure or prestige he will get in heaven (125). So Paul is doing all this in the name of greed for future gain and glory! In a similar book for a general audience, *Eternal Security: Can You Be Sure?* (Nashville: Nelson, 1990), Charles Stanley actually claims that when Jesus speaks of people being cast into outer darkness, where they weep and gnash their teeth (Matt 25:30), "It is simply a figure of speech describing their low rank or status in God's kingdom" (127). This, I think, is not sound exegesis.

Geisler uses what we might call an "Eternal Security Syllogism." Major premise: no one who has truly believed can be lost. Minor premise: person X has left the church, turned away from God, and lives in open sin, after twenty years of apparently Spirit-filled service, during which he claimed to be born again. Therefore, person X never believed. This is nonfalsifiable circular reasoning. Where's the "eternal security"? If people think they have been born again, claim they have been born again, act as if they have been born again, and then fall away and never return, so that it turns out that in fact they never were born again but only thought so, what assurance can there be for others who think and act the same? Evangelical assurance of salvation, "once saved, always saved," may be true and yet still give no assurance of present salvation. By Geisler's definition, in fact, we don't know if a person is really born again until the person perseveres to the end and goes to heaven.

I was astonished when I found that Geisler comes to the same conclusion as mine: moderate Calvinists and Arminians may argue, but they end up in the same place.

Of course, there are some significant differences between moderate Calvinists and moderate Arminians, but they do not negate the similarities. One of those differences was discussed above, namely, whether "once saved, always saved" is accurate. But even here, in actual practice, the similarities are greater than many think. The vast majority of proponents of both views hold that if a professing Christian turns away from Christ and lives in continual sin, this is evidence that he is not saved. The difference is that the moderate Calvinists claim that he was never saved to begin with, and the moderate Arminians believe that he was. And both believe that the unrepentant who continue in sin are not true believers (130).

Many of my Bible students are moderate Calvinists. When they heard this authoritative quotation and realized the implications, they were dismayed. This is not the jingoistic assurance their pastors taught them.

Geisler offers some explanations that are useful for reconciling foreknowledge with free will. First, a great example. Imagine an M.Div. student who feels he'd better get married, because he'll soon be a pastor. There are actually two girls he's been seeing off and on. Both are lovely, talented, and would make good wives for a pastor. He loves them both. He's heard through the grapevine that one girl likes him, but she doesn't want to marry him. He's heard through the same grapevine that the other girl has been seen kissing his photo and drawing hearts around his initials. To which girl will he propose? Geisler says that's how it is with God. He *loves* everyone, but he *knows* who will say yes and *elects* to save them, and only them.

Second, if God *knows* who will say yes and *elects* to save them, and only them, then why did Christ die for everyone? Why is the Holy Spirit still active in those who will be lost? Why should we work to bring the lost to Christ, since Christ knows those who are his and will save them regardless? In essence, Geisler's answer is that God is bound to continual action by his own foreknowledge. He has to do what he foresees himself doing so that those he foresees accepting salvation will in fact accept it. He knows that even though the Holy Spirit works on Bill until the moment of Bill's death, Bill will continue to refuse salvation. However, God only knows what must and will be, so it is imperative that this actually come to pass. God doesn't say, "I know that if I worked on Bill all his life he would still say no, so I'm not going to waste my time." In the judgment Bill might say that wasn't fair. Instead, God knows that he actually will work on Bill and Bill actually will refuse his grace. But he goes ahead and works on Bill anyway.

It really is wonderful that grace should be poured out on those who will always refuse it. It's as if a mother knows her son is a criminal at heart, who will desert her and die in prison, yet in spite of this and because of this she continues to lavish her love on him, because the time is so short and he's her son. Then too, because of that grace there are times when even the most wicked can be led to do God's will, as when an evil customs official, to his own bewilderment, lets a truckload of Bibles past his borders. For me, these insights alone were worth the cost of the book.

Kutztown University
Kutztown, Pennsylvania

ED CHRISTIAN

Greenspahn, Frederick E. *An Introduction to Aramaic*. SBL Resources for Biblical Study, no. 38. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999. xi + 230 pp. Paperback, \$54.95.

Formerly, a teacher of Biblical Aramaic had a choice of only two standard textbooks in English (Franz Rosenthal's *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* and Alger F. Johns's *A Short Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*). Thanks to Greenspahn's *An Introduction to Aramaic*, that number has now grown to three. Rather than intending to supplant the first two, the author's desire is to prepare students to use the existing textbooks "easily and profitably" (xi).

The main thrust of this book is not academic but pedagogic, since it was not intended to be a reference grammar but "a kind of workbook, organized around

the Aramaic passages from the Bible" (x). The book consists of thirty-two chapters, each of which deals briefly with an aspect of the introductory, grammatical, and syntactical nature of Aramaic, and each chapter also includes a text in Aramaic for reading, translation, and analysis. The first twenty-seven chapters focus on the Aramaic words and texts found in the Bible in both OT and NT. The remaining chapters introduce a whole range of extrabiblical texts, beginning with Old Aramaic and ending with texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Midrashim, and the Targumim. The chapter entitled "Afterword" introduces a number of tools that are available for further studies in Aramaic, and presents several paradigms listing nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, and verbs. There is an Aramaic-English glossary at the end of the book.

Aramaic is introduced in this textbook "as if it were a dialect of Hebrew" (ix). This is because Greenspahn is convinced that the student of Biblical Aramaic is most often motivated by an interest in the Bible and can better appreciate Biblical Hebrew because "we can see things better with two eyes" (2). Several chapters explain the grammatical features of Biblical Aramaic by dealing first with the corresponding phenomena in Biblical Hebrew and then proceeding to the Aramaic material. Thus, unlike Rosenthal's grammar, this textbook presupposes a student's knowledge of Biblical Hebrew. Most students will find this approach helpful, especially in the sections that deal with the vocabulary of each lesson where the author consistently lists the corresponding Hebrew words alongside the Aramaic words and their English translations.

Exercises in this textbook are many and helpful. This is a new feature for a textbook on Biblical Aramaic. Some exercises deal with morphology and syntax, while others focus on translation from Aramaic to English and vice-versa. In the case of the extrabiblical texts the vowel pointing from Biblical Aramaic is suggested. Considering the number of exercises prepared by the author, one gains the strong impression that this is more than just a textbook; it is a workbook based on long-term teaching experience.

There is little doubt that Greenspahn deserves high commendation for this work. The book is reader-friendly, well organized, and informative. A few things could be improved. No mention is made of the Tell Fekheriye Inscription, a lengthy and valuable text in Old Aramaic. In the exercises there are many sentences for the student to translate from English into Aramaic, yet no English-Aramaic glossary is provided at the end of the book. Lastly it would be of great help if the Aramaic-English glossary could contain all of the words attested in Biblical Aramaic.

In conclusion, this textbook is a welcome addition, and I strongly recommend its use in teaching beginning Aramaic.

Walla Walla College
Walla Walla, Washington

ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC

Hayes, John Haralson. *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, 2 vols.: A-J, K-Z. Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 1408 pp. Hardcover, \$200.00.

The art of biblical interpretation is an ever-expanding discipline with various traditions and multiple approaches, some fairly recent, and others centuries-old. This has led, among other things, to a surge of technical terms and to an ever-widening range

of new methods and techniques, along with an overwhelming flood of publications. The two-volume *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (DBI) seeks to be "an aid and guide to the lengthy and complex history of biblical interpretation" (xlix). Such a competent guide through the challenging terrain of the theory and practice of biblical interpretation is much needed. John H. Hayes, as general editor, has done a great service in pulling together a comprehensive and up-to-date reference tool that will be used by scholars, students, and pastors for years to come.

A total of 397 contributors, drawing on Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Orthodox scholarship, have written over 1,000 signed articles. While there are a handful of Australian and African scholars represented, as well as a number of scholars from Israel, the vast majority of the contributors come from North America and Europe.

The DBI contains essays on the history of interpretation of all the canonical and apocryphal/deuterocanonical books, as well as of some other ancient nonbiblical books. In these essays emphasis is placed on the last two centuries of interpretation. Furthermore, the DBI contains biographies and descriptions of numerous ancient and modern interpreters, who have made significant contributions to biblical interpretation. A few living and still-active persons born before 1930 have been included. As Hayes himself admits, "Here obviously the greatest uneasiness about selection exists" (xlix). A third category of articles includes reviews and descriptions of various approaches, methods, and movements related to biblical interpretation that have influenced and informed the reading and study of Scripture. Each entry in the DBI includes extensive up-to-date bibliographic information. There is no Scripture index.

Nine years after the publication of a comprehensive one-volume dictionary on the interpretation of Scripture (*A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden [Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990]), Abingdon Press has issued the two-volume DBI under an almost identical title. Interestingly, however, no reference is made in DBI to the earlier and still useful predecessor. In fact, the earlier dictionary has some entries that are strangely missing in the later one, such as "Allegorical Interpretation," "Exegesis," "Fundamentalism," "Millennialism," "Messianic Secret," "Philology," "Resurrection," "Typology," and "Historical-Critical Method," to mention a few. Even though all major procedures of the historical-critical method are dealt with under separate headings, it appears strange not to find an entry under that title in the DBI, because the historical-critical method has influenced and shaped the reading and the interpretation of Scripture in the past two hundred years as has no other approach. The informed student will still profit from the work by Coggins and Houlden and benefit by consulting both dictionaries.

While the DBI seems to have been carefully edited, there are ten spelling mistakes in the extensive list of abbreviations (xxvii-xlviii). Minute details aside, the DBI will serve as an important reference tool for finding key information about major schools, movements, and persons that have influenced the study of Scripture, and new methods and approaches in biblical interpretation. No serious library will be complete without it. It deserves to be read widely.

Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen
St. Peter am Hart, Austria

FRANK M. HASEL

Hess, Richard S, and Gordon J. Wenham, eds. *Make the Old Testament Live: From Curriculum to Classroom*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans (1998), x + 218 pp. Paper, \$15.00.

To most moderns, the phrase “Old Testament” evokes little more than an awe of the Bible’s antiquity and a conviction of its irrelevance. And to judge by their title, editors Hess and Wenham recognize that to establish meaningful connections between today’s student and the Bible’s Old Testament requires something out of the ordinary. Their effort to make the OT live grapples with two crucial aspects of this potential miracle—how to integrate OT material into the curriculum, and further, how to make it attractive enough to individuals of varying degrees of interest and motivation, as well as a wide variety of perspectives.

Several of the book’s chapters were first presented by an international team of scholars at a Tyndale Fellowship OT study group in Cambridge. The editors have divided the volume into three uneven sections, including three chapters on the content, eight on the context, and two on the communication of OT teaching.

Editor Hess’s chapter on the first of these aspects, content, emphasizes that both “academic and practical aspects of training are fundamentally acts of spiritual worship” (7). For him, neither academe nor practical ministry is any more or any less spiritual. He thus estimates the value of OT study in terms of its application to practical, contemporary concerns.

Craig Bartholomew exhibits similar thinking in the second chapter when he states that however much OT lecturing may differ from Bible study, its emphasis on theory and critical accuracy remains “secondary” to Scripture’s primary purpose of “listening” to God through His Word (34). As much as anything, the first half of this chapter is a celebration of Plantinga’s “Advice to Christian Philosophers,” as Bartholomew strives to liberate evangelicalism from a reactive scholarship improperly subservient to modernity. With full regard for the advances made possible through secularized critical scholarship, the author contends that it is time for a proactive approach that is “reformational” (31) rather than merely defensive of positions attacked by ‘liberal’ biblical studies.

Section two, on context, comments on the challenge of making OT studies relevant and meaningful *inter alia*, to the American seminary, the British theological college, or the world of Islam, as well as the range of academic levels from undergraduate general studies through Ph.D. studies in OT. Paramount in all this contextualization must be the fact that the OT is a Christian book, part and parcel of God’s Word, the Bible. Thus it is best taught in integration with the NT, and climactically so, in relation to Jesus Christ (Barker, Alexander). Increasingly, students arrive at American seminaries with limited knowledge of Scripture. But if the OT is correctly taught, they may be led to “fall in love with the God who gave it” (Hubbard, 92).

Evangelical conviction is not the only perspective among lecturers in biblical studies. In this context, clarification of the difference between fact and hypothesis in such areas as source, form, redaction, traditio-historical, and literary criticism (Alexander) would serve as a vital educative function.

In public universities, OT classes are available to a broader spectrum of society

than are any conventional theological classes. This is because the department of Religious Studies attracts students interested in all kinds of religion. OT teachers may take advantage of this, for not just religious studies students, but all humanities students, may be brought to read and enjoy OT once they can be helped to appreciate the centrality of the Bible to English culture (Wenham).

In section three, entitled "Communication," Baker recommends an inductive approach to learning Biblical Hebrew, and Lawless applies learning and teaching principles to some of the book's essays. Lawless responds to Hess's advocacy of the modular approach by suggesting that the key to maximization of biblical understanding would be to teach students choosing between optional modules how to make linkages between different units of study. The book concludes with twenty-eight pages of annotated bibliography covering lexicons, history, literary approaches, and commentaries on individual books.

Not everything in this book is new. Nor is it as pertinent to American theological training as it is to the English experience. Its emphasis on the transcendence of the Word over method or context is noteworthy. Articles such as those by McKeown, with his suspicions of systematic theology, Barker, who sees the NT as the OT's God-given horizon, and Lawless, who responds to several of the earlier papers, should engender much stimulating discussion. Glaser, on reaching Islam through the OT; and Carroll, on contrasts between an arrogant though stagnant West and a deferential yet dynamic two-thirds world, have much to teach. On the other hand, I remain somewhat dubious about the value for the book of the piece entitled "From Student to Scholar" (111-121), a personal reflection offering less instruction than Williamson's article on theological graduate study.

Andrews University

LAEL CAESAR

Hill, Andrew E. *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible Series, vol. 25D. New York: Doubleday, 1998. xliii + 436 pp. Hardcover, \$37.95.

Andrew Hill's preface to this well-balanced commentary suggests something of an apology. Conceding LaSor's insight that all interpreters labor under *a priori* convictions, he signals from the outset his own scholarly position as one of "believing criticism." For him Scripture is both the work of many human authors, and of "one Author" (xii). In investigating the biblical material, he acknowledges or "substantiates," rather than proposes or "reconstructs" biblical history (xiii). He hews close to the MT, with appropriate citation of variants, rather than anachronistically explaining modern suggestions as though they were portions of the ancient text. However, occasional bracketed insertions in his translation of the MT occur as "amplification of a cryptic word or phrase," which partly suggests his own failure to grasp the text's full sense (11)! His work employs the various strategies of the historical-critical method as long as they do not of necessity vitiate "the basic tenets of 'orthodoxy'" (xiii). He expects that such candor on his part will enhance reader appreciation for, and understanding of, his approach to biblical scholarship (xii). Hill's clarification is not inappropriate, only less common than it might be.

After addressing a variety of basic considerations, including authorship,

literary integrity, genre, structure, message and theology, the commentary proceeds to reflect upon some historical, political, social, religious, and theological implications of situating the book of Malachi within the Persian period. Hill's date for the composition of Malachi to "a round figure of 500 B.C./E." (83) refines his earlier position of between 515 and 458 B.C./E. The more precise conclusion emphasizes his continued reliance on control corpora drawn from literary analysis and relative chronology rather than social conditions, religious practices, and historical events referenced by an absolute chronology. Hill finds one helpful analogy for the political instability and social disorientation of early postexilic Judaism in Eastern Europe's recent political ferment in the aftermath of the Soviet era. That so much could have happened there so quickly shows his pre-Nehemiah date for the book of Malachi to be more realistic than earlier thought (83, n. 4).

Hill offers three outlines of the book of Malachi: (1) The eight segments of the thematic outline correspond to (2) the book's rhetorical progression according to a series of six disputational oracles, chiasmally structured, each of which consists of at least one declaration by the deity, a refutation by the accused (whether leadership or people), and a rebuttal by the deity. (3) The third outline situates Malachi within the interrogative discourse pattern of the Haggai-Zechariah-Malachi corpus.

Among numerous noteworthy features may be mentioned Hill's glossary—136 definitions of particular profit to the reader whose specialization may not be biblical or literary studies; a section in the introduction on the study of Malachi in the NT, as well as its liturgical use in Judaism and Christianity; four appendices on (1) "von Bulmerincq's Categories for Dating Malachi," (2) "Typological Analysis of the Postexilic Prophets," (3) "Intertextuality in the Book of Malachi," and (4) "Vocabulary Richness in the Book of Malachi"; and eight pages of photographs and illustrations demonstrating Malachi's links to Persian history, or comparing the temples built by Solomon and Zerubbabel. For these, artist Hugh Claycombe receives gracious and deserving commendation (xv). Hill's political correctness requires use of a plurality of abbreviations (OT/HB; B.C./E.; A.D./C.E.). Transparent [self-deprecating] honesty concedes limited familiarity with the text's Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian witnesses. Nevertheless, this is no indictment of Hill's work since, despite their undeniable exegetical significance, Tov finds these of limited value for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Somewhat surprisingly, Hill ignores the NASB, preferring the NAB as a contemporary reference point for "formal equivalence" readings, along with the more predictable choice of the NRSV.

Hill's use of Hasel (1978) overlooks later revisions (1982, 1991). More intriguingly, one reference to works by Hayes and Prussner, and Ollenburger, Martens, and Hasel may be taken to mean that these furnish examples of "avoiding the actual enterprise of 'doing' theology" (46). This is clearly not what Hill intends. The same paragraph later states that Hasel's work is among the most helpful he has encountered while negotiating the "precarious narrows" of OT/HB theology. Other minor criticisms of the book may also include the glossary's explanation of "fientive" with "see also *stative*" (xxvii), although no "*stative*" is anywhere to be seen.

Hill's commentary may be admired for the author's competent handling of Malachi's Hebrew text, the stable maturity of his interpretive tone, his view of God as the center of OT theology, and even for the novelty of his dating

scheme, particularly because of the uncommon conclusions to which it leads him. The breadth of scholarship for which the Anchor Bible series continues to be respected is honored again by this volume. But whether or not Hill, Childs (1986), and Barth (1991) all belong to the same "new biblical theology" school (46) will remain unresolved if membership in this club simply rests in a claim to take history and revelation seriously, for few, whether in theology or OT/HB studies, would disqualify themselves from any school on these accounts. Neither avid practitioners of the historical-critical method, nor those who view it as an unwarranted assault on orthodoxy may be expected to describe themselves as viewing either history or revelation unseriously.

Andrews University

LAEL CAESAR

Jasper, David, Stephen Prickett, and Andrew Hass, eds. *The Bible and Literature: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999. xv + 333 pp. Paperback, \$62.95.

Weathers, Stephen, Jack Welch, and Darryl Tippens, eds. *Shadow & Light: Literature & the Life of Faith*. Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University Press, 1997. 391 pp. Paperback, \$33.95.

Two interesting literature anthologies have recently appeared. They differ greatly, and so would classes in which they might be used.

The Bible and Literature: A Reader, edited by David Jasper and Stephen Prickett, is published by Blackwell, which is known for its theoretical and cultural studies, so it is not surprising that the book's approach is essentially literary and secular. Jasper is Dean of Divinity at Glasgow University and editor of the journal *Literature and Theology*. Prickett is an English professor at Glasgow.

Please note the "and" in the title, rather than the more common "as." *The Bible and Literature* presents eighteen passages from the KJV—from the Creation stories of Gen 1–2, to nine verses on Jacob's wrestling match, to the entire Song of Songs, to Rev 21—and, following each passage, from six to fifteen literary selections that allude to, reshape, or draw from the story. Sometimes these selections are fine, and perhaps little-known, poems that approach the story with devotional intent. Other selections are quite unexpected, such as that taken from Jacques Derrida's *Of Grammatology* as comment on John 1. Many of the authors are famously unbelieving, and others twist the biblical text to their own agendas. A number of selections are drawn from literary criticism rather than literature *per se*, but of course the postmodern approach grants the theoretical the status of the literary.

To read what modern authors have made of the biblical text can be disturbing, yet also invigorating. I can imagine this book sparking lively class discussions. As it is aimed at readers with little biblical knowledge, including the KJV text is a good idea. The thorough critical apparatus is also helpful. In addition to a good general introduction, Prickett has contributed a long introduction to "Biblical and Literary Criticism: A History of Interaction," and Jasper another on "Literary Readings of the Bible: Trends in Modern Criticism." Each passage from the Bible is followed by a "Commentary" on literary approaches to the reading and a bibliography of selected criticism. These help make this book a good introduction for seminary students who

want to understand the contributions of literary criticism to theology.

What most surprised me about *The Bible and Literature* was the brevity of many of the prose selections—often only a paragraph. This is fine for showing an allusion and leading into a discussion, but literature teachers are used to dealing with chapters or stories rather than half-page quotations. Clearly, the book's focus is intertextual relationships between texts rather than the literary appreciation of the text itself.

Shadow & Light: Literature & the Life of Faith, by Stephen Weathers, Jack Welch, and Darryl Tippens, is a very different sort of book. The layout and printing are attractive. The book contains no biblical passages, and the introduction is only seven pages. There is no bibliography or critical commentary—only one paragraph of introductions to authors.

The book contains three sections: essays, fiction, and poetry. The selections are outstanding. They represent a variety of Judeo-Christian stances, but all raise thought-provoking ethical and/or spiritual questions that can lead to intense class discussions. Most of the writings are less "Judeo-Christian literature" than they are literature by Christians and Jews. In the essay section are selections by John Donne, Samuel Johnson, John Henry Newman, Thomas Merton, Flannery O'Connor, Frederick Buechner, Henri Nouwen, Annie Dillard, Robert A. Fink, and A. N. Wilson. Most selections are six to ten pages and are long enough to discuss for a whole class period. Some are whole essays, while others are sections from books or journals.

The fiction section is especially strong, with stories or chapters by great writers: Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Cather, Katherine Anne Porter, Isaac Bashevis Singer, Eudora Welty, Flannery O'Connor, John Updike, Larry Woiwode, Alice Walker, and Albert Haley. Most of these authors are regularly taught in the secular classroom. However, having the best faith-building work by these authors together in one place is a boon to teachers and students alike. While *Shadow & Light* would not be appropriate for courses in either biblical literature or the Bible and Literature, it would be excellent for an Introduction to Literature course, even in a state university.

If I must quibble, it must be because at 391 pages the book is too short. If I used it as a textbook I would have to teach the whole thing, but I prefer to pick and choose. The poetry section, at eighty pages, is too brief, especially given that half of it is contemporary poetry. It includes poems by Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Hopkins, but I want more of their work! In addition to four Middle English lyrics, I would like to see big chunks of *Pearl* and *Piers Plowman*. There are five Milton sonnets, but there is nothing of *Paradise Lost*. Where is Christina Rossetti's "Goblin Market"?

While I find both anthologies interesting and useful, *Shadow & Light* is the one I would use in a literature class, though I would supplement it with some extra poetry and perhaps two or three novels or allegories. *The Bible and Literature* is not really appropriate for a literature class the way such classes are generally taught. On a more serious note, I could not in good conscience assign a 350-page textbook that costs \$62.95 in papercover. Despite my quibbles, however, I'm pleased to have both books on my shelf.

Kutztown University of Pennsylvania
Kutztown, Pennsylvania

ED CHRISTIAN

Jeeves, Malcom A., and R. J. Berry. *Science, Life, and Christian Belief: A Survey of Contemporary Issues*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999. 305 pp. Paperback, \$19.99.

This book is a revised and updated version of an earlier volume originally written by Jeeves in 1969 (*The Scientific Enterprise and Christian Faith*) following a small conference of thirty-six scientists in Oxford, England. Jeeves and Berry are recognized working scientists and do not claim to be philosophers, historians of science, or theologians. It is their desire to address the contemporary issues involved in the interface between science and faith in a manner that is aimed at both scientifically- and nonscientifically-trained readers, including students. The book is thoroughly referenced to source materials and includes numerous quotations. It is divided into thirteen chapters that take the reader through the early history and conflict of religion and science and end with the implications of modern science on the Christian thought and belief system.

In chapter 1 Jeeves and Berry set out to examine the Hebrew-Christian and Greek influences on the rise of modern science. They explore the way in which the various philosophies and attitudes of the Greeks and Christians molded the nature and direction of scientific inquiry. Following a balanced review of the developing conflict between religion and science, the authors conclude this chapter with the following statement:

Despite the still too popular conflict metaphor beloved by the media, we nevertheless believe that a biblically based theology is not only plausible, but, on the evidence, remains a key feature in the development of science.

In chapter 2 Jeeves and Berry tackle one of the most controversial conflicts between science and religion: miracles. This topic is approached through the questions: What are the natural laws of nature? How do these laws function? What is their relationship to our understanding of reality? From this perspective of natural laws, miracles are then examined as to type, nature, cause, and purpose. The authors conclude:

A "law of Parliament" concept of a law of nature tends to suggest that the uniformity of nature ought to be defined in such a way as to exclude the possibility of miracles. In contrast, the Christian viewpoint is less restrictive; it agrees that it is perfectly legitimate to assume uniformity in nature, but is willing to entertain the possibility of non-uniformity (or miracle), if there are good grounds for doing so. In other words, our conception of natural laws acknowledges that they are based on a finite number of observations or experiments, and that they must always remain *subservient to*, rather than *normative over*, any further observation (emphasis supplied).

Chapters 3-5 present a concise, informative description of the "scientific method" and its relationship to worldviews, reality, and God's hand in the universe. Chapters 6-8 address the concepts of Creation, evolution and the biblical concepts of human nature. For the first time the authors reveal their position on human origins in their support of "theistic creationism" and the belief that "*in God's Image*" refers to relational and representational aspects rather than genetic or anatomical aspects that imply the mechanisms of evolution and natural selection. Chapters 9-12 examine social biological

aspects of modern science along with concepts of modern psychology and ecology. Jeeves and Berry challenge Christian scientists to nurture and expound faith in a reasonable and balanced manner because of their unique insights into the two books of God's revelation. However, the authors state that they are not promoting some type of "natural theology," but rather a concept of the positive aspect of God's interactive nature within the natural world. They conclude:

God points us to himself. Science points us beyond its limits. Reason can answer only some of our questions. Our need is not more science, better reason or great faith; it is *faith in a great God* (emphasis supplied).

It is this reviewer's opinion that Jeeves and Berry have presented a fresh, invigorating look at the science-and-religion interface, a look that is well-rounded, not attempting to push one theory in favor of another. While I personally do not accept their position on the origin and development of life, humans in particular, I still find myself supporting their overall positions on science and faith.

I would recommend this book for classroom use whenever the issues of science and religion are considered, as well as for individuals who are seeking to understand the relationship between science and Christian faith in a modern setting.

Geoscience Research Institute
Loma Linda, California

CLYDE L. WEBSTER JR.

Kaiser, Walter C., Jr. *A History of Israel: From the Bronze Age through the Jewish Wars*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1998. 560 pp. Hardcover, \$34.99.

Walter Kaiser's *A History of Israel: From the Bronze Age through the Jewish Wars* is divided into nine sections (parts 1-9). Except for the first three chapters, which survey historiographical discussions and geographical and archaeological contexts, this book follows the story of the Israelites.

Kaiser makes plain his guiding premise: "The text is innocent until proven guilty" (xii). He is not intimidated, as some are, by those who would devalue the studies of scholars who trust in the reliability of the biblical account.

Therefore, it is unfair and improper to conclude that researchers who use the Bible in constructing a history of Israel are less informed, more naive, and less capable of using the critical tools than those who refuse to consider anything in the Bible to be worth reporting in a history until the Persian period. Both use the same methodologies and read the same literature; the difference is only in where they appear in the procedure (ibid.).

In chapter 1, Kaiser acknowledges the current lack of a consensus in historiographical studies. He also points to five fallacies that have produced the major divisions among scholars. In chapter 2 he presents a short geographical survey of Canaan and introduces some ancient civilizations important to its history. Chapter 3 reviews the basic Canaanite archaeological periods.

These introductory chapters are followed by "The Patriarchs and the Periods of Egypt"; "The Sojourn in Egypt, the Exodus and Sinai"; "The Israelite Occupation in Egypt"; "The Period of the Judges"; "The Monarchy"; "The

Divided Monarchy: The Independent Kingdom of Israel and Judah"; "The Babylonian Exile"; "The Persian Hegemony"; "The Intertestamental Period."

Since I agree with many of Walter Kaiser's presuppositions, I am reluctant to criticize such a fine work. On the other hand, his book demonstrates how difficult it is for a theologian, even one friendly to the biblical text, to write a history of Israel. While it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain competence in one discipline, being well-informed in two specialties is nearly impossible. In Kaiser's case, he knows the Bible well, but must trust others for archaeological backgrounds and/or support for his treatise. Given the youthfulness of archaeological studies, their data and conclusions continue to change rapidly. As in theological and historiographical studies, agreements among archaeologists are ephemeral. Again, some archaeological work has been poorly conducted or inadequately supported. How is a theologian like Kaiser to know which information to trust and which to ignore?

For example, Kaiser equates the Hyksos capital of Avaris with Tanis, while there is growing evidence that the Hyksos capital of Avaris was located at Tell el 'Daba (cf. Hoffmeier, 119). He also accepts the idea of an Egyptian connection of the name Pi-Ramesses and Avaris, which has been discredited (85, 106; cf. Hoffmeier, 118, and Bietak, 63-66). Even worse, his friendliness toward the Bible and lack of archaeological knowledge cause him to choose Khirbet Nisya as biblical Ai (107), a site which has been excavated for twenty-five years, producing no Late Bronze Age architecture and only minimal material evidence from other periods. Unfortunately, and surprisingly, Kaiser seems to accept the discredited chronology of Livingston and Bimson (156), a chronological system that is totally ignored by historical chronologists, apart from a scattering of conservative hopefuls. Even Bimson has not written to support the theory in the last ten years or so.

There are some curious errors in Kaiser's book. For example, he refers to the Israelites as "Jews" (82), and takes Merneptah's stele to celebrate Merneptah's campaign into Canaan (108), when in fact it commemorated his conquest of the Libyans, with a side note of other conquests, including a conquest of the Israelites.

Kaiser's book demonstrates the need for conservative theologians and credible archaeologists who are friendly to the biblical text to collaborate on a history of Israel. While even conservatives are divided theologically and archaeologically, a collaborative work could make a major contribution in biblical and archaeological studies, especially given the tendency of critics to use selectively the archaeological data to support their theories of Israel's history. Those friendly to the Bible need to rise above critical techniques to produce something of lasting value.

Kaiser's work is useful, if used cautiously and with some archaeological knowledge. It certainly has advantages over critical histories that are based on evolving theories that are out of date before they are published. Kaiser's book is worth reading, using in the classroom (with carefully updated additions), and adding to one's library.

Long, V. Philips, ed. *Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography*. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study, vol. 7. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999. xx + 612 pp. Hardcover, \$37.95.

There is hardly a topic that is currently more hotly debated in OT studies than the history and historiography of ancient Israel. The present volume will not settle the debate, but it is an important contribution. The book continues V. Philips Long's scholarly contribution to OT historiography, which began with the publication of his doctoral dissertation, *The Reign and Rejection of King Saul: A Case for Literary and Theological Coherence* (SBL Dissertation Series, no. 118 [Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1989]), and has subsequently included various articles and a monograph, *The Art of Biblical History* (Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation, vol. 5 [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994]). The series in which this book is published, Sources for Biblical and Theological Study, consists primarily of anthologies limited to the English language on various subdisciplines of OT research. The aim of the series is to provide scholars with synopses of the growth and development of each of these subdisciplines.

The book is divided into six parts. Each part, except the last one, contains a brief introduction, a list of additional readings, and a sampling of recently published works. Part 1, "Israel's Past in Present Research," includes articles that cover the history of biblical historiography from the Renaissance to the present "crisis." Part 2, "The Historical Impulse among Israel's Neighbors," addresses the relevance of the practice of history writing in the Ancient Near East in terms of the light it can shed on biblical historiography. Part 3, "Israel's History Writing: Its Multiplex Character," is subdivided into three sections. The first section deals with the issue of antiquarianism, i.e., whether and to what extent biblical writers had the intention of recording historical events. This is followed by two sections dealing with two major reasons for denying antiquarianism in most biblical narratives: biblical writers wrote with theological or prophetic perspectives, and hence the alleged dichotomy between narrative art and history. Part 4, "Writing Israel's History: The Methodological Challenge," discusses general methodological issues, the relevance of the social sciences, and the impact of new literary approaches. Part 5, "The Historical Impulse in the Hebrew Canon: A Sampling," presents sample discussions on the historical impulse within the major divisions of the Hebrew canon. Part 6, "The Future of Israel's Past," is the author's personal conclusion. He compares the task of a historian to that of a jury in a court of law in evaluating both verbal and material evidence. He then shares the hope that among historians discussion concerning epistemological models will take precedence over discussion regarding methodology. He would like to see increased openness among scholars to discuss their own background beliefs, as well as the adoption of the biblical worldview as an interpretative strategy, with recognition that in the Bible "actual historical truth claims are being made" (588). He also makes three methodological suggestions: first, to redefine the canons of the historical-critical method; second, to recognize that the social sciences can deal only with backgrounds and general features, not specific events; and third, to increase exploration of how modern literary approaches to the Bible bear upon historical questions.

Since this volume is an anthology of previously published works, my comments

will focus on the book as a whole, rather than on the views of individual (excerpted) contributors. Long has attempted to include a broad selection of views. Both minimalists, such as T. L. Thompson and N. P. Lemche, and maximalists, such as W. H. Hallo and A. R. Millard, are represented. As Long himself admits, his own views, which are positive toward the historical character of the biblical texts, have clearly influenced the selections and the arrangement of this book. This is not a problem for him because he assumes that complete objectivity is an unreachable goal. He cites J. M. Miller's statement that "any history book reveals as much about its author as it does about the period of time being treated" (283). Those who disagree with Long's theistic worldview would perhaps have chosen a different arrangement of chapters and selected material differently.

Since Long's "overarching perspective" (xiii-xiv) is a philosophical one, a section dedicated to articles dealing with the interplay between philosophy and historiography in general would have been a useful addition to the book. It should also be noted that Long's views were previously presented in his 1994 monograph, indeed sometimes with more detail, and he does not propose much that is new in this present work. However, the present volume has a different intended audience and purpose. Thus, it must be evaluated in the light of Long's intended goal. He has succeeded in gathering together some of the most significant recent contributions to the current debate and in summarizing the basic issues of presuppositions and methodology. This volume is an excellent introductory survey, which can serve both as a textbook for a course on the historiography of ancient Israel, as well as a resource for scholars working in other subdisciplines of biblical studies.

Hebrew Union College
Cincinnati, Ohio

TARSEE LI

Maag, Karin, ed. *Melanchthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999. 191 pp. Paper, \$17.99.

Karin Maag, the director of the H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies in Grand Rapids, has authored and edited three other volumes on the Reformation. The present volume, *Melanchthon in Europe*, is part of the Texts and Studies in Reformation and Post-Reformation Thought series, edited by Richard A. Muller. The series is designed to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of the Reformation and the era of Protestantism with special emphasis on the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The eight essays in this volume reflect the increasing interest among historians in the life and work of Philip Melanchthon. This interest was further sparked by the conferences and colloquia held during 1997 to mark the 500th anniversary of Melanchthon's birth. In her introduction to this volume, Karin Maag reminds us that recent Melanchthon scholarship has focused on his work as a humanist. He integrated his emphasis on rhetoric and dialectics, as practiced in the classical world and by Bible writers, with his theology. The editorial oversights in the following sentence are not characteristic of the volume: "In doing so, these scholars have underlined once again that the German Reformation did come to an end [*sic*] with

Luther's death in 1547 [*sic*], nor was it set in stone forever after." (16). Maag's major point is that the German Reformation did *not* come to an end with the death of Luther. The later Melanchthon was "a major Reformer in his own right." (17). And Maag is undoubtedly thoroughly aware that Luther died on February 18, 1546.

The volume's first essay by Timothy Wengert discusses "The Epistolary Friendship of John Calvin and Philip Melanchthon." Wengert takes issue with the earlier assessment of the correspondence between Calvin and Melanchthon by such historians as Philip Schaff and James T. Hickman who recognized basic friendship despite some theological differences. On the contrary, Wengert argues, there were profound tensions between the two Reformers, even though their correspondence followed the mores of Renaissance letter-writing etiquette. On the questions of predestination, church practices, free will, and the Lord's Supper, although the correspondence between the two Reformers demonstrated moderation and respect, it also demonstrated the great divide between them. "It is finally this hermeneutical divide that continues to mark the differences between these two great streams of the Protestant tradition and between their ablest spokesmen." (44). Certainly the limitations of space dictated Wengert's brevity, but one could wish for a more detailed development of the theological positions held by the two Reformers.

The second essay by Bruce Gordon discusses the relationship between "Melanchthon and the Swiss Reformers." (45). Gordon points out that the Swiss theologians never recovered from Luther's rejection of Zwingli's theology. Gordon outlines Melanchthon's correspondence with Oecolampadius, Grynaeus, Bullinger, and Myconius. The Swiss respected Melanchthon's humanist scholarship and regarded him as the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, even though they felt that separated from Luther's influence he would support their theological positions. Thus "it was the bitterest of blows . . . when in April 1557 Melanchthon put his name to a document at the Worms Colloquy which explicitly condemned Zwingli's theology." (53).

The third essay by Amy Nelson Burnett considers "Melanchthon's Reception in Basel." Burnett's point is that, although Melanchthon never visited Basel and had few personal connections with the Swiss city, he maintained contact with the Basel humanist circle and with its printing industry. The break between the German and Swiss theologians over the Lord's Supper in the 1520's resulted for a time in neglect of Melanchthon's writings. But later in the century the Basel printers recognized the profits and educational benefits to be gained from disseminating his humanist writings.

The fourth essay by Deszo Buzogany studies the relationship between Melanchthon's humanist scholarship and his theology. Melanchthon saw the classical writings as providing "a useful service in the better understanding and clearer transmission of God's Word." (87). Specifically he regarded rhetoric and dialectics as invaluable tools in the study of God's Word.

Lyle D. Bierma's fifth essay argues against identification of Melanchthon's influence on the Heidelberg Catechism (composed in 1562 two years after his death). Bierma seeks to establish that the similarities between the HC and Melanchthon's writings do not necessarily indicate the latter's influence on the former.

The sixth essay by Richard A. Muller investigates the influence of Melanchthon's theological method on Calvin's progressive reorganization of his *Institutes*. Muller identifies the methodological relationship between Calvin's 1539

Institutes and Melanchthon's *Loci communes theologici* of 1521 and 1536, seeing this relationship as important to an understanding of both documents.

John R. Schneider's seventh essay discusses "Melanchthon's Rhetoric As a Context for Understanding His Theology" (141). Schneider makes the pertinent observation that Melanchthon's understanding of rhetoric and dialectic, developed early in his career, explains his approach to theology, to biblical exegesis, and to his progressive expansion of the *Loci communes*. Melanchthon systematically integrated dialectics into his concept of rhetoric. In fact, he stated that rhetoric was but "a part of dialectics." (149). This view influenced his approach to Scripture, since he identified rhetorical and dialectical approaches in the writings of the Bible, especially in Paul's epistle to the Romans.

The final essay by Nicole Kuroka emphasizes that Melanchthon's concept of rhetoric fused Renaissance and Reformation ideals. "Melanchthon's rhetoric has the double aim of decoding sources and reforming politics." (161). The revival of ancient literature in Florence aimed at both exegesis and political improvement. Likewise, Melanchthon saw the Reformation as having both a linguistic and a civic dimension. Biblical exegesis is designed to change lives and transform society.

These eight essays whet our appetites for a more expanded version of each topic. Each could profitably be the subject of a detailed monograph. There are so many questions left unanswered or only partly answered. For example, more specifically and in more detail what does the correspondence between Calvin and Melanchthon reveal concerning their differences on predestination, church practices, free will, and the Lord's Supper? What does Melanchthon's relationship with the Swiss Reformers reveal about his attitude to Zwingli's theology and later Swiss theology? What were the differences between them, and did Melanchthon change over time? To what extent, if any, did he part from Luther on such questions as the Lord's Supper, predestination, justification, and so on? In more detail, how did Melanchthon's concept of rhetoric and dialectic influence his biblical exegesis and his application of the classics to his contemporary society?

Angwin, California

ERWIN R. GANE

O'Brien, Peter T. *The Letter to the Ephesians*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. xxxiii + 536 pp. Hardcover, \$40.00.

After a hiatus of some seven years, O'Brien's commentary on Ephesians marks the first of several new commentaries slated to appear in the Pillar New Testament Commentary series. According to the editorial preface, the goal of the PNTC series is to avoid "getting mired in undue technical detail," but at the same time to provide a "blend of rigorous exegesis and exposition, with an eye alert both to biblical theology and the contemporary relevance of the Bible" (viii). Written by O'Brien, this commentary undoubtedly accomplishes the goal of the series. O'Brien, currently vice principal and senior research fellow in NT at Moore Theological College in Sydney, Australia, provides the same diligent, lucid, and probing exegesis in this commentary that he demonstrated in his commentaries on Colossians and Philemon (Word Biblical Commentary), and Philippians (New International Greek Testament Commentary). While the commentary takes a deliberately conservative viewpoint, it does not sacrifice

intellectual analysis or reflection in the process.

The commentary includes a table of contents/outline and an introduction (addressing such issues as authorship, destination, life setting, purpose, and genre). It also contains a subject-and-author index, an index of extrabiblical material, and an extensive Scripture index (24 pages). There are also 18 pages of select bibliography. The English text of the commentary follows the NIV. The commentary has chapter-and-verse references on the top outer margins of each page, making it easy to locate a particular passage. With the outline of the book tucked away into the table of contents at the beginning of the book, it would have been helpful, however, if the top margins could also have contained some reference to the current place within the book's outline.

The primary strength of O'Brien's work is its robust defense of the Pauline authorship of Ephesians. O'Brien devotes forty-two pages of his introduction to outlining and responding to the main arguments against Pauline authorship (the impersonal character of the text, its language and style, literary relationship with Colossians, theological emphases, the picture of Paul, and the issue of pseudonymity). While O'Brien's arguments will not be convincing for all, they do bring together the most pertinent and current evidence in favor of Pauline authorship and strengthen the case for making this a plausible option. On the basis of his belief in Pauline authorship, O'Brien suggests that Ephesians was written shortly after Colossians (ca. A.D. 61-62) during Paul's imprisonment in Rome. He suggests that Paul simply remodeled his letter to the Colossians for a more general circulation with the specific purpose of "informing, strengthening, and encouraging" (57) Gentile believers, who lived "in and around Ephesus, or on the road to Colossae" (49). The introductory section of O'Brien's commentary alone makes it worthy of a place on the bookshelf of any theological student, pastor, or teacher.

While O'Brien's commentary is written in a clear and readable style, it should be noted that a reader without the ability to read Greek will find several parts of the commentary rather obscure. One reason for this is the fact that the work draws strongly on the Greek text of Ephesians. O'Brien's footnotes, which often contain a treasure trove of information, make extensive use of Greek terminology and syntactic issues. All of the Greek found in the footnotes is untransliterated. Although all Greek text within the body of the commentary itself is transliterated, the commentary occasionally makes interpretative comments based upon issues of Greek syntax. While challenging for readers without a working knowledge of Greek, pastors and teachers with such knowledge will find O'Brien's insights and comments on the Greek text illuminating and fruitful.

Two other strengths in O'Brien's work merit mention. O'Brien does a superb job in lucidly outlining the various exegetical issues in Ephesians. Both the neophyte and the seasoned scholar of Ephesians will find O'Brien's identification and explanation of the issues informative. The commentary is further strengthened by O'Brien's skillful reference to OT connections and allusions that shed light on Ephesians. An example of these two strengths is found in his exegesis of Eph 4:8. O'Brien outlines five possible explanations for the difference in terminology between Paul's quotation of Ps 68:18 and the same verse as it is found in the Hebrew and LXX texts. While he acknowledges that none of the five suggestions

“fully solves the difficult crux” (293), O’Brien favors the understanding that “God’s action in taking and receiving the Levites as a gift, then giving them back to his people in order to minister to the congregation [Ps 68:18] parallels the ascended Christ’s leading captives and giving gifts in Ephesians 4” (293).

One must look hard to find much fault with this work. Professors will find it to be an excellent textbook for graduate students in Ephesians. The strong application of Greek grammar and syntax makes it ideal for students desiring to grow in their understanding of Greek exegesis. Pastors will find the book helpful for their personal study of Ephesians and for sermon preparation. The clarity of presentation and strength of scholarship will make O’Brien’s commentary one of the premier works of its kind on Ephesians for years to come.

LaPorte, Indiana

CARL P. COSAERT

Schreiner, Thomas R. *Romans*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament, vol. 6. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998. xxi + 919 pp. Hardcover, \$39.99.

Thomas R. Schreiner is currently a professor of NT interpretation at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. This commentary is the third book authored by him in the area of Pauline studies. It is also the third installment in the Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament series, joining the previous commentaries on Luke (2 vols.) and Philipians (1 vol.).

The commentary is a technical work of reasonable competence that my students have found uplifting, coherent, and easy to read. This strength is somewhat diminished, however, by the format of the commentary. Schreiner abandons “the verse-by-verse approach in favor of an exposition that focuses on the paragraph as the main unit of thought” (ix). The drawback of this format is that it becomes time-consuming to locate comments on a particular verse. One is forced to work through the references in the index or to skim through the pages to locate where the appropriate comments are. With respect to the latter procedure, even after finding the right pages, it is not always easy to know where one is in the text. For example, in commenting on 1:5 there does not seem to be a compelling reason why the comments on *en pasin tois ethnāsin* precede those on *eis hupakoēn pisteōs* when the passage reads *eis hupakoēn pisteōs en pasin tois ethnāsin*. Nor is it clear why 6:19 should be discussed before vv. 17 and 18.

Schreiner’s commentary is exegetical, as the series title declares, but it is precisely as an exegetical commentary that it fails. For example, Schreiner presents a number of misleading or incorrect translations. The rendering of *ex anastaseō nekron* in 1:4 as a temporal phrase, “at the resurrection from the dead” (31), cannot be substantiated on grammatical or syntactical grounds. He fails to give justification for this reading on p. 44. A more natural, causal rendering, “by virtue of,” would not undermine his essential argument. It is equally difficult to understand why he translates *episteusen de Abraam tō theō* as “Abraham believed God” in 4:3 and *pisteuonti de epi ton dikaionta ton asebē* as “believes on him” in 4:5 (213). The context seems to demand that we regard the two passages as being parallel to each other (see C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959], 69, for problems

associated with *pistēnō* and *pistis*). Nor is the linguistic ground for translating the passive *dikaiōthē* as “was righteous” in 4:2 clear (212).

Perhaps Schreiner’s translation of 7:17 (372) speaks for all the translations in the commentary: “Now I am no longer doing evil, but sin that dwells in me [is doing it].” This is an example of how Schreiner reads into the text words that are not there. It is clumsy to insert “evil” into the passage when the use of the actual term is delayed until v. 19. This is intentional on the part of Paul. In v. 17 Paul wants to use *auto* to refer back to the neuter clause “what I do not want.” In essence the passage is saying, “It is no longer I who doing what I do not want.” Then by introducing the term “evil” in v. 19, Paul wants the reader to know unequivocally that evil is that which he does not want to do. The construction of the passage makes it unmistakable that for Paul there is no hidden inward pleasure for or temptation toward evil. This becomes blurred in Schreiner’s translation. Also, the translation of v. 21 as “I find with reference to the law, in me the one wanting to do good, that evil is present in me” is awkward English, as well as a poor rendering of the Greek.

A related matter is that of the translation Schreiner offers at the beginning of each section. At times it is virtually unrelated to the discussion in the main body of the commentary. For example, he uses the term “slave” to translate *doulos* in 1:1. Yet in his comments he repeatedly uses the term “servant” to explain the verse (32).

Schreiner’s weak exegesis affects even the macrolevel of discussion. For example, he insists that hope rather than reconciliation is central to 5:1-11. He mentions three reasons for this position. First, the highlight of the paragraph is hope rather than peace or reconciliation. Second, reconciliation serves to build hope in v. 10. And third, hope is the overarching theme of chapters 6-8. These reasons, however, are all questionable. Contrary to his first point, the word “hope” occurs only twice in 5:2, 4, but the terminologies of peace and reconciliation occur four times in vv. 1, 10, and 11. Schreiner’s second point is somewhat strange: that upon which something is built is foundational. Finally, the overarching theme of chapters 6-8 is the death and resurrection of Christ. One might argue that since we look forward to reconciliation and renewal based on Christ’s work, hope is a more basic experience. Such an inference needs to explain why the word “hope” appears only two times in chapters 6-8 (8:20, 24). By contrast, the terminologies of death and resurrection occur throughout the section. Schreiner should explain why the subjective human experience is more central to the discussion than the objective work of Christ.

Partly because of these problems with the exegesis and translation in Schreiner’s commentary, it is difficult to place it among other commentaries on Romans. From an evangelical standpoint, Stott’s practically oriented discussions are engaging and often personal, but Schreiner’s commentary is neither engaging nor personal. If one compares Schreiner’s commentary with the exegetical *tours de force* of Cranfield or Dunn, it is often superficial and sometimes sloppy. If one compares it with the profound works of Barth and Nigren, its insights are often shallow and predictable.

The strength of Schreiner’s commentary is that it neatly summarizes the prevailing views on a given passage or issue. This is a great help to students, who come to the task of exegesis without knowledge of previous discussions. They can quickly become reasonably well informed on almost any issue on the exegesis of

Romans. Also helpful is the way Schreiner lists commentators in a chronological manner, with years of publication in parentheses.

Schreiner's commentary is a good textbook in that he helps set the agenda for the discussion of a passage. But it is easy to get bogged down in a passage, making it difficult to get through Romans in a quarter or semester. By limiting discussion more or less within the parameters of the present debate, Schreiner gives an exegesis course a much-needed focus. Thus the dearth of personal insight and creative exegesis is more than compensated by the way the commentary provides a road map for class discussion. At the same time, its value may be limited for laypeople who are trying to gain insights into particular passages. They could get lost in the maze of scholarly debate and the discursive manner in which the discussion proceeds. For a serious scholar, the commentary offers little more than a rehash of the same old material.

Andrews University

P. RICHARD CHOI

Zurcher, J. R. *Touched With Our Feelings: A Historical Survey of Adventist Thought on the Human Nature of Christ*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1999. 308 pp. Paperback, \$15.99.

In Seventh-day Adventism few subjects can generate as much heat as a discussion on the human nature of Christ. For decades Adventists have been debating whether Christ's human nature was identical to that of Adam before the Fall (prelapsarianism), or that of Adam after the Fall (postlapsarianism), or even somewhere in between. Although many theological factors come into play in this debate, at stake is the question of whether Christ can truly be a moral example to humanity. The latest book in this debate is veteran theologian Jean R. Zurcher's work translated from French, *Touched With Our Feelings*. In his historical survey of Adventist thought on the human nature of Christ, Zurcher attempts to resolve the issues by demonstrating how Adventist thought has evolved over the last century and a half from a strictly postlapsarian position to the current views.

The sixteen chapters in this book are grouped into five parts. The first briefly surveys the theological discussion on the divine nature of Christ and rightly ascertains that many early Seventh-day Adventist theologians, with the exception of Ellen G. White, had a semi-Arian view of Christ's divinity. In part two, Zurcher examines the Christology of Adventist pioneers such as Ellen G. White, Ellet J. Waggoner, Alonzo T. Jones, and William W. Prescott. The third studies extracts from official church publications on the human nature of Christ from 1895 to 1952. The fourth is the longest and deals with the controversy brought about by the book *Questions on Doctrine* (1957), reactions to its publication, and current theological positions. The final section is Zurcher's plea for a return to an authentic postlapsarian Christology as taught before the 1950s.

Apart from some awkward translations of French expressions, Zurcher's book is a good piece of historical research and endeavors to present an accurate picture of the development of Adventist thought on the human nature of Christ. His survey of numerous publications presents an astonishing picture to the contemporary reader, who may not be familiar with earlier theological writings on the nature of Christ. His comparisons between different editions of official documents and books, such as *Bible*

Readings for the Home Circle (155), illustrate the changes in Adventist thought regarding the nature of Christ. The historical and theological evidences the author presents are abundant. Yet even though the author purports to present an authoritative solution to the debate by showing how Adventist theologians in the 1950s and 1960s have "abandoned" the traditional understanding of Christ's human nature, his work is far from being neutral and unbiased. His treatment of positions held by various theologians is clearly polemical. Even the preface by former *Adventist Review* editor Kenneth Wood sets the tone: the work is one to buttress the postlapsarian position.

While Zurcher is to be highly commended for his thorough research on this subject, his work is nonetheless weak in some important areas. The greatest weakness is his treatment of Ellen White's statements on the human nature of Christ, which are the focus of this Adventist controversy. In his chapter on the Christology of Ellen White (53-67) Zurcher provides a synthesis of her thought, highlighting the similarities between Christ's human nature and ours. But he avoids any mention of other statements that emphasize the differences between Christ's nature and ours. Moreover, among several explicit statements supporting the Adventist prelapsarian position since the 1950s, Ellen White's 1895 letter to W. H. L. Baker is completely ignored here. Zurcher discusses the content and implications of this letter a few times throughout the book in other places, but never in a clear and systematic way. This, I believe, is a great oversight.

Like many other postlapsarian theologians, Zurcher fails to consider how White presents a tension between similarities and differences between Christ's nature and ours. Most of her statements highlighting similarities with our nature are made in the context of discussions on how Christ was tempted to sin just as we are. The author gives a good example on p. 302. Yet, he fails to recognize that in the Baker letter she categorically objects to a complete similarity between Christ and sinful human beings, even in the manner of his temptations. While early Adventists placed their christological discussions in the context of the doctrines of salvation and eschatology (how they could follow Christ's example in overcoming temptations and sin in preparation for Christ's Second Advent), the post-1950s discussions have often been situated within the context of the doctrine of humankind and how sin affects us, and to what extent Christ's nature was and was not affected by sin. Zurcher comments on this significant theological shift, caused to a great extent by the "rediscovery" of Ellen White's Baker letter, but cannot reconcile this shift and finds it antithetical to the early Adventist position.

Not only is Zurcher avoiding a clear exposition of the Baker letter; he is also misquoting it and taking statements out of context. In his "Evaluation and Critique" he discusses the current theological hybrid that Christ had a postlapsarian physical nature and a prelapsarian moral nature. Twice Zurcher quotes from the Baker letter to support his view that such a position is historically invalid and that Ellen White did not believe in a prelapsarian moral nature. He argues that LeRoy Froom did violence to Ellen White's thought when he quoted from the Baker letter (277-278). However, to prove his point, Zurcher quotes only part of the same letter and leaves out two important short sentences in which Ellen White sets up a sharp contrast between Christ's nature and ours. The same thing happens again on p. 281. Here the author attempts to distinguish between Ellen White's expressions "inherent propensities" and "evil propensities," arguing that

“inherent propensities’ become ‘evil propensities’ only after yielding to temptation.” Then he quotes from the Baker letter, stopping short of including a sentence in which Ellen White likens Christ’s temptations in the desert to those of Adam in Eden. The distinction between “inherent propensities” and “evil propensities” is not supported by Ellen White in this letter. Rather she uses the two expressions as synonyms to argue that Christ did not have such propensities. In both instances, Zurcher violates the context to sustain his views.

This book will certainly rank among the best apologies for the postlapsarian position. But like many others, it fails to be convincing, because it approaches the subject with such bias. The book is so intent on making our sinful human nature the standard to measure Christ’s nature that it fails to show how Christ’s humanity is the true and unadulterated standard by which we are to be measured.

Andrews University

DENIS FORTIN

INDEX TO VOLUME 38 (2000)

ARTICLES

BURTON, KEITH A. The Millennium: Transition to the Final Aeon . . .	207
CHOI, P. RICHARD. The Problem of Translating <i>En tō</i> <i>Aytoy Haimati</i> in Romans 3:25a	199
COLE, H. R. The Sabbath and the Alien	223
GANE, ROY E. Re-opening <i>Katapetasma</i> ("Veil") in Hebrews 6:19	5
HERR, LARRY G., DOUGLAS R. CLARK, LAWRENCE T. GERATY, AND ØYSTEIN S. LABIANCA. Madaba Plains Project: Tall Al-ʿUmayri, 1998	29
KLINGBEIL, GERALD. The Anointing of Aaron: A Study of Leviticus 8:12 in Its OT and ANE Context	231
LABIANCA, ØYSTEIN S. Madaba Plains Project: Tall Hisban, 1998	9
MOON, JERRY. Ratiocinations of a New Editor	195
OURO, ROBERTO. The Earth of Genesis 1:2: Abiotic or Chaotic? (Part III)	59
REYNOLDS, EDWIN. The Feast of Tabernacles and the Book of Revelation	245
RICHARDS, W. LARRY. Υποταγήσεται in 1 Corinthians 15:28b	203
ROHRBOUGH, FAITH E. A Lutheran Understanding of Prayer	69
SHEA, WILLIAM H., AND ED CHRISTIAN. The Chiastic Structure of Revelation 12:1-15:4: The Great Controversy Vision	269
VAN WYK, A. GERHARD. Beyond Modernism: Scholarship and "Servanthood"	77
WAITE, ALBERT A. C. From Seventh-day Adventism to David Koresh: The British Connection	107
WARNING, WILFRIED. Terminological Patterns and Genesis 38	293
YOUNKER, RANDALL W., AND DAVID MERLING. Madaba Plains Project: Tall Jalul, 1999	45

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

FIGUEROA-VILLARREAL, VICTOR. Gustavo Gutierrez's Understanding of the Kingdom of God in the Light of the Second Vatican Council	306
NDLOVU, TRUST J. The Church as an Agent of Reconciliation in the Thought of Desmond Tutu	127
NINOW, FRIEDBERT. Indicators of Typology within the Old Testament: The Exodus Motif	128

- REGAZZI, MARK B. The Delimitation of Pericopes: A Case Study in Matthew 307

BOOK REVIEWS

- Anderson, Gerald H., ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Jon L. Dybdahl) 129
- Arnold, Bill T., and Bryan E. Beyer. *Encountering the Old Testament: A Christian Survey* (Ed Christian) 130
- Audi, Robert, and Nicholas Wolterstorff. *Religion in the Public Square: The Place of Religious Convictions in Political Debate (Point/Counterpoint)* (Otis Coutsoumpos) 308
- Bailey, Mark, and Tom Constable. *The New Testament Explorer: Discovering the Essence, Background and Meaning of Every Book in the New Testament* 310
- Baldwin, John Templeton. *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary: Why a Global Flood is Vital to the Doctrine of Atonement* (Tim Standish) 310
- Ballis, Peter H. *Leaving the Adventist Ministry: A Study of the Process of Exiting* (George R. Knight) 132
- Beale, G. K. *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Jon Paulien) 313
- Betz, Hans Dieter, Don S. Browning, Bernd Janowski, and Eberhard Jüngel, eds. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft* (Frank M. Hasel) 134
- Blouin, Francis X., Jr. ed. *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* (P. Gerard Damsteegt) 315
- Braaten, Carl E., and Robert W. Jenson, eds. *Union With Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (C. Raymond Holmes) 136
- Bray, Gerald, ed. *Romans* (Chris A. Miller) 138
- Briggs, Robert A. *Jewish Temple Imagery in the Book of Revelation* (Jon Paulien) 317
- Burtchaell, James Tunstead. *The Dying of the Light the Disengagement of Colleges and Universities From Their Christian Churches* (George R. Knight) 140
- Carro, Daniel, and Richard F. Wilson, eds. *Contemporary Gospel Accents: Doing Theology in Africa, Asia, Southeast Asia, and Latin America* (Russell Staples) 141

- Collins, Kenneth J. *The Scripture Way of Salvation: The Heart of John Wesley's Theology* (Woodrow W. Whidden) 143
- Crossan, John Dominic. *The Birth of Christianity: Discovering What Happened in the Years Immediately after the Execution of Jesus* (Robert K. McIver) 144
- Dembski, William A. *Mere Creation: Science, Faith and Intelligent Design* (Timothy G. Standish) 147
- Dittes, James E. *Pastoral Counseling: The Basics* (Alfonso Valenzuela) 149
- Fahlbusch, Erwin, et al. eds. *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* (George R. Knight) 150
- Fisher, Robert B. *West African Religious Traditions: Focus on the Akan of Ghana* (Keith A. Burton) 152
- Freedman, David Noel. *Divine Commitment and Human Obligation: Selected Writings of David Noel Freedman*, 2 vols. (Michael G. Hasel) 319
- Geisler, Norman. *Chosen But Free: A Balanced View of Divine Election* (Ed Christian) 321
- Greenspahn, Frederick E. *An Introduction to Aramaic* (Zdravko Stefanovic) 324
- Grenz, Stanley J., David Guretzki, and Cherith Fee Nordling. *Pocket Dictionary of Theological Terms* (Karen K. Abrahamson) 154
- Hasel, Michael G. *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300-1185 B.C.* (David Merling) 155
- Hayes, John Haralson. *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Frank M. Hasel) 325
- Hess, Richard S., and Gordon J. Wenham, eds. *Make the Old Testament Live: From Curriculum to Classroom* (Lael Caesar) 327
- Hill, Andrew E. *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction & Commentary* (Lael Caesar) 328
- Jasper, David, Stephen Prickett, and Andrew Hass, eds. *The Bible and Literature: A Reader* (Ed Christian) 330
- Jeeves, Malcom A., and R. J. Berry. *Science, Life, and Christian Belief: A Survey of Contemporary Issues* (Clyde L. Webster, Jr.) 332
- Johnson, Phillip E. *Objections Sustained: Subversive Essays on Evolution, Law, and Culture* (Karen G. Jensen) 157

Kaiser, Walter C., Jr. <i>A History of Israel: From the Bronze Age through the Jewish Wars</i> (David Merling)	333
Kee, Howard Clark. <i>To Every Nation Under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles</i> (Bertram L. Melbourne)	159
Long, V. Philips, ed. <i>Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography</i> (Tarsi Li)	335
Maag, Karin, ed. <i>Melanchthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg</i>	336
Macchia, Stephen A. <i>Becoming a Healthy Church</i> (Russell Burrill)	162
Marsden, George M. <i>The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship</i> (Russell Staples)	163
Murphy, Roland E., and Elizabeth Huwiler. <i>Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs</i> (Jim E. Miller)	165
Neyrey, Jerome H. <i>Honor and Shame in the Gospel of Matthew</i> (David A. DeSilva)	166
Nyirongo, Lenard. <i>The Gods of Africa or the God of the Bible: The Snares of African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective</i> (Ernst R. Wendland)	168
O'Brien, Peter T. <i>The Letter to the Ephesians</i> (Carl P. Cosaert)	338
Pérez Fernández, Miguel. <i>An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew</i> (Bernard Taylor)	169
Pfitzner, Victor C. <i>Hebrews</i> (Carl P. Cosaert)	170
Pöhler, Rolf J. <i>Continuity and Change in Christian Doctrine: A Study of the Problem of Doctrinal Development</i> (George R. Knight)	171
Quinn, John R. <i>The Reform of the Papacy: The Costly Call to Christian Unity</i> (Denis Fortin)	173
Recinos, Harold J. <i>Who Comes in The Name of The Lord? Jesus at the Margin</i> (Bruce Campbell Moyer)	175
Robinson, Haddon W. <i>Making a Difference in Preaching: Haddon Robinson on Biblical Preaching</i> (R. Clifford Jones)	176
Rolston, Holmes, III. <i>Genes, Genesis and God: Values and Their Origins in Natural and Human History</i> (Timothy G. Standish)	178
Schreiner, Thomas R. <i>Romans</i> (P. Richard Choi)	340
Sider, Ronald J. <i>Just Generosity</i> (Bruce Campbell Moyer)	180
Spencer, Aida Besançon, and William David Spencer. <i>The Global God—Multicultural Evangelical Views of God</i> (Jon L. Dybdahl)	181

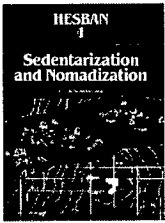
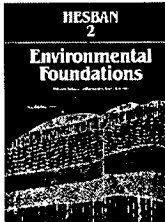
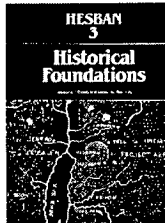
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- Thangaraj, M. Thomas. *The Common Task: A Theology of Christian Mission* (Bruce Campbell Moyer) 182
- Vance, Laura Lee. *Seventh-day Adventism in Crisis: Gender and Sectarian Change in an Emerging Religion* (Brian E. Strayer) 184
- Weathers, Stephen, Jack Welch, and Darryl Tippens, eds. *Shadow & Light: Literature & the Life of Faith* (Ed Christian) 330
- Weblowsky, R. J. Zwi, and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion* (Jacques Doukhan) 186
- Wells, Ronald A., ed. *History and the Christian Historian* (Gary Land) 187
- Witte, John, Jr., and Michael Bourdeaux, eds. *Proselytism and Orthodoxy in Russia* (Oleg Zhigankov) 189
- Zurcher, J. R. *Touched With Our Feelings: A Historical Survey of Adventist Thought on the Human Nature of Christ* (Denis Fortin) 342

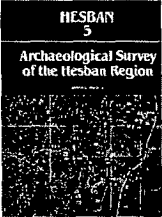
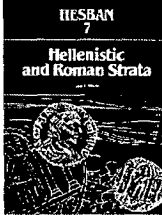
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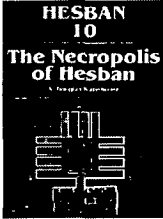
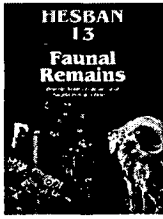
Lawrence T. Geraty and Øystein S. LaBianca, series editors

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	<p><i>Øystein Sakala LaBianca (Andrews University)</i></p> <p>This landmark volume has been hailed "the coming of age" of Syro-Palestinian Archaeology. Using the food system concept as an interpretive framework, the volume links the degree to which the population of Hesban was sedentary or nomadic over time to changes in their strategies for securing food, water, and protection.</p> <p>Published in 1990 Includes 47 figures, 83 plates, and 16 tables; 353 pages.</p>
	<p><i>Øystein Sakala LaBianca (Andrews University) and Larry Lacelle (British Columbia Ministry of Environment), eds.</i></p> <p>Another testimony to the Heshbon Expedition's commitment to the "new archaeology agenda," this volume provides an introduction to the historical environment of Hesban, including changes over time in the local climate, geology and soils, surface and groundwater resources, and vegetation cover. The volume also explores the implications of these changes for successive generations of Hesbanites.</p> <p>Published in 1986 Includes 26 figures, 42 plates, and 9 tables; 174 pages.</p> <p>Contributors: Patricia Crawford (Boston Univ.), Kevin Ferguson (Clark Univ.), Dennis Gilliland, Tim Hudson (Univ. of Southern Mississippi).</p>
	<p><i>Lawrence T. Geraty (La Sierra University) and Leona G. Running (Andrews University), eds.</i></p> <p>Heshbon/Esbous/Hesban is well represented in literary sources from antiquity. This volume provides a comprehensive introduction to references to Hesban and its surroundings as described in the OT as well as in Egyptian, Greek, Arabic, and European literary sources. The history of OT, Christian, and Islamic Hesban is presented on the basis of these sources.</p> <p>Published in 1989 Includes 4 figures and 1 plate; 97 pages.</p> <p>Contributors: Arthur J. Ferch, Malcolm B. Russell (Andrews Univ.), Werner K. Vyhmeister (Andrews Univ.).</p>

<p>Hesban 4 Ethnoarchaeological Foundations</p>	<p><i>Øystein Sakala LaBianca (Andrews University)</i> In Process</p>
	<p><i>Robert D. Ibach Jr. (Dallas Theological Seminary)</i></p> <p>This volume offers systematic descriptions, including numerous maps and photographs, of the 148 archaeological sites visited by the expedition's regional survey team within a 10-km radius of Tell Hesban. The finds reported span the Chalcolithic through the Late Ottoman periods. The volume also includes a discussion of the likely route of the Jericho-Livias-Esbous road which connected Esbous with Jerusalem during Roman and Byzantine times.</p> <p>Published in 1987 Includes 18 figures, 198 plates, and 34 tables; 299 pages.</p>
<p><i>Hesban 6</i> <i>Iron Age Strata</i></p>	<p><i>Paul J. Ray Jr. (Andrews University)</i> In Process</p>
	<p><i>Larry A. Mitchel</i></p> <p>Volume 7 presents a layer-by-layer account of Tell Hesban's five Hellenistic and Roman strata (2d century B.C. to the 4th century A.D.). Included are numerous plans and photographs of Hesban's discoveries which are interpreted in the light of contemporary natural, cultural, and historical events. The discoveries include the architectural remains of a Hasmonaean fortress and a Roman temple.</p> <p>Published in 1992 Includes 38 figures, 92 plates, and 7 tables; 189 pages.</p>
<p>Hesban 8A Byzantine and Early Islamic Strata</p>	<p><i>J. Bjørnar Storfjell</i> In Process</p>
<p>Hesban 8B The Hesban North Church</p>	<p><i>John I. Lawlor (Baptist Bible Seminary)</i> In Process</p>
<p>Hesban 9 Middle and Late Islamic Strata</p>	<p><i>Bethany Walker (University of Toronto) and Bert de Vries (Calvin College)</i> In Process</p>

 <p>HESBAN 10 The Necropolis of Hesban</p>	<p><i>S. Douglas Waterhouse (Andrews University)</i></p> <p>This study classifies the dozens of tombs located in the Necropolis of Hesban into six types: chamber tombs with loculi radiating from the chamber, chamber tombs with adjoining arching alcoves (arcosolia), chamber tombs with both loculi and arcosolia, horizontal shaft tombs, vertical shaft tombs, and natural caves used as burial sites. The volume also includes a chapter dealing with the skeletal biology of the human remains from these tombs.</p> <p>Published in 1998 Includes 29 figures, 85 plates, and 80 tables; 205 pages.</p> <p>Contributors: George Armelagos (Emory Univ.), Howard Krug, Ann Grauer (Loyola Univ.), and S. Douglas Waterhouse</p>
<p>Hesban 11 Ceramic Finds</p>	<p><i>Larry G. Herr (Canadian University College) and James A. Sauer (American Schools of Oriental Research), eds.</i></p> <p>In Process</p>
<p>Hesban 12 Small Finds</p>	<p><i>Paul J. Ray, Jr. (Andrews University), ed.</i></p> <p>In Process</p>
 <p>HESBAN 13 Faunal Remains</p>	<p><i>Øystein Sakala LaBianca (Andrews University) and Angela von den Driesch (University of Munich), eds.</i></p> <p>More than 100,000 animal bone fragments were unearthed at Tell Hesban. This volume deals with domestic animal remains as well as with the remains of wild mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish. The volume has been praised by one of its reviewers for its multifaceted professional approach that includes both zoo archaeology (with its emphasis on biological aspects) and archaeozoology (with its emphasis on the cultural meaning of the bones).</p> <p>Published in 1995 Includes 114 figures, 186 plates, and 135 tables; 236 pages.</p> <p>Contributors: Joachim Boessneck (Univ. of Munich), Øystein Sakala LaBianca, Johannes Lepiksaar (Museum of Natural History, Sweden), Angela von den Driesch.</p>
<p>Hesban 14 Hesban and Biblical History</p>	<p><i>Øystein S. LaBianca (Andrews University) and Lawrence T. Geraty (La Sierra University), eds.</i></p> <p>In Process</p>

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = '	ה = h	ט = t	מ = m	פ = p	ש = š
ב = b	ו = w	י = y	נ = n	צ = š	ש = ś
ג = g	ז = z	כ = k	ס = s	ק = q	ת = t
ד = d	ח = h	ל = l	י = '	ר = r	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ְ = a	ֵ = e	ֶ = ê	ֹ = ô	ֻ = ô
ֶ = ā	ֶ = ē	ִ = i	ֹ = o	ֶ = û
ְ = a	ֵ = e	ֶ = î	ֹ = o	ֻ = u

(vocal shewa)

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.</i>	<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>Anchor Bible</i>	<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum græcarum</i>
<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta orientalia</i>	<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum indaicarum</i>
<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual Dept. Ant. Jordan</i>	<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>	<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	<i>CJT</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>	<i>CQ</i>	<i>Church Quarterly</i>
<i>ANEP</i>	<i>Anc. Near East in Pictures</i>	<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i>	<i>CT</i>	<i>Christianity Today</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>	<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
<i>AnOr</i>	<i>Analecta orientalia</i>	<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Auf. und Nieder. der römischen Welt</i>	<i>CurTM</i>	<i>Currents in Theol. and Mission</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationgeschichte</i>	<i>DOTT</i>	<i>Doc. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dict. of the NT</i>
<i>AusBR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>	<i>EKL</i>	<i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews Seminary Studies</i>	<i>EnclS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	<i>EnclJud</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>	<i>ER</i>	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin Amer. Sch. Oriental Research</i>	<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>BCSR</i>	<i>Bull. Council on the Study of Religion</i>	<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia</i>	<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>	<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies</i>
<i>BibB</i>	<i>Biblische Beiträge</i>	<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>BIES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Expl. Society</i>	<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin, John Rylands University</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>	<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>BKAT</i>	<i>Bibl. Kommentar: Altes Testament</i>	<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>	<i>IB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>	<i>ICC</i>	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>	<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>	<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>	<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>BZAW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur ZAW</i>	<i>ISBE</i>	<i>International Standard Bible Ency.</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur ZNW</i>	<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journ. American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>	<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journ. of the Amer. Or. Society</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>	<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journ. of Asian Studies</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>	<i>JATS</i>	<i>Journ. of the Adventist Theol. Soc.</i>

Abbreviations (continued)

JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	RevSém	<i>Revue sémitique</i>
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>	RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>	RHPR	<i>Revue d'hist. et de phil. religieuses</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangel. Theol. Soc.</i>	RL	<i>Religion in Life</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>	RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>	RR	<i>Review of Religion</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	RRR	<i>Review of Religious Research</i>
JMeH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>	RSPT	<i>Revue des sc. phil. et théol.</i>
JMES	<i>Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>	RTP	<i>Revue de théol. et de phil.</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>	SA	<i>Sociological Analysis</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	SB	<i>Sources bibliques</i>
JPOS	<i>Journal of Palest. Orient. Soc.</i>	SBlds	<i>SBL Dissertation Series</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>	SBLMS	<i>SBL Monograph Series</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>	SBLBS	<i>SBL Sources for Biblical Study</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>	SBLTT	<i>SBL Texts and Translations</i>
JRE	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>	SBT	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
JReS	<i>Journal of Religious Studies</i>	SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
JSNr	<i>Journal for the Study of the NT</i>	SCR	<i>Studies in Comparative Religion</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>	Sem	<i>Semitica</i>
JRT	<i>Journal of Religious Thought</i>	SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>	SMRT	<i>Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the OT</i>	SOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>	SPB	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i>
JSSR	<i>Journal for the Scien. Study of Religion</i>	SSS	<i>Semitic Studies Series</i>
JTC	<i>Journal for Theol. and Church</i>	ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>	TD	<i>Theology Digest</i>
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>	TDNT	<i>Theol. Dict. of the NT</i>
LW	<i>Luther's Works, American Ed.</i>	TDOT	<i>Theol. Dict. of the OT</i>
LQ	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>	TEH	<i>Theologische Existenz Heute</i>
MQR	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>	TGI	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>	TJ	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
NHS	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>	TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
NICNT	<i>New Internl. Commentary, NT</i>	TP	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
NICOT	<i>New Internl. Commentary, OT</i>	TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
NIDNTT	<i>New Inter. Dict. of NT Theol.</i>	TRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
NIGTC	<i>New Internl. Greek Test. Comm.</i>	TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
NKZ	<i>New Kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	TT	<i>Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
NPNF	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i>	TToday	<i>Theology Today</i>
NRT	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>	TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
NTA	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>	TWAT	<i>Theo. Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
NTAp	<i>NT Apocrypha, Schneemelcher</i>	TWOT	<i>Theological Wordbook of the OT</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dict. of Christian Church</i>	UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>	USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia (Rome)</i>	VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens christianus</i>	VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
OTP	<i>OT Pseudepigrapha, Charlesworth</i>	VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum, Supplements</i>
OTS	<i>Oldtestamentische Studien</i>	WA	<i>Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>	WBC	<i>Word Biblical Commentary</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca, Migne</i>	WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina, Migne</i>	ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie</i>	ZAW	<i>Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wissen.</i>
QDAP	<i>Quart. Dept. of Ant. in Palestine</i>	ZDMG	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. morgen. Gesll.</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'arch.</i>	ZDPV	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Vereins</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.</i>	ZEE	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>	ZHT	<i>Zeitsch. für historische Theologie</i>
RechSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>	ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
REg	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>	ZKT	<i>Zeitsch. für katholische Theologie</i>
ReS	<i>Religious Studies</i>	ZMR	<i>Zeitsch. für Mission. und Religion.</i>
RelSoc	<i>Religion and Society</i>	ZNW	<i>Zeitsch. für die neuest. Wissen.</i>
RelSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>	ZRGG	<i>Zeitsch. für Rel. und Geistesgeschichte</i>
RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>	ZST	<i>Zeitsch. für systematische Theologie</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>	ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
RevScRel	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>	ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissen. Theologie</i>