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Andrews University Press

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REVIEWS

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MORE ON *KATAPETASMA*

Roy Gane's article, "Re-Opening *Katapetasma* ('Veil') in Hebrews 6:19," from the Spring 2000 issue of *AUSS*, has evoked considerable discussion. Two responses are published in this issue. Norman Young agrees with Gane's basic exegesis, but further explores its implications. Richard Davidson offers a contrasting view to both Gane and Young. Neither author is ready yet to rest his case. Rebuttals from both are scheduled for the Spring 2002 issue of *AUSS*.

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"WHERE JESUS HAS GONE AS A FORERUNNER ON OUR BEHALF" (HEBREWS 6:20)

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In a recent short article Roy Gane has argued convincingly that the LXX background to Heb 6:19-20 supports the interpretation that Christ entered "the inner part of the heavenly sanctuary"[1] at the time of Jesus' ascension. In his brief note, Gane challenges the view of G. E. Rice that Heb 6:19-20 has an entirely different context to the LXX data. Rice argued in several places that Heb 6:19-20 was not specific as to which veil was meant.[2] Gane's case to the contrary seems cogent to me. However, there are several elements in Rice's argument that Gane's short paper was not able to address. This article, which essentially agrees with Gane, is an addendum to and expansion of his brief note.

Hebrews 6:19-20 uses rich metaphors and OT allusions in asserting that both hope and Jesus have entered "within the veil." The great majority of NT scholars conclude that the background to this declaration (Heb 6:19-20) is the Aaronic high priest's entrance into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. For example, B. F. Westcott wrote, "Hope enters to the innermost Sanctuary, the true Holy of Holies, that presence of God, where Christ is."[3] More recent commentators, such as F. F. Bruce, Otto Michel, G. W. Buchanan, Otfried Hofius, P. E. Hughes, S. J. Kistemaker, H. W. Attridge, D. A. Hagner, W. L. Lane, H.-F. Weiss, Paul Ellingworth, and D. A. deSilva are equally certain that Heb 6:19-20 draws on Lev 16:2, 12, 15 (verses which describe the earthly high priest's Day of Atonement entrance into the most holy place) to depict Jesus' ascension to heaven.[4] Indeed, so confident are modern commentators

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[1]R. E. Gane, "Re-Opening *Katapetasma* ('Veil') in Hebrews 6:19," *AUSS* 38 (2000): 5-8.

[2]G. E. Rice, "Within Which Veil?" *Ministry*, June 1987, 20-21; idem, "Hebrews 6:19: Analysis of Some Assumptions Concerning *Katapetasma*," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. F. B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 229-234 (reprinted with corrections by the author from *AUSS* 5 [1987]: 65-71); idem, *The Priesthood of Jesus in the Book of Hebrew*[s] (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), 1-56.

[3]B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays*, 2d ed. (London: Macmillan, 1892), 163.

[4]Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 12th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 253-254; G. W. Buchanan, *To the Hebrews*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 116;

about the allusion to the Day of Atonement in Heb 6:19-20 that it is rare for any other possibility to even gain a mention.

George Rice is thus boldly going against the scholarly consensus when he argues that "*katapetasma* [veil] is introduced simply to locate where Jesus is ministering—the place where the hope of the covenant people is centered and from whence the covenant blessings are dispensed."[5] Elsewhere he states "that the word *veil* is used metaphorically to point to the sanctuary as a whole, and that, unlike Hebrews 9:3, Hebrews 6 makes no attempt to identify to which veil it refers."[6]

Rice appeals to three considerations in his argument that Heb 6:19-20 refers to Jesus' entering the heavenly sanctuary as a whole without specific reference to the Day of Atonement or the most holy place. First, he notes that the word καταπέτασμα as used in the LXX is nonspecific and can refer to any one of several veils of the tabernacle. Second, he maintains that the comparative adjective ἐσώτερον simply means "within" and may "just as well be the first apartment of the sanctuary as the 'inner shrine.'"[7] Third, he contends that the context of Lev 16:2, 12, 15 is entirely different from Heb 6:19-20 and should not be appealed to in exegeting the latter passage. In my opinion these three contentions cannot be sustained by reference to the texts.

καταπέτασμα *and the LXX Evidence*

Rice argues that the LXX translators used καταπέτασμα quite indiscriminately for the curtain of the courtyard, the curtain at the entrance of the sanctuary, and the curtain before the most holy place. He notes that of the eleven references to the curtain at the entrance of the sanctuary, the LXX uses καταπέτασμα six times; and of the six references to the courtyard veil, the LXX uses καταπέτασμα five times. From this data

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Otfried Hofius, *Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1972), 87-89; P. E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 236; S. J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, New Testament Commentary (Welwyn, Herts: Evangelical Press, 1984), 176; H. W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia, PA: Fortress, 1989), 184-185; F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 155; D. A. Hagner, *Hebrews*, NIBC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1990), 98; W. L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8*, WBC (Dallas: Word, 1991) 154; H.-F Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 15th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 367-368; Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 347; D. A. deSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle "to the Hebrews"* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 251, n. 98.

[5]Rice, "Hebrews 6:19," 234.

[6]Rice, "Within Which Veil?" 21.

[7]Rice, "Hebrews 6:19," 232.

he infers that "to declare that the veil in Hebrews 6:19 is the inner veil because the Septuagint uses *katapetasma* for this veil is erroneous."[8] Early Adventist writers relied on the same data to draw the identical conclusion.[9]

In fact the data are not nearly as ambiguous as Rice claims (see n. 10 below). By my reckoning the LXX uses καταπέτασμα for the veil of the courtyard five times. These five references where καταπέτασμα is used for the veil of the courtyard are clarified by added genitival phrases. In addition, the LXX renders four of the ten references in the Masoretic text to the veil at the entrance of the sanctuary proper with καταπέτασμα. Again, the added genitival phrases preclude ambiguity. Lastly, the inner veil is mentioned unequivocally in the Hebrew Bible twenty-three times, and twenty-two of these are rendered in the LXX by καταπέτασμα.[10]

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[8]Rice, "Within Which Veil?" 21.

[9]See W. G. Johnsson, "Day of Atonement Allusions," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. F. B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 105-120; P. G. Damsteegt, "Among Sabbatarian Adventists, 1845-1850," in *Doctrine of the Sanctuary: A Historical Survey*, ed. F. B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 17-55, esp. 54.

[10]The Hebrew word מסך is used seven times for the courtyard curtain (Exod 27:16; 35:17; 38:18; 40:8, 33; Num 3:26; 4:26), and the LXX translates these with καταπέτασμα only twice (Exod 37:16 = 38:18; Num 3:26). The LXX also uses καταπέτασμα twice for the veil of the courtyard where there appears to be no equivalent in the Hebrew (Num 4:32; 1 Kings 6:36). It is also probable that the single use of καταπέτασμα in Exod 39:19 = 39:40 (מסך) refers both to the courtyard curtain and to the curtain at the entrance of the tabernacle. Thus there are five places in the LXX where καταπέτασμα refers to the courtyard veil, but only two of these are based directly on the seven references in the Hebrew. Furthermore, each of these examples is unequivocal because of the qualifying genitives, thus: τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς πύλης τῆς αὐλῆς (Exod 37:16; Num 3:26; 4:32); καταπέτασμα τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ αἰλὰμ τοῦ οἴκου (1 Kgs 6:36); τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῆς πύλης τῆς αὐλῆς (Exod 39:19).

The Masoretic text also uses מסך nine times for the outer veil of the tabernacle (Exod 26:36, 37; 35:15; 36:37; 39:38, [40]; 40:5, 28; Num 3:25; 4:25). The LXX uses καταπέτασμα for four of these references (Exod 26:37; 37:5 = 36:37; 39:19 = 39:40; 40:5 [κάλυμμα καταπετάσματος]). Again ambiguity is precluded by the added genitives: τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου (Exod 37:5); καταπέτασμα τῆς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς (Exod 39.19); κάλυμμα καταπετάσματος ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου (Exod 40:5). In Exod 26:37 τῷ καταπετάσματι is in parallel to ἐπίσπαστρον τῇ θύρᾳ (v. 36), which clarifies the reference to the first veil of the tabernacle.

The Hebrew word פרכת is used for the inner veil that divided the sanctuary into its two chambers. The word occurs twenty-five times in the Masoretic text (Exod 26:31, 33 [thrice], 35; 27:21; 30:6; 35:12; 36:35; 38:27; 39:34; 40:3, 21, 22, 26; Lev 4:6, 17; 16:2, 12, 15; 21:33; 24:3; Num 4:5; 18:7; 2 Chr 3:14). The LXX translates פרכת with καταπέτασμα on twenty-four occasions; the only exception is 39:20 = 39:34, which uses τὰ ἐπικαλύμματα to translate פרכת המסך ('the screening curtain'). The expanded phrase פרכת המסך occurs in three other verses (Exod 35:12; 40:21; Num 4:5), and the LXX reflects this on two occasions: τὸ κατακάλυμμα τοῦ καταπετάσματος (Exod 40:21); τὸ καταπέτασμα τὸ συσκιάζον (Num 4:5).

There are three references that could refer to either the inner or outer veils of the tabernacle, namely, Lev 21:23 (פרכת); Num 18:7 (פרכת); and Num 3:10 (no Hebrew equivalent). Rice classifies these three as references "to the first veil of the sanctuary," but the texts are not so clear as to allow this without qualification.[11] Thus, whenever καταπέτασμα is used absolutely and/or with a prepositional phrase to translate the Hebrew word פרכת, with two possible exceptions (Lev 21:23; Num 18:7), it refers to the inner veil.[12] It is important, therefore, to note that καταπέτασμα in Heb 6:19 is used absolutely (that is, it is not qualified by any genitival phrase), and furthermore, it is used with a prepositional phrase. Thus, although Rice correctly infers that the mere presence of καταπέτασμα of itself in Heb 6:19 does not indicate indisputably that the inner veil is meant, the evidence of the LXX (and the underlying Hebrew text) certainly points strongly in that direction.

The Significance of τὸ ἐσώτερον

Rice maintains that in Lev 16:2 and Heb 6:19 ἐσώτερον "should be taken as a positive adjective and not a comparative adjective"—that is, ἐσώτερον is equivalent to ἔσω and should be translated simply as "within."[13] This conclusion is used to support Rice's view "that Jesus' position at God's right hand is thought of by the author as an aspect of Jesus' heavenly ministry which parallels the activities in the first apartment of the earthly sanctuary."[14] An examination of the usage of ἐσώτερον in the Greek Bible demonstrates that it cannot support the weight Rice puts on it.

It is quite impossible to restrict the meaning of ἐσώτερον to "within." In 1 Sam (= 1 Kgdms) 24:4, David and his men sit in the innermost part of the cave (ἐσώτερον τοῦ σπηλαίου). Ἐσώτερον in 2 Chr 4:22 refers to the inner door of the most holy place (ἡ θύρα τοῦ οἴκου ἡ ἐσωτέρα εἰς τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἁγίων). Frequently, ἐσώτερον is used to convey the idea of an inner court or gate beyond an outer one (2 Chr 23:20; Esth 4:11; Ezek 44:27; 45:19; 46:1; 1 Macc 9:54).[15] The NRSV quite correctly translates

[11]Rice, "Hebrews 6:19," 231.

[12]Gane has presented a good case for taking even Lev 21:23 and Num 18:7 as references to the inner veil (see 6, n. 5).

[13]Rice, *The Priesthood of Jesus*, 31; "Hebrews 6:19," 232-233. In a private letter to me, Rice confirms his basic position concerning ἐσώτερον, but hesitates to say outright that the comparative is used for the positive (25 October 1988).

[14]Ibid., 17.

[15]For a plan of the Ezekiel court, see S. H. Horn, ed., *Seventh-day Adventist Bible*

Acts 16:24 as "in the innermost cell" (εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν φυλακήν). There really is no reason on the basis of the term ἐσώτερον alone for excluding the meaning "innermost" from its semantic range. This is especially so since in Hellenistic Greek the comparative with the article (as is the case in Heb 6:19) generally has superlative force.[16] Therefore, the LXX of Lev 16:2 could just as readily mean the "innermost part from the curtain" as Rice's more generalized "within the veil."

However, the real problem with Rice's approach is his insistence on examining the "key parts" of the phrase εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος independently of one another instead of researching the phrase as a whole.[17] This approach is methodologically unsound. Rice emphasizes that in Heb 9:3 the author adds the numeral δεύτερον to clarify which veil is meant, but it is just as important to note that in Heb 6:19 he adds εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον, for the total phrase indicates just as clearly as δεύτερον which veil is meant. The phrase occurs only five times in the Greek Bible, four times in the LXX and once in the NT.[18] They are as follows:

Exod 26:33	εἰσοίσεις ... ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος
Lev 16:2	εἰσπορευέσθω ... εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος
Lev 16:12	εἰσοίσει ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος
Lev 16:15	εἰσοίσει ... ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος
Heb 6:19	εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος ... εἰσῆλθεν

The four references from the LXX all refer to the most holy place. The Hebrew behind these four references is מבית לפרכת. This phrase occurs

Dictionary, rev. ed. (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1979), s.v. "Temple," 1098.

[16]A. T. Robinson states: "Indeed one may broadly say with Blass, that in the κοινή vernacular the comparative with the article takes over the peculiar functions of the superlative" (_A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research_, 3d ed. [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919], 667-668); cf. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, _A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature_ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 32-33.

[17]Rice, "Within the Veil," 20.

[18]The phrase is not found in Philo or Josephus. The nearest configurations are πρὸς τοῖς ἀδύτοις καταπετάσματος ἐσωτέρω τοῦ προτέρου (Philo, _Spec. Leg._ 1.231—"to sprinkle some of the blood with his finger seven times over against the veil at the inner shrine, beyond the first veil" [Loeb translation]); ἐν ἀδύτοις εἴσω τοῦ προτέρου καταπετάσμος (_Spec. Leg._ 1.274—referring presumably to the outer veil); ἐν ἀδύτῳ ... τῶν καταπετασμάτων εἴ σω (Philo, _Vit. Mos._ 2.95); τὸ ἐσωτάτω καταπέτασμα (Philo, _Gig._ 53); and πρὸ τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ ἀδύτου (Josephus, _AJ_ 8.90). Philo carefully distinguishes between the two veils, using κάλυμμα for the outer, and καταπέτασμα for the inner (_Vit. Mos._ 2.87, 101), though it may be going too far to say that Philo uses καταπέτασμα "exclusively for the inner veil" (Gane, 8, and n. 13, but see _Spec. Leg._ 1.274).

in one other place, Num 18:7. Numbers 18:7 is one of the three LXX
texts where it is unclear whether the first or second veil of the tabernacle
is meant.[19] The LXX reflects this uncertainty by using language for these
three texts that is quite different from the four verses listed above: ἔσω
τοῦ καταπετάσματος (Num 3:10, no equivalent in the Hebrew); τὸ ἔνδοθεν
τοῦ καταπετάσματος (Num 18:7 מבית לפרכת); πρὸς τὸ καταπέτασμα οὐ
προσελεύσεται (Lev 21:23 אל־הפרכת). The Greek of these passages is quite
different from that found in Heb 6:19, so these three verses cannot
provide a linguistic background for Heb 6:19. Accordingly, there are only
four verses in the LXX that reflect the language of Heb 6:19, namely,
Exod 26:33; Lev 16:2, 12, 15—all of which refer unequivocally to the most
holy place. Does the context of Heb 6:19 differ so radically from these
four LXX passages that we are obliged, as Rice argues, to ignore the
linguistic similarity between Heb 6:19 and Lev 16:2, 12, 15?

The Context of Hebrews 6:19-20

Because Heb 6:19 does not use ἅγιον with ἐσώτερον, as is the case in
Lev 16:2, Rice argues that this distances Heb 6:19 from Lev 16:2.[20] The
fact that Exod 26:33 and Lev 16:12, 15 also lack the additional ἅγιον
militates against the force of this opinion. The common pattern between
Exod 26:33; Lev 16:2, 12, 15; and Heb 6:19 is obvious and cannot easily be
ignored. Rice's attempt to shift the background of Heb 6:19-20 from the Day
of Atonement to the Abrahamic covenant is also quite unconvincing.

Rice argues that the term "καταπέτασμα is simply dropped into a
discussion of the Abrahamic covenant and the dispensing of that
covenant."[21] There is nothing, he maintains, in the context to indicate
which veil is referred to. This ignores the strong parallel between the
promise that was confirmed by an oath, which God gave to Abraham
(Heb 6:13-17) and the divine oath that installed Jesus as the Melchizedek
high priest and a guarantor of a better covenant (Heb 7:20-22). The
unalterable nature of the divine oath is common to both passages (6:17-18;
7:20-21, 28). Hebrews 6:19-20 acts as a link-verse between these two
passages and concludes with the promise that Jesus is a high priest forever
according to the order of Melchizedek.[22] Hence Heb 6:19-20 is as much

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[19]As previously noted, Gane makes a good case for taking Lev 21:23 and Num 18:7 as
references to the inner veil; see 6, n. 5 above.

[20]Rice, "Hebrews 6:19," 232.

[21]Ibid, 234.

[22]Rice's conclusion, based on his belief that Heb 7:1-10.39 forms a "three-step chiasm," agrees
that Jesus as King-Priest is central to Hebrews, not least in Heb 6:20 (G. E. Rice, "The Chiastic

about high priesthood as it is about covenant, and the priesthood theme is not something that the author "simply dropped" in.

Furthermore, Heb 6:19-20 is not merely concerned with the investment of Jesus into the Melchizedek high priesthood, but also assures us that as our forerunner he has *entered* within the veil. Hebrews' contrast between Jesus' Melchizedek high priesthood and the Aaronic high priesthood is particularly concerned with how and where the respective priests entered (9:6-7, 11-12, 24-25). There is only one passage in the OT that speaks of the high priest going within the veil—that is the Day of Atonement chapter, Lev 16. Even Exod 26:33 is excluded, for the command there addresses Moses and refers to the setting up of the tabernacle, not to its cultic service. The phrase "the innermost place from the veil" cannot be dissociated from the contextual terms "high priest" and "entered"; and these terms are not the language of the Abrahamic covenant.

The aorists (v. 20) are instructive too: "having become an high priest" (ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος), "Jesus entered" (εἰσῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς). Jesus' entrance is not something he did partially, or momentarily; nor is it something he is to do repeatedly, as is the case with the Aaronic high priests, but something he has concluded once for all.[23] The LXX passages in Lev 16 use the present imperative or the future tense, and the Greek of Hebrews is always present tense when speaking of the Levitical priests. Contrariwise, Hebrews consistently uses the aorist when speaking of Jesus' self-offering or entrance into the presence of God.[24] That the one priesthood was ongoing while the other was final is an essential part of Hebrews' contrast.

The Parallel with Heb 10:19-20

Rice argues, on the basis of his belief that Heb 6:19-20 and 10:19-34 form corresponding components of a chiasm, that whatever veil is referred to in 6:19 must also be referred to in 10:20.[25] On his premises,

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Structure of the Central Section of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *AUSS* 10 [1981]: 243-246).

[23]Thus, it is incorrect to think of Jesus temporarily entering the heavenly holiest to dedicate his office, only to retreat to some outer region of the heavenly sanctuary. On the other hand, denying that Jesus continues to make an offering for sin beyond the cross is not to deny that he continues to minister the benefits of his atonement to all who seek him.

[24]For the aorist in connection with Jesus' offering and entrance, see Heb 1:3, 4; 2:18; 5:10; 6:20; 7:26, 27; 8:3; 9:11, 12, 15, 28; 10:12. The present subjunctive in Heb 9:25 is, of course, in the form of a denial.

[25]Rice, "Within the Veil," 21. In his more scholarly article, Rice consistently translates "inner shrine" for καταπέτασμα in both passages ("The Chiastic Structure of the Central Section," 243-246).

this means the outer veil at the entrance of the tabernacle. However, we
have shown that this view is incorrect, and that the language of Heb 6:19-
20 has as its background the Day of Atonement entrance of the Aaronic
high priest into the most holy place. Consequently, if there is any chiastic
parallel between 6:19-20 and 10:19-20, we must conclude that the latter
passage also refers to the high priest's entrance into the most holy place
on the Day of Atonement. This is confirmed when one notes the parallel
nature of the two passages.[26]

Hebrews 6:19-20	Hebrews 10:19-21
ἣν ὡς ἄγκυραν ἔχομεν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ βεβαίαν καὶ εἰσερχομένην	Ἔχοντες οὖν, αχδελφοί, παρρησίαν
εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος,[20] ὅπου πρόδρομος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος
εἰσῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν	εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ
Μελχισέδεκ ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	καὶ ἱερέα μέγαν ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ

   The parallel nature of the passages leaves little doubt that the veil in
both texts is the same—that is the inner veil. The use of the neuter plural
τῶν ἁγίων in Heb 10:19 supports this. It is true, as Rice says, that the
LXX demonstrates that τὰ ἅγια is a general reference for the whole
sanctuary.[27] However, context can give a general reference term a specific
meaning. "Car," for example, is a general term, but if I say that someone
drove off in their car it is reasonable to assume that they are seated in the
driver's seat. Any first-century Jew who read Hebrews' language of an
annual entrance of the high priest by means of blood through the veil into
the sanctuary, would think of the Day of Atonement. This was the only
occasion when *all these acts occurred at one time*.[28]

[26]I have abridged and rearranged Heb 10:19-21 for the purpose of the parallel.

[27]Rice, *The Priesthood of Jesus*, 38-46.

[28]I have dealt with these issues elsewhere; see my "*Tout estin sarkos autou* (Heb. X. 20):

Conclusion

Adventist exegesis of Hebrews is often influenced by eschatological premises drawn from Daniel and Revelation, premises that lead to a bias against seeing Day of Atonement language in the Hebrews passages that describe Jesus' triumphant ascent into the presence of God. Thus, Rice has Jesus' post-ascension ministry at the right hand of God occurring in the outer apartment of the heavenly sanctuary. He allows that Hebrews also teaches a second-apartment ministry, but he believes that Hebrews leaves its commencement to an unspecified date in the future.[29]

This position underestimates the force of the aorist and of the other terms of finality and perfection that are so frequent in Hebrews' affirmation of Jesus in contrast to the old Aaronic order. Furthermore, Hebrews uses this language of finality in connection with Jesus' entrance into the heavenly sanctuary.[30]

Of course, the theological concerns of Hebrews should not be debased into crassly spatial terms no matter to what part of the sanctuary one relates the author's language. It goes without saying that the legitimate Adventist insight that the last judgment includes Christians is not jeopardized by faithfully accepting the theology of Hebrews. Nor should Adventists, on the basis of Hebrews, abandon their conviction that Christians' lives are assessed prior to the Second Advent. Such a viewpoint places the judgment of believers very much within the framework of the gospel, and no Christian community need apologize for doing that. On the other hand, Hebrews certainly confirms the Adventist concern to do justice to the continuing validity of the historic atonement wrought through the death of Jesus. Therefore, the essence of Adventist theology has nothing to fear from an unbiased exegesis of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Apposition, Dependent or Explicative?" *NTS* 20 (1974): 100-104; idem, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," *NTS* 27 (1981): 198-210.

[29]See Rice, *The Priesthood of Jesus*, 53-54.

[30]A significant, but not unique, recognition of this is the Consensus Document that resulted from the historic meeting of the Sanctuary Review Committee at` Glacier View Ranch, Colorado, 10-15 August 1980. The Consensus Document was accepted by 114 leading Adventist administrators and scholars and contains this statement: "The symbolic language of the Most Holy Place, 'within the veil,' is used to assure us of our full, direct, and free access to God ([Heb] chaps. 6:19-20; 9:24-28; 10:1-4)" ("Christ in the Heavenly Sanctuary," *Ministry*, October 1980, 17).

BACK TO
REVELATION-
INSPIRATION

Searching for the
Cognitive Foundation of
Christian Theology
in a Postmodern World

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In *Models of Revelation-Inspiration*, Fernando L. Canale analyzes the two
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190 pages
ISBN 0-7618-2082-5
Paper $32.00

CHRIST'S ENTRY "WITHIN THE VEIL" IN HEBREWS 6:19-20: THE OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND

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In his article "'Where Jesus Has Gone as a Forerunner on Our Behalf' (Heb 6:20),"[1] Norman Young is to be commended for insisting that one take seriously the LXX background to the Greek text of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Commentators on Hebrews generally recognize the dependence on the LXX by the author of Hebrews.[2] Any study which seeks to unlock the meaning of crucial terminology in the book of Hebrews must examine such language in the light of LXX usage.

Based upon LXX usage, Young and Roy Gane[3] (whose short article Young expands upon) have made a strong case for interpreting the expression "within the veil" in Heb 6:19 as referring to the second veil, as in the similar but not identical LXX phrase.[4] The essay that follows assumes for the sake of argument that the veil of this verse is to be identified as the second veil. But I find that such a conclusion becomes almost a moot point in comparison to the larger issue: What OT event provides the background for this passage?

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[1] Norman H. Young, "Where Jesus Has Gone as a Forerunner on Our Behalf," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 165-173.

[2] Typical is the statement of Paul Ellingworth: "There is very general agreement that the author drew is quotations, not directly from a Hebrew text, but from the LXX. . . . There is no compelling evidence that the author had access to any Hebrew text"(*The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 37). See also William L. Lane, who states: "A virtual consensus has been reached that the writer read his Bible in Greek" (*Hebrews 1-8*, vol. 47 A, WBC [Dallas: Word, 1991], cxviii).

[3] Roy E. Gane, "Re-Opening *Katapetasma* ('Veil') in Hebrews 6:19," *AUSS* 38 (2000): 5-8.

[4] The case is strong but not watertight. There are several differences between the LXX and Hebrews in wording and syntax for the phrase "within the veil." Note in particular that whereas in the LXX the term *esōteron* is used as a preposition without the article, in Hebrews it appears as a noun with the article. Further, the preposition *eis* is part of a compound verb in the LXX passages, but stands alone in Heb 6:19. Gane has provided plausible explanations for these differences, but the differences remain, and alternative explanations may yet be forthcoming that are significant in distinguishing between LXX and Hebrews usage. Furthermore, Numbers 18:7, which uses the same Hebrew phrase for "within the veil" that is behind the other LXX references that are similar to the phrase in Heb 6:19, is ambiguous (since it mentions both Aaron and his sons and only Aaron went into the Most Holy Place) and leaves open the possibility that the phrase may refer generally to everything behind both the first and second veils or even perhaps to that behind the first veil alone.

Commonly Assumed Old Testament
Background: Day of Atonement

Young and most other Hebrews commentators assume that the OT background envisaged here is the Day of Atonement, because only on this day did the Aaronic high priest enter the Most Holy Place behind the second veil, according to Pentateuchal cultic legislation. But underlying this assumption is a further one that usually remains unexamined in discussions of this passage. It is assumed by Young and many others that the "entering" event of Christ the high priest depicted in Heb 6:19-20 is in parallel or continuity with the work of the Aaronic high priest. This assumption is somewhat surprising coming from Young, in light of his statements in an earlier article on Hebrews underscoring the author of Hebrews's "common manner" of "manipulating the type to fit the antitype" and "forcing of the shadow to fit the substance."[5] If discontinuity is to be expected anywhere in the Epistle, it would be at the point where the author of Hebrews explicitly *announces* the discontinuity, based upon an OT reference to the coming "priest after the order of Melchizedek" (Ps 110 [LXX 109]:4) and not after the order of Aaron.

Another Possible Old Testament
Background: Inauguration

Melchizedek was not only priest but king, and the equivalent at the time of the Mosaic sanctuary referred to in Hebrews would encompass two persons: the human ruler Moses and Aaron the high priest. Furthermore, before Aaron was anointed as high priest, we find Moses engaging in (high) priestly activity (i.e., offering sacrifices, manipulating blood, mediating between God and the people) as well as his administrative/leadership duties. It would not be surprising, therefore, for the author of Hebrews to see Jesus, the antitypical high priest, fulfilling the roles of Moses as well as Aaron in the Levitical cultus. And this is what the epistle presents. In the author's very first reference to Christ Jesus as high priest (Heb 3:1-6), the parallel is drawn between Jesus and Moses in being faithful in/over the house of God (see also 10:20, where the motif of "High Priest over the house of God" is continued). In Heb 9, again the work of Jesus the high priest is compared with the (priestly) actions of Moses (offering sacrifices and manipulating the blood) in inaugurating the sanctuary (vv. 16-24).

[5]Norman H. Young, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," *NTS* 27 (1981): 205, 209. For an alternative view that argues for a basic continuity between Hebrews and the OT cultus (except where the OT has already indicated a continuity and this continuity in Hebrews is based upon OT citation), see Richard M. Davidson, "Typology in the Book of Hebrews," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, vol. 4, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 121-186.

In Heb 6:20, Jesus' high-priestly ministry is specifically emphasized as being "according to the order of Melchizedek," thus going beyond the work of the Aaronic high priest. Hence, in interpreting the "entering" of Jesus "within the veil" in this passage, we must look beyond the entering of the Aaronic high priest and include the entering of Moses for possible OT backgrounds to this passage. Besides the Day of Atonement, the only other occasion in which the Most Holy Place was entered was by Moses in his (priestly) work of anointing/inaugurating the sanctuary before Aaron the high priest was anointed (Exod 40:1-9; Lev 8:10-12; Num 7:1).[6] That the term "within the veil" can be connected with the complex of inauguration services of the sanctuary is apparent from its usage in Exod 26:33, where it prescribes the setting up of the sanctuary by bringing the Ark "within the veil," an event that was carried out in connection with the inauguration of the sanctuary (Exod 40:3).

Which of these two OT cultic events involving the entry "within the veil" is in view in Heb 6:19-20—Day of Atonement or inauguration? All assumptions of scholars aside, this passage taken in isolation does not provide the necessary information to decide. There is no distinctive terminology or motif in these verses that points decisively to one event and not the other. One hint, not generally noted by commentators, is that Heb 6:20 refers to "Jesus, *having become* [*genomenos*, aorist participle] High Priest." This seems to allude to a point in time in which Jesus took on the office of high priest, and in the OT system, the initiation of the priesthood (including the high priest) took place at the time of sanctuary inauguration (see Exod 40:9-15). While suggestive, this point is not decisive, especially since Jesus is high priest after the order of Melchizedek and not of Aaron.

However, there are three parallel passages in this cultic section of Hebrews that refer to Christ's entering into the sanctuary, and these may be examined to assist in the identification of the OT background alluded to in Heb 6:19-20.

Hebrews 10:19-20

The first parallel passage to which we turn is Heb 10:19-20. Albert Vanhoye has identified a chiastic parallel between Heb 6:19-20 and Heb 10:19-20.[7] The chiastic linkage between these two passages becomes even

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[6]That there was a "kingly" function as well as "priestly" involved in Moses' supervision of the inauguration of the wilderness sanctuary may be supported by the intertextual linkage to the dedication of the Solomonic Temple, in which King Solomon presided over the temple dedication, offering the dedicatory prayer and thousands of sacrifices (2 Chr 6:12-43; 7:5), although the priests brought the ark into the Most Holy Place (2 Chr 5:7).

[7]Albert Vanhoye, *Structure and Message of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Subsidia Biblica,

clearer in the more detailed literary analysis of this section of the Epistle
by William Shea:[8]

    A. The Veil—6:19-20
            B. The Priesthood—7:1-25
                    C. The Sacrifice—7:26-28
                            D. The Sanctuary—8:1-5
                                    E. The Covenant—8:6-13
                                        F. The Sanctuary—9:1-10
                                        F'.The Sanctuary—
                                              9:11-14
                                  E'. The Covenant—9:15-22
                            D'. The Sanctuary—9:23-28
                    C'. The Sacrifice—10:1-10
             B'. The Priesthood—10:11-18
    A'. The Veil—10:19-20

Note how the members A and A' in this structure constitute the two
parallel "veil" passages (6:19-20 and 10:19-20).

    Young has provided further evidence for the close connection
between these two passages, as he diagrams from the Greek text the strong
terminological and conceptual parallels (e.g., reference to "have/having,"
"within the veil/through the veil," "Jesus . . . High Priest/Jesus . . . High
Priest," "entered/entrance"). He rightly concludes that "the parallel nature
of the passages leaves little doubt that the veil in both texts is the same."[9]
Vanhoye provides a similar analysis of common terminology, and argues
that Heb 10:19-20 clearly reiterates and makes more explicit the same
points presented in Heb 6:19-20.[10] It is difficult to avoid the implication

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12 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1989), 40a-40b; idem, *La Structure Littéraire de l'Épître
aux Hébreux*, 2nd ed. (Bruges: De Brouwer, 1976), 228-229; cf.George Rice, "The Chiastic
Structure of the Central Section of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 243-246.

    [8]The following structure is adapted from William H. Shea, "Literary and Architectural
Structures in the Sanctuary Section of Hebrews (6:19-20 to 10:19-20)" (unpublished paper),
2. The change I have made from Shea's analysis is at the center of the chiasm, where Shea
labels F "The Earthly Sanctuary" and F' "The Heavenly Sanctuary." In contrast to these
labels, I find that both F and F' contrast and compare the earthly and heavenly sanctuary, as
in D and D', and thus I have labeled them "The Sanctuary" like the D members of the
structure.

    [9]Young, "Where Jesus Has Gone," 172.

    [10]Vanhoye, *La Structure Littéraire*, 45, 228-229. See also the more recent linguistic
analysis of the structure of Hebrews by George H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews: A Text-
Linguistic Analysis*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum, no. 73 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 99-
100, who sees the close linkage between these two passages.

of Vanhoye's conclusion that with so many detailed terminological parallels, these two passages not only speak of the same veil but refer to the same overall content including the background event. We would add that if the LXX is crucial in identifying the veil in the former passage (6:19-20), then any crucial technical LXX terms utilized in this latter passage (10:19-20) to identify the event must also be allowed due weight.

What is the OT event alluded to in Heb 10:19-20? Most commentators have assumed a Day of Atonement background, with little or no regard for possible LXX terminology employed in the passage. Scholars have generally taken Heb 6:19-20 as a key to what event is in view in 10:19-20, but as we have already pointed out, the former passage does not settle this question. I am convinced that the latter passage (10:19-20) is the key to interpreting the former (6:19-20), and not the other way around. In describing Christ's work as he enters "by a new and living way . . . through the veil," the author of Hebrews employs a LXX term, *enkainizō*. This verb means "to bring about the beginning of something, with implication that it is newly established, [to] *ratify, inaugurate, dedicate*" (original emphasis),[11] and with its nominal derivatives is employed frequently as a cultic term throughout the LXX in depicting the inauguration of the sanctuary/temple.[12] In the Pentateuchal materials dealing with the sanctuary cultus, this Greek root is found in the LXX four times, *all of these in one chapter, Num 7, in the context of the inauguration/dedication of the sanctuary.*[13] This Greek term is *never* used in the LXX to refer to the Day of Atonement rituals.[14]

Some commentators have noted the LXX usage denoting sanctuary inauguration in their discussion of Heb 10:19-20,[15] but they have not generally allowed the force of this word to inform their interpretation of the OT background event behind this passage.[16] That the author of

[11]BDAG, 272.

[12]For Pentateuchal usage, see n. 12 below. Outside the Pentateuch, for the verb, see 1 Kgs 8:63 and 2 Chr 7:5 (the dedication of Solomon's temple), and 2 Chr 15:8 (the rededication of the altar after it was desecrated). The noun *enkainia* is used in reference to the postexilic dedication/inauguration of the temple by Ezra (Ezra 6:16, 17).

[13]The noun *enkainismos* appears in Num 7:10, 11, 84; and the noun *enkainōsis* occurs in Num 7:88. The subject of Num 7 is specifically the inauguration/dedication of the altar, but this is to be seen in the larger context of, and as the climax to, the inauguration of the entire sanctuary and its furnishings (Num 7:1).

[14]The only other occurrence of this term in the (LXX) Pentateuch is in Deut 20:5, where it refers to the dedication of a new house (private dwelling of an Israelite).

[15]See, e.g., Ellingworth, 518; Erich Grässer, *An die Hebräer*, Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 14-15.

[16]A notable exception is the study of N. A. Dahl, "A New and Living Way: The

Hebrews had in mind the cultic LXX meaning of this word, "inaugurated" (as correctly translated in NASB), and not a more general notion of "opened" (as in the translation of the NIV among others), is supported by the only other occurrence of this term in the epistle (or in the NT) in Heb 9:18, where it indisputably has the cultic meaning of "inaugurated/dedicated" (we return to this passage below.)[17] Other Greek terms were available to convey the idea of "opened," but the author's selection of this particular LXX cultic term for inauguration certainly must be given its proper force. The author of Hebrews here seems to clearly indicate that Christ's entering by a new and living way through the veil was in order to inaugurate the heavenly sanctuary.

In v. 19, the believers are called to have "boldness to enter *ta hagia* by the blood of Jesus." The term *ta hagia* is often translated by the "Holiest" or "Most Holy Place" and commentators suggest that this alludes to the Day of Atonement, when the high priest went into the second apartment. Even if *ta hagia* did refer to the Most Holy Place, it would still fit the OT background setting of inauguration equally well as Day of Atonement, inasmuch as the entire sanctuary—including both Holy Place and Most Holy Place—was inaugurated, according to Exod 40.

But if the author of Hebrews is indebted throughout his epistle to LXX usage, as is almost universally recognized by scholars, then the evidence points in a different direction than the Most Holy Place as the correct translation of *ta hagia*. The term *ta hagia* is the regular LXX term for the sanctuary as a whole, not for the Most Holy Place alone. A recent thesis by Carl Cosaert has confirmed my own research that throughout the LXX *ta hagia* is regularly employed to refer to the whole sanctuary in general. Cosaert also shows this to be the case in other early Greek literature of Judaism (Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus). He further demonstrates that in both LXX and other early Jewish literature *ta hagia* is *never used to describe the Most Holy Place alone.*[18] In light of this

Approach to God According to Hebrews 10:19-25," *Int* 15 (1951): 401-412. Based upon cultic LXX usage of *enkainizō* followed in Hebrews, Dahl, 405, concludes that the opening of the way in Heb 10:20 "is a cultic act of consecration, identical with the ratification of the new covenant." Dahl's analysis of fifty years ago anticipates the results of my own research; I did not have access to Dahl's article until the first draft of this article was completed.

[17]See also Dahl, 405, who notes that the term *enkainizō*, both in Heb 6:20 and 9:18, "must be understood as a cultic term: to consecrate and inaugurate and thus render valid and ratify."

[18]Carl Coesart examines the 109 occurrences of *ta hagia* in the LXX that refer to the sanctuary, and shows that in 106 of these the term has reference to the whole sanctuary, while in three verses it refers to the Holy Place (1 Kgs 8:8; 2 Chr 5:9, 11). Never does it have reference to the Most Holy Place alone (not even in 2 Chr 5:11, contrary to some scholarly claims) ("A Study of *Ta Hagia* in the LXX, Pseudepigrapha, Philo, and Josephus, and Its

overwhelmingly consistent evidence of background usage, it would be highly unlikely that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews broke with this LXX and contemporary Jewish usage. Some modern versions, such as NEB, have recognized the force of the LXX usage and (I believe) correctly translated this term consistently as "sanctuary" throughout its occurrences in the Epistle of Hebrews.[19]

LXX usage of crucial sanctuary-related terms—both *enkainizō* and *ta hagia*—leads us to consider the OT background of the entire sanctuary and its inauguration. Of course, the final determiner of meaning in any given passage is the immediate context, and Young rightly asks, regarding the LXX use of the term "within the veil," whether the context in Hebrews differs "so radically . . . that we are obliged . . . to ignore the linguistic similarity" between LXX and Hebrews terminology.[20] But just as Young confirms the consistency of Hebrews with the LXX regarding the phrase "within the veil," so we also confirm the consistency of Hebrews and the LXX regarding the terminology for the inauguration of the sanctuary as a whole. In fact, the context of Heb 10:19-20 points strongly in the direction of inauguration. Heb 10:1-10 points to a time of transition between the first sacrificial system that is taken away "that he may establish the second" (v. 10). Verse 12 refers to the initiation of Christ's high priestly ministry as he "sat down at the right hand of God" in fulfillment of Ps 110 (LXX 109):1. Verse 16 refers to the making of a new covenant. And v. 20 refers to "a new and living way"—which in light of 9:8 is the way into the heavenly sanctuary. What we have is a context of fourfold initiation—of a sacrificial system, covenant, high priesthood, and sanctuary. Such initiation of all these entities in the OT occurred at the time of inauguration, not the Day of Atonement. The context of the passage thus supports the consistent use of LXX terminology.

Hebrews 10:19-20, therefore, calls for believers to boldly enter the heavenly sanctuary (*ta hagia*) by a new and living way (i.e., the way into the heavenly sanctuary), which Jesus our high priest has inaugurated for us through the veil. The emphasis indeed is upon believers' access, but it is access to the entire heavenly sanctuary, not just the Most Holy Place. This access Jesus has brought about by his blood and by his entering through the veil to inaugurate the heavenly sanctuary.

Hebrews 10:19-20 is also seen to illuminate its chiastic counterpart passage in Heb 6:19-20. Note that both passages move in the same two

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Implications in Hebrews" [M.A. Thesis, Nazarene Theological Seminary, 2000]).

[19]See also, e.g., Ellingworth, 517, who points out that the term *ta hagia* here in Heb 6:19, as well as in 9:12 and 9:8, "refers to the heavenly sanctuary without distinction between its parts."

[20]Young, "Where Jesus Has Gone," 170.

stages, with the latter passage further elaborating upon the former in each stage. The first verse of each passage (i.e., 6:19 and 10:19) refers to the believers' entry into the heavenly sanctuary, while the succeeding verse in each case deals with the entering work of Christ the high priest that makes possible the believers' entry. In the first parallel stage, Heb 6:19 utilizes the more common and general term for the believers' entering, i.e., *eiserchomai*, to "go in, enter"; while Heb 10:19 employs a less common and more specific parallel term further describing the nature of the entering, i.e., *eisodos* "entrance, access."[21] The latter passage elaborates on the believers' entering, showing that the issue in both passages is access. Likewise, in the second stage of parallel passages, Heb 6:20 utilizes the more common and general Greek term for Christ's entering, i.e., again *eiserchomai*, while Heb 10:20 employs a less common and more specific parallel term further describing the nature of the entering, i.e., *enkainizō*, "to inaugurate."[22] The latter passage elaborates on the nature of Christ's entering, showing that the event in both passages is that of inauguration.

Hebrews 10:19-20 also underscores the same kind of action (*aktionsart*) as in 6:19-20. In the first pair of verses, dealing with the believers' entering, Heb 6:19 has *eiserchomenōn*, the present participle of *eiserchomai*, and Heb 10:19 has the nontemporal noun *eisodos* "entrance, access." Both indicate the ongoing access of the believers (hope) into the heavenly sanctuary. In the second pair of verses, dealing with the entering work of Christ, Heb 6:20 has *eisēlthen*, the aorist form of *eiserchomai*, and Heb 10:20 has *enekainisen*, the aorist of *enkainizō*. The use of the aorists indicates punctiliar action, the specific point in time when Christ entered the heavenly sanctuary to inaugurate it once for all, thus providing the ongoing access to believers through his blood.

Hebrews 9:12

The second "entering" passage that parallels Heb 6:19-20 is Heb 9:12. In the chiastic structure of the central section of Hebrews, this passage comes at the climax of the chiasm with its comparison and contrast between the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries. Hebrews 9:12 reads: "Not

[21]BDAG, 294, and a look at the LXX use of this term reveal that it often has the meaning of "entrance" with an implication of "access." See, e.g., Josh 13:5; Judg 1:24-25; 1 Sam 17:52; 2 Kgs 14:25; 1 Chr 9:19; 2 Chr 16:1; Ezek 27:3; 42:9; 1 Macc 14:5; Wis 7:6. It is also used of entrance into God's house in 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 23:11, and of entrance to the Lord's house in the context of the inauguration of the new messianic temple in Ezek 44:5.

[22]Young's otherwise careful comparison between Heb 6:19-20 and 10:19-20 overlooks this two-stage movement in these passages, paralleling Jesus' entering in 6:20 with the believers' "entrance/access" in 10:19. No mention at all is made of the crucial term *enkainizō*.

with the blood of goats [*tragōn*] and calves [*moschōn*], but with his own blood he entered [*eisēlthen*] the sanctuary [*ta hagia*] once for all, having obtained eternal redemption." Commentators on this verse generally see this as a reference to Christ's entry into the heavenly Most Holy Place, paralleling the earthly high priest's entry into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. But once again, little or no attention is paid by these commentators to the LXX background of the crucial terms in this verse.

We have already pointed out that the LXX always uses *ta hagia* for the entire sanctuary as a whole, but never for the Most Holy Place in particular, and this usage seems to be followed by the author of Hebrews. Even if the term in Heb 9:12 did refer solely to the Most Holy Place, we noted above that such a reference would fit both the Day of Atonement and the inauguration equally as well, inasmuch as both OT events involved entering the Most Holy Place. But it seems much more likely that this passage is no exception to the general usage in the LXX and Hebrews and refers to the heavenly sanctuary as a whole. Regardless of its meaning in this passage, *ta hagia* does not assist us in deciding between the Day of Atonement and the inauguration as OT background event for this passage.

What about other seemingly clear allusions to the Day of Atonement in Heb 9:12? In particular, the mention of "goats and calves" has been often seen as a clear reference to the calves and goats that were sacrificed on the Day of Atonement. But here again, I suggest that such assertions have neglected to take into account the LXX usage of these terms. A comparison of the Greek terms with LXX usage for these animals (and especially the goats) in Heb 9:12 leads to a startling revelation (at least it was for me). The word for "calf" (*moschos*) appears both in the description of the Day of Atonement and inauguration services.[23] However, the word for "goat" (*tragos*), used here by the author of Hebrews, appears 13 times in the Pentateuch in connection with the sanctuary, *all in the same chapter, Num 7*, which, as we have seen above, contains the nominal form of *enkainizō* and refers to the inauguration rituals of the sanctuary.[24] The Hebrew word for "goat"

[23]With reference to the Day of Atonement, *moschos* appears 7 times in Lev 16 (vv. 3, 6, 11, 14, 15, 18, 27); with reference to the inauguration services; the term appears 17 times in Num 7 and 8 (7:3, 15, 21, 27, 33, 39, 45, 51, 57, 63, 69, 75, 81, 87; 8:8, 8, 12).

[24]Numbers 7:17, 23, 29, 35, 41, 47, 53, 59, 65, 71, 77, 83, 88. The other (noncultic) Pentateuchal occurrences of the word *tragos* in the LXX are in the list of Jacob's animals (Gen 30:35; 31:10, 12; 32:15) and in the divine promise of plenty in Moses' Song of Deuteronomy (32:14). Ellingworth, 452, notes this phenomenon: "The only reference in the Pentateuch to the sacrifice of goats is in Nu. 7:17-18." But he does not draw out its significance, content with the conclusion that "the author is concerned, not with cultic minutiae, but with the principle of sacrifice itself, and

[*'attûd*] translated by the LXX as *tragos* also appears only in Num 7 in the cultic sections of the Pentateuch.

The LXX term for "goat" used in the Day of Atonement context of Lev 16 (also 13 times)[25] is *chimaros*, not *tragos*, and this term translates a different Hebrew noun (*śâ'îr*). In view of the fact that the word *chimaros* was a well-known and frequently used term for "goat" in the first century, including the Pseudepigrapha, Philo, and Josephus,[26] the choice of a specific LXX Pentateuchal term pointing to inauguration, and not to a synonym which could refer to the Day of Atonement, seems to be significant.[27]

Not only does the word *tragos* refer exclusively to inauguration and never to the Day of Atonement in the LXX sanctuary legislation of the Pentateuch, but even more significantly, the only place where *moschos* and *tragos* appear together in the cultic expressions of the entire LXX OT is in Num 7, with reference to the inauguration of the sanctuary. Young points out with regard to the phrase "within the veil" in Heb 6:19 that it is crucial to see the verbal connections of the phrase and not merely the individual words. So here in Heb 9:12, the conjunction of these two crucial terms, which appears in only a single OT chapter, provides powerful evidence of an intentional reference by the author of Hebrews to the OT background of sanctuary inauguration. By utilizing the word *tragos* (which appears only in an inauguration setting in the Pentateuchal cultic material) and linking it with *moschos* (which link is

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its fulfilment by Christ" (ibid.). I find that the author of Hebrews does indeed remain faithful to the details of the OT services, even as he makes his larger theological points.

[25]Leviticus 16:5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 22, 26, 27.

[26]BDAG, 1085. *Chimaros* does not appear at all in the NT, and *tragos* does not appear in the NT outside of Hebrews. The adjective *aigeios* "of a goat" is found once in Heb 11:37 in the noncultic phrase *en aigeiois dermasin* "in goat's skin," describing the clothing of some of the heroes of faith. The terms for "goat/kid" in the Gospels are *eriphos* (Matt 25:32; Luke 15:29 [variant reading]) and *eriphion* (Matt 25:33; Luke 15:29), but these references are also not in a cultic setting.

[27]It should be noted that Heb 9:13 and 10:4 broaden the reference from the inauguration to include the whole complex of sacrifices in the OT ritual service that coalesced in the one sacrifice of Christ's blood. These latter verses link the word *tragos* to the word *tauros* "bull," referring to the "blood of goats [*tragōn*] and bulls [*taurōn*]" (reversed in the TR). The conjunction of these two terms appears to be a direct allusion to Isa 1:11 ("I delight not in the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls [*taurōn*] and goats [*tragōn*]") and Ps 49 (LXX; 50 Hebrew and English) ("Will I eat the flesh of bulls [*taurōn*] or drink the blood of goats [*tragōn*]? [v. 13]). Here, outside the Pentateuch, the term *tragos* is connected with *tauros*, not *moschos*, as part of a comprehensive list summarizing the whole sacrificial system. The author of Hebrews is not listing various sacrificial animals willy-nilly, as some commentators suggest, but clearly follows LXX usage, in order to emphasize inauguration in Heb 9:12 in the context of Christ's entry into the heavenly sanctuary and to emphasize the whole sacrificial system in v. 13 (and 10:4) in the context of showing the superiority and efficaciousness of Christ's "better blood" contrasted with all the sacrifices of the OT shadow.

found only in the same inauguration setting in the entire OT), the author of Hebrews intertextually links with the OT inauguration service and not the Day of Atonement. If it should prove true that this same reference to *tragos* and *moschos* together is also found in the original Greek of Heb 9:19, which is unquestionably a context of inauguration, then this point stands out with even more forcefulness.[28]

As with Heb 10:19-20, the context of Heb 9:12 is consistent with the LXX usage of terminology. In Heb 9:1-11, the author of Hebrews is indicating the transition from the first (earthly) covenant and its sanctuary to the new covenant and its (heavenly) sanctuary. I have argued this point elsewhere, following the lead of numerous commentators on Hebrews, and will not repeat the evidence here.[29] According to the writer of the epistle, in the inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary, Christ did not enter with the blood of goats and calves as was used in the earthly sanctuary's inauguration, but with his own blood. He entered (*eisēlthen*, aorist punctiliar action) at his ascension to inaugurate the heavenly sanctuary at a specific point in time once for all (*ephapax*). The "way into the heavenly sanctuary [*ta hagia*]" (Heb 9:8) is now made manifest in Jesus!

Hebrews 9:24

The third "entering" passage that parallels Heb 6:19-20 is Heb 9:24: "For Christ did not enter [*eisēlthen*] a sanctuary [*hagia*] made with hands, a copy

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[28]Many ancient and important NT Greek manuscripts, besides the so-called Byzantine tradition, utilize this same phrase—"blood of goats[*tragōn*] and calves[*moschōn*]"—but in reverse order—in Heb 9:19, where the context is indisputably inauguration. The second edition of the UBS Greek NT omitted the reference to "goats" in the text, but the third edition has brought the reference into the text in brackets. The UBS reading is given a certainty rating of "C," indicating the uncertainty involved and at least a good possibility that the inclusion of "goats" represents the original reading. Inasmuch as the OT event alluded to in Heb 9:19 (inauguration/ratification of the covenant) mentions only the blood of "calves" (LXX *moscharion*, diminutive of *moschos*), and not *tragos*, the addition of *tragos* seems to be the more difficult reading, and therefore may well be the original. On the other hand, if *tragos* is brought together with *moschos* in Heb 9:19 under the influence of Heb 9:12, then this would suggest that the scribe envisioned v. 12 as paralleling the same inauguration event found in v. 19. Either way, the case for inauguration in v. 12 is strengthened. However, the argument of this essay is not dependent upon reading "goats" (*tragoi*) in this verse.

[29]See Davidson, 179-183, for evidence supporting the contrast between old and new covenants and their respective sanctuaries in Heb 9, concurring with, for instance, F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 194-195; Aelred Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary and the Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (St. Meinrad, IN: Grail, 1960), 147-148; Dahl, 405; Ellingworth, 438; Jean Héring, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Epworth, 1970), 70-75; Ceslaus Spicq, *L'épître aux Hébreux*, vol. 2 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1953): 253-254; *contra* Young, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," *passim*, and others who see a contrast between the two apartments of the sanctuary but not between the two sanctuaries.

[*antitypa*] of the true [*alēthinōn*], but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us." What is the OT background event in view with regard to Christ's entering into the true (heavenly) sanctuary? This verse must be seen in the context of the preceding verses in the chapter. Of all the possible references to inauguration in the epistle to the Hebrews, Heb 9:16-21 most clearly and explicitly describes the ratification/inauguration of the first covenant and the earthly sanctuary. Here again, the LXX terminology (*enkainizō*, v. 18) points to inauguration, and the detailed portrayal of the OT covenant ratification (vv. 16-20) and sanctuary inauguration (v. 21) is consistent with the LXX ratification/inauguration terminology.

The question arises over how far the discussion of inauguration continues in this chapter. I find it most probable that the inauguration motif is carried forward through vv. 23-24. Verse 22 identifies the inauguration of "both the tabernacle and all the vessels of ministry" as described in the preceding verse as a work of "cleansing" (*katharizetai*), and parenthetically states the general principle that according to the OT ritual law almost all things were cleansed (*katharizetai*) by blood, and "without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness." Verse 23 then returns to the subject of v. 22, referring to cleansing (*katharizesthai*) of the sanctuary (the earthly copy and the heavenly reality). The linkage of both terminology (*katharizō*) and subject (the sanctuary) seems clearly to indicate continuity between v. 21 and v. 23, and a continuation of the inauguration motif.

In v. 23, the writer of the Epistle argues typologically from the OT cultus to the heavenly reality: "Therefore necessity [*anagkē*] for the copies [*hypodeigmata*] of the things in the heavens to be cleansed [*katharizesthai*] with these, but the heavenly things with better sacrifices than these." Note that in Heb 9:23, the word *anagkē* "necessity" is a noun and *katharizesthai* "to be cleansed" is an infinitive. Neither of these terms gives an indication of time—past, present, or future. In light of the preceding extended discussion of sanctuary/covenant, inauguration/ratification, and terminological linkages as pointed out above, it seems preferable to see the author drawing a parallel between the cleansing or purifying (*katharizesthai*) carried out during the OT rites inaugurating the wilderness sanctuary (cf. Exod 29:12, 36 LXX, *katharismou* and *katharieis*) and the inauguration of the heavenly realities.

The following verse, Heb 9:24, linked by *gar* ("for") to the preceding verse, then continues the same parallel between earthly and heavenly inauguration. Christ has not entered (to inaugurate) a man-made sanctuary, which is a copy of the real one in heaven, but into heaven (to inaugurate the heavenly sanctuary itself and) to appear in God's presence (to begin his mediatorial work) in our behalf.[30]

[30]Dahl, 404, states: "According to Hebrews the sacral ratification of the first covenant included

While Heb 9:23 harks back to the inauguration, and the implications of this are drawn in v. 24, at the same time the nontemporal statement of v. 23 ("necessity . . . to be cleansed") appears to be intentionally ambiguous, and the same language could also have reference to the Day of Atonement. Such a double meaning seems likely, inasmuch as the author, building upon this verse, shifts to unmistakable language of the Day of Atonement in vv. 25-28. Two aspects of Day of Atonement typology are apparent in these verses. First, Christ's *sacrifice* is a typological fulfillment of the Day of Atonement sacrifices. The contrast is drawn between Christ's once-for-all sacrifice of himself and the high priest's entering the sanctuary "often"—every year at the time of the Day of Atonement—"with the blood of another." As the next chapter of the epistle (Heb 10:1-18) makes clear, Christ's sacrifice is "better blood" than all the sacrifices of the OT cultus, even better than the blood offered on the Day of Atonement, the high point of the OT sacrificial ritual year. All of the OT sacrifices, even (and especially!) those of the Day of Atonement, coalesce in the once-for-all sacrifice of Christ. Hebrews 10:5-10 gives the justification for this by exegeting the OT announcement in Ps 40:6-8 of such a coalescence of all sacrifices in the Messiah.

Second, Heb 9:27-28 points out the *future* implications of the cleansing sacrifices for the heavenly realities mentioned in v. 23. The nontemporal mention of "necessity . . . to be cleansed" of v. 23 not only points back to the inaugural cleansing of the sanctuary (as we have seen above), but also has reference to a future (from the perspective of Hebrews) work of cleansing connected with the Yom Kippur judgment. Christ's once-for-all sacrifice "to bear the sins of many" (v. 28) makes possible both the believer's assurance in the future (Day of Atonement) judgment (v. 27) and also Christ's Second Coming after this judgment "apart from sin, for salvation" of "those who eagerly wait for him" (v. 28).

The movement from inauguration to future Day of Atonement judgment in the latter half of Heb 9 parallels a similar movement in Heb 10. As we have already pointed out in our discussion of this latter passage, Heb 10:19-24 highlights the inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary and the benefits of believers' access in hope because of this inaugural work of Jesus through his blood. But immediately following upon the inauguration is a recognition of future Day of Atonement judgment. Hebrews 10:25 reads: "not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together,

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sprinkling with blood the tent and all the vessels used in worship. . . . The corresponding purification of the true, heavenly sanctuary is achieved by a 'better' sacrifice—by Christ, who entered heaven itself, having put away sin by the sacrifice of himself (9:23ff.). This heavenly act of consecration should be connected with the opening of the way through the curtain [Heb 10:20]."

as is the manner of some, but exhorting one another, and so much the more as you see the Day [tēn hēmeran] approaching." The term "The Day" (Aramaic yōma') was a technical term for the Day of Atonement in the Mishnah (see the whole tractate entitled Yoma describing the Day of Atonement services of the Second Temple), and very well may be a reference to the Day of Atonement here in Heb 9:25.

Such a conclusion seems confirmed by the verses that follow, which describe a future judgment (from the time perspective of the author of Hebrews). Verses 26-31 give the contours of this judgment as: (1) future (from the perspective of the epistle), (2) both investigative/judicial ("testimony of two or three witnesses," v. 28) and (3) executive ("fearful expectation of judgment and fiery indignation," v. 27), and (4) involving God's professed people as the object of judgment ("The Lord will judge his people," v. 30, citing the covenant lawsuit of Deut 32:35).

Just as Heb 10:19-31 involves a movement from inauguration to Day of Atonement judgment, so seems to be the case in Heb 9:16-28. Hebrews 9:23 appears to be intentionally ambiguous, including reference to both inaugural and Yom Kippur cleansing. The heavenly sanctuary "entering" passage (Heb 9:24) seems best interpreted as climaxing the discussion of inauguration, while vv. 25-28 transition to the Day of Atonement typology.

Conclusion

Young's basic twofold methodology of examining LXX usage of key terms in Hebrews and comparing Heb 6:19-20 with parallel "entering" passages such as Heb 10:19-20 is sound. But the methodology that Young and other commentators have followed in examining the identity of the veil in Heb 6:19-20 has not been consistently applied to determine the identity of the background OT event in this text and parallel passages.

Hebrews 6:19-20 describes Christ's entering "within the veil," but does not indicate what OT background event is in view. On two occasions in the OT, there was an entry "within the veil" of the Most Holy Place as well as the Holy Place: the Day of Atonement service and the inauguration of the sanctuary. A comparison with the other three sanctuary "entering" passages of Hebrews provides a consistent picture of the inauguration of the earthly sanctuary as the background OT event-complex, and not the Day of Atonement, as commonly assumed. In each of these three parallel passages, as in Heb 6:19-20, the author's use of crucial LXX terminology—and especially the conjunction of the three key LXX terms enkainizō, tragos, and moschos in a single chapter dealing with inauguration (Num 7)—proves to be a key to interpretation. The immediate context of each passage is consistent with the LXX terminology pointing to inauguration.

The implications of the author's faithfulness to LXX usage, while recognized in Heb 6:19-20, have not been given due weight by most commentators on Hebrews in discussing the three parallel passages (Heb 9:12; 9:24; and 10:19-20). I conclude that, according to the unified testimony of the three parallel sanctuary "entering" passages of Hebrews, Christ's entry into the heavenly sanctuary was to inaugurate it once for all by his blood, thus initiating his heavenly mediatorial work as high priest and providing ongoing access of believers to the presence of God and to the benefits of Christ's mediation. Just as the OT sanctuary was inaugurated before its services officially began (Exod 40; Lev 8; Num 7), so the heavenly sanctuary was inaugurated as Jesus began his priestly ministry in its precincts.

The intricate "parallel nature" between the "entering" passages implies that the identity of the veil is the same, as Young correctly argues for Heb 6:19-20 and 10:19-20, and also implies that the event is the same, as Vanhoye has recognized with these same two passages. We have seen that inauguration constitutes the OT background event in all three parallel "entering" passages (Heb 9:12; 9:24; and 10:19-20). Thus, I conclude that inauguration should also be seen as the most probable OT background for Heb 6:19-20 as for the other sanctuary "entering" passages. This conclusion is in harmony with the contextual hint in Heb 6:20, describing a point in time of Christ "having become" (*genomenos*) high priest, paralleling the time of inauguration in the OT when the priesthood was established (Exod 40:9-15).

While the primary background of these passages is not the Day of Atonement, despite the commonly asserted assumption of commentators, this is not to say that the Day of Atonement is ignored in the Epistle.[31] According to the author, all of the sacrifices of the OT cultus, and especially the ones on the Day of Atonement, the high point of the ritual year, are not ultimately effective to forgive sins. Christ's sacrifice is the typological fulfillment of all the sacrificial system, including the Day of Atonement sacrifices, in harmony with the OT announcement of such in Ps 40:6-8. And further, as we have seen above, the future judgment is cast in Day of Atonement language. The judgment of "The Day [of Atonement, *Yoma*]," with its executive and judicial phases, will come upon the professed people of God. The events of this Day bring a "fearful expectation of judgment" on the part of those who have rejected Jesus (Heb 10:26-29), but for those who have accepted the benefits of Christ's atoning work this future judgment is

[31]See William G. Johnsson, "The Significance of the Day of Atonement Allusions in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1981), 380-393; reprinted as "Day of Atonement Allusions," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 105-120.

welcomed, as they "eagerly wait for him" to appear at his Second Coming "apart from sin, for salvation." (Heb 9:27-28).

I also do not want to leave the impression that the inauguration of the sanctuary is the dominant motif in this central cultic section of Hebrews. Neither inauguration nor Day of Atonement take center stage. Rather, I concur with William Johnsson that there is a complex of motifs revealing the superiority of Jesus (and the gospel realities brought about by him) over the shadows of the OT cultus. This complex includes the better covenant, better high priest, the better sanctuary, and better blood.[32] In a word, the author's message to his readers is, "Don't forsake Jesus! He has brought about the reality toward which all the OT cultic shadows pointed." Within this complex, the sanctuary inauguration motif, represented in Heb 6:19-20 and parallel "entering passages," plays a crucial, albeit not dominant, role in highlighting the point of transition (thus the aorist punctiliar "he entered") from the old covenant/sanctuary and its sacrifices and priesthood to the new order. Because he entered the heavenly sanctuary with the blood of his once-for-all sacrifice to inaugurate it once for all, believers in him now have ongoing bold access by faith to the presence of God and the benefits of Christ's high-priestly mediatorial work.

[32]Ibid., 118. Johnsson sees the "sacrificial section" of Hebrews (8:1-10:18) as particularly concerned with expounding the motif of "better blood."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JOSHUA'S
RECEPTION OF THE LAYING ON
OF HANDS IN NUMBERS 27:12-23

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Because Christian rites of ordination regularly involve the imposition of hands, scholars generally recognize the importance of understanding this practice. Instituted early in the church's development and thus in close proximity with its Jewish origins, the imposition of hands has been thought by scholars to stem most likely from OT roots.[1] Jewish exegetes and Pentateuchal critical scholars have often adopted the view that ordination was performed for the first time when Moses ordained Joshua with the laying on of hands and that Joshua's installation by Moses became the prototype of rabbinic ordination.[2] It has also been proposed that Christian ordination originally structured itself on the model of rabbinic ordination, even though it is also understood that it took on meaning of its own.[3] Thus in both Jewish and Christian traditions, Joshua's installation has powerfully influenced ordination practice which includes the laying on of hands.[4]

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[1]Jean Thierry Maertens, "Un rite de pouvoir: l'imposition des mains," *Studies in Religion* 7 (1978): 29. Eduard Lohse suggests that these OT roots are authenticated by the linguistic relationships evident between Hebrew and Greek expressions for the imposition of hands in *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951), 18.

[2]Lohse, *Die Ordination*, 29. See also J. Newman, *Semikhah: A Study of Its Origin, History and Function in Rabbinic Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950), 2; Paul Galtier, "Imposition des mains," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (1927), 7:1304; H. Revel, "Ordination," *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1939), 8:318; Everett Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church, Part I," *Restoration Quarterly* 4 (1960): 128; M. H. Shepherd Jr., "Hands, Laying on of," *IDB* (1962), 2:251-252; Allen Howard Podet, "Elements in the Development of Rabbinical Ordination in the Codes" (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew Union College, 1964), 50-51.

[3]Johannes Behm, *Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum* (Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1911; reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 142; Joseph Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'Église ancienne* (Paris: Gabalda, 1925), 162-163; Frank Gavin, *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928; reprint, New York: Ktav, 1969), 103; Lohse, *Die Ordination*, 101; and R. Alan Culpepper, "The Biblical Basis for Ordination," *Review and Expositor* 78 (1981): 472.

[4]Arnold Ehrhardt, "Jewish and Christian Ordination," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 5 (1954): 138. Ehrhardt sees the OT influence on Christian ordination to be direct, rather than channeled through rabbinic ordination.

While many scholars agree that Joshua's installation has prototypical influence on Christian ordination practice, very few agree as to the significance of Moses' laying hands on Joshua.[5] Did Moses transfer anything to Joshua through the hand-laying gesture, and if so, what did he transfer? Did the gesture merely designate Joshua as the one to be ordained or, on the other hand, merely identify Moses with Joshua? Perhaps laying on of hands indicated Joshua as in some way a substitute or a representative of YHWH or Moses. Finally, were two hands laid on Joshua or one, and what is the significance of the number of hands used?

In order to answer these questions, one must exegetically study the two Pentateuchal pericopes which describe the event, Num 27:12-23 and Deut 34:9. It is the purpose of this article to present an exegetical study of laying on of hands as presented in Num 27:12-23. The contribution of Deut 34:9 and final conclusions addressing the procedural techniques, symbolic meanings, and tangible effects of the hand-laying gesture will be presented in a subsequent article.

Num 27:12-23 plays an important role in the overall theme of the book of Numbers. Israel had arrived on the plains of Moab and was preparing to enter the Promised Land. The census of Num 26 established a new generation, who was given permission to enter that land. The necessity of new leadership to lead this new generation into the land must be addressed, and Num 27:12-23 addresses this necessity.

An analysis of the pericope's structure provides the starting point for an interpretation of the significance of the hand-laying gesture. Numbers 27:12-23 contains four sections indicated by and related to each other through external, internal, and sequential parallelism. In the external parallelism, the last two sections repeat a pattern established by the first two sections, designated as A, B, A', B'. Each of the A sections presents statements made by YHWH, and each of the B sections present Moses' responses. In the internal parallelism, each of the four sections is further divided into four subsections, which generally follow the pattern established by the four subsections of section A, designated as a, b, c, d; in section B, as a_1, b_1, c_1, d_1; in Section A', as a_2, b_2, c_2, d_2; and in Section B', as a_3, b_3, c_3, a_4. Each of the "a" subsections introduces the speaker of that section, each "b" subsection gives a request or response to subsection "a," each of the "c" subsections addresses leadership issues, and each of the "d" subsections addresses congregational issues. In the sequential parallelism, each section responds to issues of the previous

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[5]For a thorough review of the various scholarly interpretations, see my dissertation, "The Laying on of Hands on Joshua: An Exegetical Study of Numbers 27:12-23 and Deuteronomy 34:9" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1997), 15-21.

section; in other words, B responds to issues raised in A, A' responds to issues raised in B, and B' responds to issues raised in A' and may be designated as A→B→A'→B'. The pericope parallels can be illustrated as follows:

		⇓
A YHWH Announced Moses' Death, vv. 12-14	⇔	A' YHWH Instructed Moses to Install Joshua, vv. 18-21
a Introductory Identifier, v. 12a	⇔	a_2 Introductory Identifier, v. 18a
b Request, v. 12b	⇔	b_2 Request, v. 18b
c Leader Issues, v. 13	⇔	c_2 Leader Issues, vv. 18c-20a
d Congregation Issues, v. 14	⇔	d_2 Congregation Issues, vv. 20b-21
⇓		⇓
B Moses Requested YHWH to Appoint a Leader, vv. 15-17	⇔	B' Moses Followed YHWH's Instructions to Install Joshua, vv. 22-23
a_1 Introductory Identifier, v. 15	⇔	a_3 Introductory Identifier, v. 22a
b_1 Request, v. 16	⇔	b_3 Response to Request, v. 22b
c_1 Leader Issues, v. 17a,b	⇔	c_3 Leader Issues, vv. 22c-22a
d_1 Congregation Issues, v. 17c		
		a_4 Concluding Identifier, v. 23b
⇓		

The translation of the pericope:

A   a and YWHW said to Moses,

        b Go up into this mountain of Abarim and see the land which I have given to the sons of Israel.

          c After you have seen it, you will be gathered to your people, even you, just as was gathered Aaron your brother,

           d because you rebelled against my word in the wilderness of Zin, in the rebellion of the congregation, to sanctify me at the waters before their eyes. These are the Waters of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.

B a_1 And Moses spoke to God, saying:

> b_1 Let YHWH appoint, the God of the spirits of all flesh, a man over the congregation,
>
>> c_1 who will go out before them and who will come in before them, who will lead them out and who will bring them in,
>>
>>> d_1 so that the congregation of YHWH will not be as sheep who have no shepherd.

A' a_2 And YHWH said to Moses,

> b_2 Take (to yourself) Joshua, son of Nun, a man in whom there is spirit,
>
>> c_2 and lay your hand on him, and stand him before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation, and commission him before their eyes, and you shall confer some of your honor on him so that will listen all the congregation of the sons of Israel.
>>
>>> d_2 He shall stand before Eleazar the priest and he shall ask for him by the judgment of the Urim before YHWH. According to His word they shall go out and according to His word they shall come in, he and all the sons of Israel with him, even all the congregation.

B' a_3 And Moses did just as YHWH commanded him.

> b_3 and he took Joshua
>
>> c_3 and stood him before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation and he laid his hands on him and he commissioned him
>
> a_4 just as YHWH spoke by the hand of Moses.

This study focuses on the third section of the pericope, A', vv. 18-21. Sections A and B provide background material to A'. Section A' gives the information pertinent to interpreting laying on of hands; B' concludes by repeating step by step Moses' accomplishment of YHWH's instructions in A'.

Interpreting the significance of the laying on of hands begins by noting the flow in the subsections of A'. The flow begins in subsection a_2 (v. 18a) by identifying the speaker, YHWH. The flow continues in subsection b_2 with YHWH's request, "take to yourself" Joshua. This imperative then initiates a series of four actions in subsection c_2 that relate to leadership issues: lay, stand, command, and give. The four actions are tied together by four second masculine singular waw perfect verbs indicating how Israel's next leader is to be installed. It is interesting to note that the waw perfect construction expresses a series of actions

contingent or dependent upon the preceding action and at the same time establishes a hierarchy: first, "lay"; second, "stand"; third, "command"; and fourth, "give." Subsection c₂ concludes with a "so that" clause, indicating that the actions of the waw perfect verbs have the purpose of giving status to Joshua—the children of Israel are to listen to him. Finally, in subsection d₂ the flow moves to congregational issues. First, Joshua was to stand before the high priest when he needs to know the will of YHWH for leading the congregation. Second, once Joshua received YHWH's word, he and the congregation were free to go out and to come back. Study will now be given to each of these four subsections.

Introductory Identifier—"And YHWH Said to Moses" (Subsection a₂)

The Hebrew verb for "said" (אָמַר) appears about 5,300 times in the OT, never with the purpose of describing the technique of speaking, "but to call attention to what is being said."[6] Frequently, אָמַר is used by God to introduce revelation, in which he expresses himself and his will: "One would suppose that this usage emphasizes that God's revelation is a spoken, transmissible, propositional, definite matter."[7] The expression "thus says YHWH" added authority and importance to any instruction.[8] When YHWH spoke, Moses listened and Moses responded.

The instructions of Num 27:18-20 are initiated by YHWH's word. These are no ordinary instructions, but have the weight of the divine behind them. The words which describe Joshua's installation, and which include laying on of hands, are attributed to God himself; they are not words invented by Moses. The pericope concludes in v. 23 by emphasizing that all was accomplished according as YHWH spoke (דִּבֶּר), by the hand of Moses.

The Imperative—"Take Joshua, a Man in Whom There is Spirit" (Subsection b₂)

This simple command provides a wealth of information. First, it is parallel to the commands (v. 12) to "go up" the mountain and "see" the Promised Land, which had the result of placing Moses in a position where

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[6]Siegfried Wagner, "אָמַר ʾāmar," TDOT (1974), 1:328.

[7]Charles L. Feinberg, "אָמַר (ʾāmar) say, speak, say to oneself (think), intend, command, promise," TWOT (1980), 1:55.

[8]This phrase was used in talking to Pharoah (Exod 9:13; 10:3), when announcing YHWH's will for Israel to leave Egypt (Exod 11:4), and when Moses dealt with the rebellion of the golden calf (Exod 32:27).

YHWH could give a third command, "take" Joshua. Second, it is also parallel to Moses' request in v. 16 to "appoint" a leader. YHWH responded that Moses "take" Joshua, thus communicating to Moses that he too had a role to play in establishing Israel's next leader. Third, the imperative "take" initiated a process of subsequent actions, indicated by the series of waw perfect verbs in subsection c_2. Finally, Joshua, son of Nun, a man in whom there is spirit, was the one identified as the one to be taken.

The word for "spirit" in "a man in whom there is spirit" has no article, making it difficult to develop a simple interpretation of what spirit Joshua possessed. "Spirit" should be linked to its parallel subsection usage in Section B (v. 16), which identifies YHWH as the "God of the spirits of all flesh." YHWH is thus identified as the sovereign Creator. He is the one who gives breath or spirit; therefore, he is the one who knows what the spirit of a man really is. Identifying Joshua as a "man in whom there is spirit" indicates that YHWH knows who Joshua is and can guarantee Moses that Joshua possesses the requisite spiritual qualifications and skills for leadership.[9]

Is this spirit Joshua possesses a reference to God's spirit, or to the fact that Joshua was a spirited man? The answer is yes to both questions. First, Leon Wood argues that the lack of an article attached to the word "spirit" does not necessarily preclude a reference to the Spirit of God. He uses for support 1 Chr 12:18, where the word "spirit" lacks an article yet obviously refers to YHWH's Spirit. Wood further argues that Moses was endowed with YHWH's Spirit, as evidenced by the story of the seventy elders with whom he shared some of his spirit (Num 11:16-28) and by Isaiah's reference to the "Holy Spirit within Moses" (Isa 63:11). If Moses was endowed with the Spirit, "one should only expect that his successor would have to be."[10]

[9]Most scholars accept the interpretation of spirit (רוח) as an endowment for leadership; for example: Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers Bemidbar*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 5750/1990), 235; Walter Riggans, *Numbers*, Daily Study Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 202; "Numbers," *The Wycliffe Bible Commentary*, ed. Charles F. Pfeiffer (Chicago: Moody Press, 1962), 147; A. Clarke, *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments: The Old Testament* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1938), 1:707-708; Julius H. Greenstone, *Numbers, with Commentary* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1948), 297; R. B. Allen, "Numbers" *Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 2:946; Martin Noth, *Numbers, A Commentary*, Old Testament Library, trans. James Martin (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 214-215; F. B. Huey, *Numbers*, Bible Study Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 93-94; J. L. Mays, *The Book of Leviticus, the Book of Numbers*, LBC (Richmond: John Knox, 1963), 133; F. C. Cook and T. E. Espin, *The Fourth Book of Moses Called Numbers*, The Holy Bible According to the Authorized Version, 2 vols. (London: Murray, 1877), 759; A. Noordtzij, *Numbers*, Bible Student's Commentary, trans. E. van der Maas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 256-257; O. J. Baab, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1949), 39-42.

[10]Leon J. Wood, *The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan,

Second, "spirit" (רוּחַ) can indicate internal elements of an individual. One particular element referred to is that of ability. YHWH endowed Bezaleel with a divine spirit of skill, ability, and knowledge so that he could construct the Tabernacle. In Joshua's case, spirit would refer to his endowed leadership skill. YHWH had already chosen, authenticated, and endowed him with a divine spirit of skill, ability, knowledge, and insight to qualify him for the work. Additionally, the word "spirit" can depict a person's dominant disposition of mind or attitude.[11] In particular, "spirit" is used as a synonym for "courage."[12] Designating Joshua as a "man in whom there is spirit" may in part refer not only to the spy scenario, but also to Joshua's long service to Moses as well as to the entire congregation.[13] To describe Joshua as "a man in whom there is spirit" is to describe him as a man full of life.[14] As such, YHWH declared that Joshua has the spirit of life and courage necessary to provide the kind of strong leadership necessary to lead Israel into the Promised Land.

To summarize, YHWH, the God of the spirits of all flesh, identified Joshua, a man in whom there is spirit. Joshua is thus indicated as one with an indomitable and courageous spirit. But more, as the giver of spirit, YHWH also identifies Joshua as one to whom he had given a special Spirit, a Spirit that has changed him and endowed him for leadership.

1976), 49-50. Allen (2:946) states that "spirit" can also refer to the Holy Spirit, noting that though the word רוּחַ (spirit) in Num 27:18 is indefinite by spelling, it "may be regarded as inherently definite when used as a reference to deity"; see also Clarke, 1:707-708; Greenstone, 297.

[11]Spirit describing a dominant disposition can describe the following emotions: crushed in spirit, broken, forsaken, humble, smitten, troubled, faithful, high, cool, long-enduring, anger, stubbornness, seat of, and excellence. Norman Henry Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament* (London: Epworth Press, 1944), 146-150; William Ross Shoemaker, "The Use of רוח in the Old Testament, and of πνευμα in the New Testament," *JBL* 23 (1904): 13-34; J. B. Payne, "רוח (rûah) wind, breath, mind, spirit," *TWOT* (1980), 2:836-837.

[12]Joshua had displayed his courage early in his victory over the Amalekites. Caleb had a different spirit than the ten faithless spies, meaning he had not angered YHWH by his obstinacy and rebelliousness like the others, but had instead maintained wholehearted commitment to YHWH, which resulted in an indomitable and positive attitude toward invading Canaan. Though Joshua's spirit is not specifically mentioned in the discussion of Caleb's spirit, the narrative indicates that he shared in that spirit of courageously following YHWH wholeheartedly. Joshua built upon Caleb's spirit by making the case for invasion even more specific and serious.

[13]For example, Exod 17:8-16; 24:13-14; 32:15-20; 33:7-11; Num 11:26-30; 13:1-14:38. Timothy R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers,* NICOT, 551-552.

[14]W. Vogels argues that though this translation is possible due to Ps 31:6, Joshua has more than life; he has the spirit of YHWH ("The Spirit of Joshua and the Laying on of Hands by Moses," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays,* trans. E W. Trueman Dicken [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966], 3-7).

Leadership Issues—"Lay," "Stand," "Command," "Give,"
Congregation "Listen to" (Subsection c₂)

To review, the flow in each of the four major sections of Num 27:12-23 first identifies the section's main character, then through an imperative either makes a request or gives a response to the previous request, and then introduces matters concerning leadership. In section A, YHWH clarified that Moses as Israel's current leader would soon die. In section B, Moses indicated the desire for a leader who had the internal fortitude necessary to lead the congregation of Israel out and back in. In section A', YHWH responded by instructing how Moses was to install Joshua as the next leader. The imperative level (subsection b₂) of section A' established a command (take) that was intended to initiate a series of four actions by which Moses was to install Joshua as a leader whom the congregation would obey. The four actions were to lay hands on Joshua, stand (present) him before Eleazar and the congregation, commission (charge) him, and give him some of Moses' honor.

"*Lay your hand on him.*" The first action to be initiated by the imperative "take" was that Moses was to lay his hand on Joshua. In order to adequately develop the significance of the hand gesture, one must first study all the other accompanying elements. It should be noted, however, that laying on of hands is the first of the actions indicated by the imperative "take," even though it was not intended that this hand gesture be the first action Moses performed in the installation. YHWH's initial instructions to Moses indicated that Joshua's installation take place in a public setting, thus creating a situation in which public presentation must precede any other action. The installation, as recorded in Num 27:22-23, confirms this conclusion, for Moses first "stood" or presented Joshua to the children of Israel, then "laid" hands on him. By placing hand-laying first, even though it could not be performed first, YHWH appears to be stating that all the other actions depend on it. Structural analysis thus provides a preliminary conclusion. Joshua's public presentation, commissioning, and reception of some of Moses' honor were to each somehow find their meaning or expression in the laying on of Moses' hands. Joshua's installation is rooted in Moses' hand-laying action.

"*Stand him before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation.*" The second action to follow "taking" was that of presentation. Four observations can be made about the imperative to stand Joshua before priest and congregation. First, the concept of "standing before" in the OT can have the connotation of presentation.[15] Joshua's formal presentation

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[15]R. B. Allen, "עמד ('āmad) stand, remain, endure, etc," *TWOT* (1980), 2:673. Jacob is presented to Pharoah (Gen 47:7), the cleansed leper is presented to YHWH at the door of the Tabernacle (Lev 14:11), two goats are presented before YHWH (Lev 16:7), the scapegoat is

had the dual purpose of giving him to the congregation and doing so in a judicial setting which established that Joshua was legally Israel's next leader. Second, the physical gesture of standing communicated Joshua's acceptance of his responsibilities as well as the congregation's and YHWH's acceptance of Joshua.[16] Third, the verb "stand before" indicated a cultic[17] and covenantal[18] event. Fourth, the concept of standing before the priest and "congregation" give indication that Joshua's installation ceremony took place at the tent of meeting, the normal meeting place of the congregation. Joshua's leadership is thus connected to the Sanctuary and to all that it represented in maintaining contact and covenant with YHWH. His leadership must ever espouse these important principles.

"*Commission him in their presence.*" The third action to follow "taking" was that of giving a commission. Moses was to "commission him (Joshua) before their eyes" (Num 27:19).[19] The verb is a piel perfect, second masculine singular of צוה, meaning either "to command" or "to give a charge." Numbers 27:19-22 uses both meanings, first in Moses' commissioning of Joshua (vv. 19, 23), and second in Moses' obedience of

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presented live before YHWH (Lev 16:10), a person is to be presented to the priest (Lev 27:8), an animal is presented to the priest (Lev 27:11), Levites are presented to Aaron for service (Num 3:6; 8:13), a suspected adulteress is presented by the priest or her husband before YHWH for judgment (Num 5:16, 18, 30). See Ashley, 552-553, where he lists ten of the eleven occurrences.

[16]After seventy men died as a result of looking at the ark of the covenant, the men of Beth Shemesh asked, "Who can stand before YHWH" (1 Sam 6:20); YHWH asks, "What shepherd will stand before me?" (Jer 49:19; 50:44) implying that the shepherds are not acceptable to himself; YHWH also asks those who have performed all manner of evil how they think they can "stand before" him, meaning, they are to believe they are accepted (Jer 7:10); and Esther stood before Xerxes after he indicated acceptance of her presence (Esth 5:1-2).

[17]The OT sanctuary provided the Israelites with a refuge in which to contact YHWH, and its services gave institutional form to maintaining the covenant between YHWH and his people. To state that the phrase "stand before" carries cultic overtones is to say that it represents a ritual involved in Israel's worship of and maintaining contact with YHWH. The phrase "stand before" carried a cultic connection in at least two areas: (1) "stand before" could indicate ministry before or service to one of higher authority or to a group, or (2) "stand before" could indicate a representational element in which one representing a group "stands before" another and intercedes in behalf of the group. In terms of leadership, if there was no blessing from the high priest, there would be no leader. Including Eleazar the priest in the formalities underscored the fact that Joshua's leadership of the Israelites was to be one of cooperation with the high priest. Joshua's rule was not to be profane; contact with YHWH was to hold first place in his governance.

[18]Joshua's installation ceremony was public, held before the entire congregation (עֵדָה—a term with strong covenantal connections). It is the congregation with whom YHWH has made a covenant; it is the congregation who requires a leader sensitive to this covenant.

[19]KJV, "give a charge"; RSV and NIV, "commission"; NKJV, "inaugurate."

YHWH's command (v. 22). Why would both meanings be used in so few verses? YHWH's control and input comprise one of the more important messages of this pericope. Moses' commissioning (צוה) of Joshua directly results from YHWH's command (צוה) to Moses. Moses may be the voice of the commission, but Joshua's commission originates with YHWH.

YHWH instructed Moses to give a solemn charge to Joshua "before their eyes," the eyes of Eleazar and the congregation. Previously in this pericope YHWH had used the same expression to remind Moses that he could not enter the Promised Land because he had not sanctified YHWH at the waters "before their eyes" (Num 27:14). Moses' public sin necessitated a change in Israel's leadership. With this reminder, Joshua's commission emphasized a call to consistently responsible leadership to be maintained in the view of all. The commissioning ceremony as a public event took place at the door of the tabernacle.

What are the contents of Joshua's commission? Three passages provide elements of the installation formula: Deut 3:21-28; 31:1-8, 14, 23; and Josh 1:1-9. These passages indicate a four-part commission. First, Moses shared words of encouragement calculated to make Joshua firm and resolute. Based on past experience with YHWH, Joshua was encouraged to be strong and courageous, to not fear, or be alarmed, or be filled with terror. Second, Joshua was commissioned to a task, not a position. He was reminded that his task was to be twofold, that of going over the Jordan and into the Promised Land as well as that of appropriately dividing the land among the tribes. Third, Moses extended YHWH's promise of divine assistance, sufficiency, and companionship. Joshua was not to attend to his task alone. YHWH promised to fight for him, go before him, be with him, and never abandon or forsake him. Moses may have verbalized the commission, but YHWH personally effected it. Fourth, Moses exhorted Joshua to read, preserve, and carefully keep the law. He was not ever to depart from it, but to meditate on it day and night.

"Confer some of your honor on him." The fourth action to follow "taking" was that of conferring (נתן) some of Moses' honor (הוד) on Joshua.[20] One catches "a glimpse of the esteem in which Moses was held" upon the realization that the word "honor," which describes an attribute of YHWH and of kings, also describes an attribute of Moses; "his was the

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[20]Milton C. Fisher,"נתן (nātan) give," *TWOT* (1980), 2:608-609. Because of its extensive use (around two thousand times) in the OT, נתן has a great variety of meanings given in translation. This variety can be reduced to three broad areas: (1) give, (2) put or set, and (3) make or constitute. Translations include: set, commit, put, lay, fasten, hang, make, appoint, suffer, bestow, deliver, send, pay, turn, thrust, strike, cast, permit, place, store, attach, and spend. Its usage in Num 27:20 appears to be mainly connected with the more formal meaning of "appoint," thus the translation of "confer."

authority of a king."[21] Like kings, Moses too had both external and internal honor (הוֹד). But like kings, Moses' הוֹד came from YHWH, a gift YHWH instructed him to share with Joshua. However, YHWH did not intend for Moses to pass all of his honor to Joshua, for his instructions added a partitive מִן (of) to הוֹד (מֵהוֹדְךָ). Moses was to give Joshua only a part of his honor.[22] Moses was to remain unique, like the sun, and Joshua, never the equal of Moses, was to reflect only some of Moses' honor as the moon reflects the sun's light.[23] No matter how important Joshua was to become, he was never to rise to the level of his mentor.[24]

Sharing some of Moses' honor with Joshua contributed an important element to Joshua's leadership. In a similar fashion as sharing some of his spirit with seventy elders (Num 11:16-27), Moses shared with Joshua a portion of his civil and spiritual authority as well as his honor, charisma, and prestige. Endowed to Joshua by YHWH, the gift of Moses' honor was confirmed by YHWH's appearance in a cloud (Deut 31:15). Israel's treatment of Joshua following Moses' death confirmed that Joshua received this gift.

Result of Moses' actions. The four waw perfect verbs of vv. 18-20, which follow the imperative "take," culminate in the לְמַעַן (so that, in order that) clause of v. 20. Moses is to lay his hand on Joshua, cause him to stand before Eleazar and the congregation, give him a charge, and give him some of Moses' authority, "so that" the whole congregation would listen (שָׁמַע) to Joshua. This reaction of the congregation was not a matter concerning the congregation, but a matter of leadership. The appropriate response to all the actions of Moses in establishing Joshua as leader was that of obedience.

[21]Riggans, 203; see also Porter, *Moses*, 1-28. Porter argues that the working out of the Moses "tradition primarily took place in Jerusalem under the kings, who adopted Moses to be the link between their new monarchy and the older national traditions which preceded it" (22). He states that Moses "is unmistakably pictured in terms drawn from the language of Hebrew royal ideology" and "that Moses is the antitype of the Davidic monarch" (11). Porter's pamphlet discusses at some length the "role of Moses as king and arbiter of his people's destiny." He, however, carries his point too far when he claims that הוֹד, "when applied to the human being is used exclusively of king" (18), for it also applied to Job and Daniel.

[22]The OT commonly employs the partitive מִן; for example: Gen 4:3-4; Exod 16:27; see also Ashley, 547; Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 324.

[23]Rashi, as quoted by Elie Munk, *La voix de la Torah: Commentaire du Pentateuque*, vols. 4-5 (Paris: Fondation S. et O. Levy, 1975), 293; Morris Rosenbaum and A. M. Silbermann, trans. *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary Translated into English and Annotated* (London: Shapiro, Valentine, 1946), *Numbers*, 134.

[24]Allen proposes an additional interpretation, that the phrase, "some of your honor," suggests a gradual shift in leadership, "not unlike a coregency of son and father as king" ("Numbers," 2:946).

While the verb שמע (listen) basically means to perceive a sound, it more importantly in this context connotes a listening that pays careful attention to what is said.[25] A call to שמע (listen) is a call to understand and respond to what is heard.[26] Calling for attention and understanding has obedience as a consequence, as classically illustrated in 1 Sam 15:22, "to obey (שמע) is better than sacrifice."[27] After the death of Moses, at the time Joshua actually assumed command, the whole congregation pledged that as they had obeyed (שמע) Moses, so they would now obey (שמע) Joshua and that all who rebelled against Joshua and did not obey (ולא־ישמע) his words would be put to death.[28]

Matters Concerning the Congregation—Direction From Eleazar (subsection d₂)

To review, the flow in each of the four major sections of Num 27:12-23 first identifies the section's main character, then through an imperative either makes a request or gives a response to the previous request, and then introduces matters concerning leadership, and concludes by introducing matters concerning the congregation. The "congregation" remains a high priority throughout the pericope, as evidenced by its seven appearances and three appearances of the phrase "children of Israel." YHWH reminded Moses in Section A (v. 14) of the congregation's sin at Kadesh. Moses, touched by that reminder, pleaded in Section B (v. 17c) for a leader so that the congregation would not be left as sheep without a shepherd, and YHWH responded in Section A' (v. 21). Just how was Joshua to lead the congregation on a day-by-day basis?

Joshua's Action. Not all the privileges Moses enjoyed passed to Joshua, for he was not to depend on receiving Moses' honor of face-to-face conversation with YHWH. Joshua must "stand before" Eleazar (Num 27:21) when he needed YHWH's directions. Evidently the unity of Moses' office was to be shared between Joshua and Eleazar, the high priest.[29] In the crossing of the Jordan and the conquest of Jericho, priests

[25]See Gen 3:17; 1 Kgs 22:19; Ps 81:11[12]. Hermann J. Austel, "שמע (shāmaʿ) hear, listen to, obey," *TWOT* (1980), 2:938-939; G. A. Lee, "Hear; Hearken; Listen; Obey," *ISBE* (1982), 2:649.

[26]Understand (Gen 11:7; 42:23; Isa 33:19), response: of fear (Gen 4:23), of faith (Deut 6:4), of assent (Job 34:16; 37:14).

[27]See also Gen 16:2; 34:24; 42:22; Exod 24:7; Deut 1:43; 11:13; 1 Kgs 2:42; Neh 9:16; Isa 1:19; 42:24; Jer 35:18. The verb is used with the same sense of obedience in the context of ancient Near Eastern treaties. Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT, 147.

[28]Josh 1:17-18.

[29]Philip J. Budd, *Numbers*, vol. 5, WBC (Waco, TX: Word, 1984), 307. Did the OT ever record that Joshua used the high priest to obtain information from YHWH? On the one

played an obvious role in carrying the Ark of the Covenant as well as in the blowing of trumpets.[30] Both Joshua and Eleazar were tasked with dividing the land equitably among the tribes.[31] Joshua's one-time experience of installation into office did not remove from him the necessity of maintaining constant contact with YHWH. He was to present himself to Eleazar the priest, who in turn presented himself to YHWH through the Urim, in order to receive guidance for running the affairs of the congregation.

Result of Joshua's Action. After having "stood before" Eleazar and receiving YHWH's judgment through the Urim, Joshua as well as the whole congregation was to "go out" and to "come in" (Num 27:21). Hebrew frequently uses antonyms to express totality. The expression for "going out" and "coming in" comprehensively covers all leadership duties and responsibilities, which include a managing and conducting of one's own affairs as well as the affairs of state.[32] Additionally, when used separately, the Hebrew verbs translated as "go out" (יצא) and to "come in" בוא were powerful covenantal reminders for the new leader. Used frequently of the great exodus event, the hifil (causative) of יצא (go out) reminded one of the great "going out" event, the exodus from Egypt, which symbolized the mighty redemption of God's people, an event

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hand, Scriptures never record a time when Joshua asked for divine guidance through the high priest. Instead, Scripture points out that YHWH spoke directly to him (Josh 7:7-15; 10:12-14), encouraged Joshua that as he was with Moses he would be with Joshua (Josh 1:5; 3:7), personally appeared to Joshua in order to give direct instruction about entry into the Promised Land (Josh 1:1-9; 3:7-8; 4:1-3, 15-16; 5:2) as well as its conquest (Josh 6:2-5; 8:1-2; 8:18; 11:6; 13:1-7; cf. 5:14-15) and the establishment of the cities of refuge (Josh 20:1-6). However, on the other hand, Num 27:21 gives clear indication that YHWH expected Joshua to work through Eleazar, an expectation supported by two points made in the book of Joshua. First, Joshua, through Eleazar, should have taken the initiative to contact YHWH before making a covenant with the Gibeonites (Josh 9:14). Second, whenever Joshua is mentioned with Eleazar, Eleazar's name appears first, implying a dependency upon him (Josh 14:1; 19:51; 21:1). See also Milgrom, *Numbers*, 236.

[30]Josh 3:2, 6, 14, 15, 17; 4:11, 15; 6:4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16.

[31]Num 34:17; Josh 14:1; 17:4; 19:51; 21:1.

[32]Deut 28:6; 1 Kgs 3:7; Ps 121:8; Zech 8:10. George W. Coats, *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God*, JSOTSupp 57 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 149-150, Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers*, 147; Horst Dietrich Preuss,"יצא *yāṣā*," *TDOT* (1990), 6:226-227; A.R.S. Kennedy, *Leviticus and Numbers*, NCB (New York: Henry Frowde, n.d.), 346; George B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, ICC (New York: Scribner, 1903), 400-401. Gray points out that "to go out and come in" is an idiomatic method of expressing activity in general by reference to its commencement and conclusion and is a *usus loquendi* similar in character to the frequent periphrases for *all* which consist of two terms for opposed classes; i.e., *the fettered and the free, the dry and the thirsty, the binder and the bound.*

Moses wished his people to often remember.[33] On the other hand, בוא (come in) spoke to the coming and bringing into the land of promise. Giving of the land as well as coming into possession of the land was YHWH's method of establishing the covenant.[34]

Interpreting "Laying on of Hands."

The instruction to Moses to "lay his hand" on Joshua has its origin with the Almighty, "and YHWH said to Moses"(Num 27:18). YHWH's words to Moses commenced with an imperative to "take" Joshua, a man in whom there is spirit. Laying on of hands, as one of the subsequent actions initiated by "taking," provided a means for Moses to become personally involved in the process of choosing Joshua as well as providing a means for Moses to physically manifest faith in YHWH. A review of Joshua's life history reveals a man who had a careful and close walk with his God. It was no common individual who received laying on of hands. YHWH, the God of the spirits of all flesh, confirmed that this one to receive the laying on of hands was a man in whom there was spirit. Not only was Joshua a man with an indomitable and courageous spirit, but YHWH had given him a special gift of the Spirit that changed him and endowed him for leadership. Hand-laying is thus associated with a spirited man as well as with a man filled with the Spirit of YHWH.

How does an interpretation of the phrase "standing before" apply to "laying on of hands"? First, the hand gesture followed formal presentation to Eleazar and the congregation (vv. 22-23). Joshua's formal presentation had the dual purpose of giving him to the congregation and doing so in a legal setting, thus giving judicial precedence to hand-laying. Second, hand-laying was associated with the physical gesture of standing that communicated Joshua's acceptance of his responsibilities as well as the congregation's and YHWH's acceptance of Joshua. Third, cultic usage of the term "stand before," reinforced by its association with Eleazar and the congregation, indicated hand-laying was part of a cultic and covenantal event. Finally, the term "stand before" also gives indication as to where Joshua's installation ceremony took place. Presentation to priests and meetings of the congregation generally took place at the tent of meeting. Thus, Joshua's hand-laying ceremony apparently took place at the courtyard gate of the tabernacle.

How does the phrase "commission him in their presence" apply to an

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[33]Deut 6:12; 26:8. Paul R. Gilchrist, "יָצָא (yāṣā') go out, come out, go forth," *TWOT* (1980), 1:393-394.

[34]Horst Dietrich Preuss, "בוא bô'," *TDOT* (1975), 2:27-30; Elmer Martens, "בוא (bô') go in, enter," *TWOT* (1980), 1:393-394.

interpretation of laying on of hands? Hand-laying is associated with a four-part commission, a commission which encouraged Joshua, described his task, extended YHWH's promise of divine assistance to accomplish the task, and exhorted him to keep the law. Hand-laying is thus associated with a commission verbally spoken by a human, but effected by YHWH.

In the implementation of YHWH's orders, Moses stood Joshua before Eleazar and the congregation, laid hands on him, and gave him a charge, but made no mention of giving him honor or authority. Why is this so? An answer to this question leads directly to laying on of hands. Note first that the four actions associated with "taking" by waw perfect verbs form the following chiasm:

A   And you shall lay your hand *on him*.
    B And you shall stand *him* before Eleazar the priest and before the
        congregation.
    B' And you shall commission *him* before their eyes.
A'   And you shall confer some of your honor *on him*.

Lines A and A' are linked by the Hebrew word עָלָיו (on him) while lines B and B' are linked by the Hebrew word אֹתוֹ (him). The divine command of v. 20 instructed Moses to place some of his honor "on him" (עָלָיו), meaning on Joshua. Use of עָלָיו (on him) corresponds by parallelism directly to the עָלָיו (on him) of the hand-laying instruction of v. 18, in which Moses was to lay his hand "on him" (עָלָיו). "Moses thus establishes a physical conduit for the transfer of his הוֹד," which is linked by waw consecutive verbs to standing Joshua before Eleazar and the congregation as well as to giving him a charge.[35] The physical act of laying hands, combined with public presentation and giving a charge, became the actions which effectively passed some of Moses' honor to Joshua.

An analysis of waw perfect verbs provides two further observations about laying on of hands: (1) its priority with respect to the other actions and (2) its relationship to the other actions in the installation ceremony. As noted above, normally waw perfect verbs are thought to continue the idea communicated by the verbal form of the imperative and express its purpose or a consequent situation. Placing a waw on a perfect gives the verb an imperfect sense, which expresses a logical succession of actions contingent or dependent on that which precedes it. The sense of the imperative of v. 18, "take," continues with each of the following verbs connected to it by the waw. At the same time a hierarchy is established: first, lay; second, stand; third, command or charge; and fourth, give. Each command becomes contingent on the previous. Hence, the primary action of this series of

[35]Milgrom, *Numbers*, 235.

commands becomes laying, or the laying of Moses' hand on Joshua.

One other syntactic role of the waw conjunctive/consecutive arises from what Waltke and O'Conner refer to as the "copulative waw" and Williams as the "waw of accompaniment." In other words, the waw introduces a clause describing concomitant circumstances which coordinate with each other.[36] In this case, hand-laying would take place concurrently with presentation, commissioning, and giving some of Moses' honor. However, even though all activities may take place concurrently, the activity listed first, or laying on of hands, retains primary significance in the hierarchy of all the activities. Though primary, to be effective, laying on of hands must also be accompanied by public presentation, giving of a charge, and sharing of honor.

One discovers the further importance attached to laying on of hands by comparing the order of activities in YHWH's command to Moses (vv. 18b-20a) with Moses' implementation of the command (vv. 22b-23a). The importance of hand-laying is emphasized by the fact that it was mentioned first in YHWH's command even though Moses did not physically lay his hands on Joshua before making Joshua's public presentation. By placing hand-laying first in the initial instructions to Moses, YHWH declares its primacy over all the other actions and its importance in the installation of Joshua.

The pericope's conclusion (Section B') provides a second chiasm emphasizing the importance of laying on of hands.

A   And he stood him (וַיַּעֲמִדֵהוּ) before Eleazar the priest and before the congregation.

    B And he laid his hands on him.

A'   And he commissioned him (וַיְצַוֵּהוּ).

Lines A and A' are linked in Hebrew by third masculine singular suffixes attached to the verbs. In the instructions of section A', the pronoun "him" had been indicated by the Hebrew word אֹתוֹ, but in the implementation of the instructions, the pronoun is indicated by a suffix. However, the description of the implementation for laying on of hands retains the same Hebrew word for "on him" (עָלָיו) that had been used in the instruction of section A'. Laying on of hands falls into the center, again an indication of its importance.

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[36]Williams, 83. Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor introduce a history of the controversy wrapped around understanding the conjunction *waw*. The variety of terms used to describe the conjugation gives evidence of the struggle to understand it. Hebraists are not in agreement and have advanced various theories in a fashion something like the proverbial five blind men examining an elephant. Each of them has described a portion of the beast accurately, but they differed in their conclusions because they tried to describe the whole by generalizing from a part (*An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 456-457).

Numbers 27:12-23 concludes by drawing attention to Moses' hand in a different fashion. Joshua's installation took place "just as YHWH spoke by the hand of Moses" (Num 27:23). Two important concepts are placed in juxtaposition with each other, the "word" of YHWH with the "hand" of Moses.[37] Throughout Israel's experience, the "word" of God played a significant role.[38] Walter Roehrs observes that the "word of God denotes the acts of God's revelation as embodying and charged with all the characteristics of God. In and by the word, God acts, conveys, and communicates Himself."[39] Because דָּבָר (word) "posits the reality which it signifies," דָּבָר has been used in contexts where in English we use "thing."[40] When applied to the divine arena, the "word" of YHWH comes as a dynamic "something" with its own distinct reality that is an expansion of YHWH himself, filled with his personal power. And when YHWH's word comes, it possesses creative power and effects what it signifies, for "when YHWH posits the word-thing, nothing can prevent its emergence."[41] The OT also treats the "word of YHWH" as an object or bearer of power which always accomplishes its mission and thus creates history and shapes the future.[42] Because YHWH's "word" has been treated as an object with such power, the OT invites YHWH's people to "see" his word.[43]

By placing Moses' "hand" in juxtaposition with YHWH's "word," Num 27:23 makes a significant statement about Moses' hand. His hand became a visible representation of YHWH's communication and of YHWH's power. Moses' hand enabled Israel to see the "word" of YHWH. While it should be noted that thirty-one times the OT states that YHWH acted "by the hand of Moses," it should also be noted that the expression receives limited usage. It appears to be no accident that the expression was used in this pericope. Moses'

[37]For the importance of the "word" (דָּבָר) of YHWH, see W. H. Schmidt, *TDOT* (1978): 3:111-125; Earl S. Kalland, "דָּבָר (*dābar*) to speak, declare, converse, command, promise, warn, threaten, sing, etc.," *TWOT* (1980), 1:178-181; John L. McKenzie, "The Word of God in the Old Testament," *TS* 21 (1960): 183-206; and Walter R. Roehrs, "The Theology of the Word of God in the Old Testament," *CTM* 32 (1961): 257-273.

[38]Especially during the exodus from Egypt when the word of YHWH moved Israel at each step from Horeb to Canaan, i.e., Deut 1:6; 2:2, 18, 31; 3:1; 3:27-28.

[39]Roehrs, 264.

[40]Lev 5:2; Num 31:23. John L. McKenzie, "The Word of God in the Old Testament," *Theological Studies* 21, (1960):188, 190.

[41]Ibid., 196. By the word of YHWH were the heavens made (Pss 19:2-5; 33:6, 9; 147:15-18; 148:8).

[42]When YHWH's "word" goes out, it will not return empty but will accomplish its mission (Isa 45:23; 55:10-11).

[43]See, for example, Jer 2:31.

act of laying his hands on Joshua became a visible enactment of the "word" of YHWH with all of its attendant concepts of power and ability to create and effect what it signifies. Thus it becomes clear why, in the list of actions Moses is to accomplish in the installation of Joshua, the laying on of hands carried primary significance.

Joshua's reception of hand-laying along with the critical elements of public presentation, commissioning, and some of Moses' honor was calculated to have a certain effect. Joshua was to receive something further—that is, obedience of the whole community. However, receiving such recognition did not put Joshua on the same plane as Moses, nor did it remove from Joshua the need of continually seeking YHWH's will. Though hand-laying carried high importance, it did not place Joshua in such a position that he could depend on direct access to YHWH for all of his leadership decisions. Joshua was to seek YHWH's will by standing before the high priest, Eleazar, who in turn was to seek that will through use of the Urim. But once Joshua ascertained YHWH's will, the congregation was to follow his directions.

Numbers 27:12-23 clarifies the importance of hand-laying in Joshua's installation. The gesture is primary in the procedure and results in the congregation's obedience. Did the gesture in any way change Joshua? A careful study of Deut 34:9 will provide an answer.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA, PART II: EXPECTATIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGY[1]

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Introduction

Continuing discussions about the relationship of Joshua to the archaeological findings at sites such as Tell es-Sultan (Jericho), et-Tell (Ai), el-Jib (Gibeon), and Hazor require additional clarification, since some vital issues have not been adequately considered. One of the problematic issues discussed in my previous article is the use of nonevidence.[2] For example, J. Maxwell Miller has used the nonevidence of the archaeological excavations at et-Tell to conclude that the biblical story is erroneous.[3] The use of nonevidence is methodologically unsound and, therefore, says more about the present state of archaeological interpretation than it does about the biblical story. In addition to the use of nonevidence, three other fundamental issues that need to be probed due to commonly suggested conclusions about biblical stories are site identification, the predictive nature of archaeology, and the question, "Can archaeology prove the Bible?"

Site Identification

On the problem of site identification, consider Miller's conclusion that the archaeological site et-Tell is the Ai of Josh 7-8:[4]

> The name (*hāˁay*, 'the ruin') and the topographical implications of Gen. 12.
> 8 indicate that Ai was a noticeable ruin situated east of Bethel and separated
> from the latter by a mountain. Et-Tell is the only really conspicuous tell in
> the vicinity immediately east of Bethel, as the Arab name 'et-Tell' ('the tell')

[1]This paper is a revised and expanded version of research directed by William H. Shea, to whom it is dedicated in honor of his sixty-fifth year. Cf. David Merling, Sr., *The Book of Joshua: Its Theme and Role in Archaeological Discussions*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 23 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1997), 238-262.

[2]David Merling, "The Book of Joshua, Part I: Expectations of Archaeology," *AUSS* 2001 (39): 61-72.

[3]J. Maxwell Miller, "Archaeology and the Israelite Conquest of Canaan: Some Methodological Observations," *PEQ* 109 (1977): 88.

[4]As stated in my previous article, I have used Miller as a sounding board for this article because he has written widely and eloquently on the relationship between archaeology and the Bible, and his ideas have been explicitly and implicitly accepted by many scholars. Personally, I admire him as an individual and as a scholar.

suggests, and it meets all the topographical requirements of both Gen. 12.8 and Josh. 7-8.[5]

It seems that the writers of the book of Joshua took special pains to assure the readers which Ai was indicated in this story, because they included the phrases "which is near Beth-aven," "east of Bethel (Josh 7:2)."[6] It would seem that the Ai of this story was not immediately identifiable to the readers of Josh 7, even if they knew where Bethel was located; otherwise the biblical writers would not have needed to add the clause "which is near Beth-aven.[7] Yet, archaeologists have not agreed upon a location for Beth-aven. Some have proposed that Beth-aven was not a place, but a pejorative name for Bethel, with which Miller agrees.[8] The question that Miller has not adequately answered is, For what pejorative purpose would the appellation "house of taboo," as Miller translates Beth-aven, serve the biblical writers? It is, after all, Ai that was to be attacked, not Bethel, mentioned many times before and after Josh 7:2; yet, this is the only time Bethel and Beth-aven are associated in the same verse. Bethel was not a significant city in the Joshua stories. It is even more telling that after this account Bethel and Ai are never mentioned again as "twin cities." It makes more sense to assume that "Beth-aven" is a place name that is yet to be identified. When and if Beth-aven is identified, the Ai of the book of Joshua may be identified with more certainty.

What is intriguing is that at the conclusion of the Ai story, which ends with Ai being burned, is the introduction of Mount Ebal. "Then Joshua built an altar to the Lord, the God of Israel, in Mount Ebal." The use of אז to introduce this sentence is by design for emphasis.[9] Such a close, uninterrupted connection of stories between Ai and Mount Ebal would, in any other context, suggest that the Ai of Josh 7-8 was located in close proximity to Mount Ebal (Josh 8:30). There is no transitional "So Joshua and all Israel traveled to Mt. Ebal." The destruction of Ai and the offering on Mount Ebal are run together. What textual evidence is there that Ai and Mount Ebal are not to be located close to each other?[10] Of

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[5]Miller, 88.

[6]Other than Josh 7:2, Beth-aven is mentioned only in 18:12 and in 1 Sam 13:5; 14:23.

[7]To assume that in all of Canaan there was only one "house of god" (Bethel) is simplistic.

[8]Patrick M. Arnold, "Beth-Aven." *SBD*, 1:682; J. M. Miller and Gene M. Tucker, *The Book of Joshua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 62.

[9]"Then, whether expressing duration or inception (=thereupon). . . . Seldom used except where some special emphasis is desired" (*BDB*, s.v. אז).

[10]I am aware that in the LXX the account of Mount Ebal, located in the MT in Josh 8:30-

course, some could argue that the close proximity of Ai and Mount Ebal in this chapter was the result of poor editorial work. On the other hand, it is just as likely that Ai of Josh 7 and Mount Ebal were geographically near to a site named Bethel.[11]

Miller *assumes* the et-Tell/Ai connection because et-Tell is "the only really conspicuous tell in the vicinity immediately east of Bethel."[12] On the other hand, nothing within the biblical narrative indicates that Ai was a "conspicuous" tell. What evidence is there that Beitin is the Bethel of the book of Joshua? Neither the book of Joshua nor Genesis provides sufficient data to accurately locate either site. Archaeologists and biblical scholars often assume more than the evidence dictates when using site identification data.[13]

The relationship between archaeology and the book of Joshua is unclear even on the location of the biblical sites, yet these assumptions are some of the absolutes from which archaeologists begin their evaluations of the book of Joshua. Miller assumes the connection between Ai and et-Tell must be accurate, simply because archaeologists agreed beforehand

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35, is placed after Josh 9:2. Unfortunately, the reason for the difference in location of the Mount Ebal pericope is uncertain. Perhaps the LXX translators were uneasy with the seemingly close geographical association of Ai and Mount Ebal, which did not fit with their understanding of the locations of these sites; thus, this section was moved to a "better" transitional location in the book, supposedly giving the Israelites an opportunity to leave Ai, go to Mount Ebal, and return to the central hill country in time to interact with the Gibeonites; see also Emanuel Tov, "The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation," in *Studies in Bible*, ed. Sara Japhet (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986), 326.

[11]I am always surprised that archaeologists have so completely accepted the Bethel/Beitin correlation for every biblical period. Nothing in the Abrahamic stories implies a location for either Ai or Bethel (Gen 12:8), unless one considers a location south of Shechem to be diagnostic (Gen 12:8). By reading the Abrahamic stories one gets the impression that Bethel was not a "city." A "city" is mentioned only in the context of Luz (Gen 28:19). No city details are ever given nor is any other person mentioned besides the main character. It is a place where altars are built and the patriarchs offer sacrifices. It would be inappropriate to assume that Abraham built his altar in the center of a pagan city.

To automatically assume that Abraham's offering site was the same place as an Iron Age city of Bethel is a major assumption. While Beitin may be the Bethel of Judg 21:19, note that the passage does not mention Ai, although there is parallel archaeological evidence between et-Tell and Beitin during the Iron I period, implying that Beitin and et-Tell were occupied during the time of the Judges (James Leon Kelso, "Bethel," *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (henceforth *NEAEHL*), ed. Ephraim Stern [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993], 1:194; Joseph A. Callaway, "Ai," *NEAEHL* 1: 44-45). Note also that Bethel and Ai are never mentioned together in any biblical passage after the Josh 7-8 account.

[12]Miller, 88.

[13]H. J. Franken, "The Problem of Identification in Biblical Archaeology," *PEQ* 108 (1976): 6, 7.

that Joshua's Ai and et-Tell are one and the same place;[14] yet, the main connection between these two sites is an untested hypothesis.

The Predictive Nature of Archaeology

Another common assumption made by archaeologists is that they can determine beforehand what they will find, based on ancient sources.[15] For example, Miller assumes that since the text mentions a "gate" (Josh 7:5), Ai was a "fortified city." While this is one possible conclusion, it is not a necessary one. At Megiddo (Stratum IX), a free-standing gate has been found in the Late Bronze Age strata. Rivka Gonen states: "Freestanding gates, though not a common phenomenon, are not inconceivable, for gates served more than a defensive function. The gate was the ceremonial entrance, the town showpiece, and the focus of trade, public gatherings, litigation, news reports, and even cult."[16] Likewise, Late Bronze Age Hazor had a gate without a connecting wall.[17] If the stories of the book of Joshua reflect Late Bronze Age realities—when city walls may possibly have been prohibited by the Egyptians for military reasons—ceremonial gates could still be expected.[18] One could even argue that a ceremonial gate is implied in the story of Ai, since at the end of the story the gate is used for public testimonial purposes and the king was buried at the entrance of the gate (Josh 8:29).

That there were ceremonial gates not associated with walls during the Late Bronze Age does not, however, necessarily suggest that the Ai of Josh 7 and 8 had only a ceremonial gate. The Late Bronze Age free-standing gates at Megiddo and Hazor only underline the possibility of a trap into which scholars, using unsupported assumptions about the Bible and the finds of archaeology, can fall. One cannot, by the story of Ai, conclude anything about the gate at Ai, whether large and imposing or small and tenuous. All that the biblical story tells us is that Ai had a gate. No wall is mentioned. All we know from archaeology is that at et-Tell, no gate or city was found corresponding with the Late Bronze Age. A similar situation exists between the book of Joshua's story of the conquest of Jericho and the archaeological finds.

The current consensus among archaeologists is that the results of

[14]Ibid.

[15]Miller, 88.

[16]Rivka Gonen, "The Late Bronze Age," in *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, ed. Amnon Ben-Tor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 219.

[17]Rivka Gonen, "Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period," in *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, ed. Amnon Ben-Tor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 69, 70.

[18]Gonen, "The Late Bronze Age," 219.

excavations at Tell es-Sultan do not support the common assumptions about
the account from the book of Joshua concerning the conquest of Jericho.[19]
On the other hand, archaeological data do indicate that some people were
living at Jericho, or at least nearby, during the Late Bronze Age, as walls and
buildings found there by Kathleen M. Kenyon indicate. The Jericho Late
Bronze Age settlement also came to an end by destruction.[20] Unfortunately,
much of the evidence from Late Bronze Jericho was lost via erosion and
previous excavations.[21] In my opinion, the general details of the Jericho story
(Josh 6)—that the Israelites at some point in their formative history attacked
Jericho, that the walls of the city were breached, and that one family from
that city was allowed to live—do not necessarily disagree with the results of
Kenyon's excavations. I suggest that the differences between Joshua's conquest
of Jericho and the archaeological findings are not so much due to Jericho's
lack of walls, but are due to the artificial expectations of those who interpret
the account from the book of Joshua.

     One important issue in archaeology that has remained untested is the
predictive dimension of archaeology. To conceive of only one scenario
from either the biblical story or the archaeological data may evidence
insufficient reflection. Fredric Brandfon is one of the few who have
perceived the dynamic possibility of archaeology. He wrote:

> It is just as likely that a sequence of events, such as the invasion of Canaan
> first by Israelites and then by Philistines, would leave many different traces
> in the stratigraphic record all over the country. It is also possible that a
> sequence of historical events may leave no traces in the stratigraphic record
> at all. Or it may be the case that the stratigraphic traces which were
> originally left behind by events have been eroded by natural forces or
> destroyed by later stratigraphic processes. It seems most likely that, in
> excavating strata of the land of Israel at the time of the Conquest or
> settlement, all of these possibilities will be found as each site yields its own
> stratigraphic sequence. The archaeologists must therefore contend with the
> fact that the inference of historical events—invasion of Canaan first by
> Israelites, then by Philistines, for example—is far from self-evident or
> self-explanatory from a stratigraphic standpoint. Again, the archaeological
> evidence does not *dictate* the historical "story" that can be told from it.[22]

[19]Thomas A. Holland, "Jericho," in *ABD*, 3:736; Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Excavations at
Jericho, The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Tell, Text*, ed. Thomas A. Holland (London:
British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1981) 3:371; idem, "Jericho: Tell es-Sultan," in
The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, ed. Ephraim Stern
(New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 680.

[20]Kenyon, "Jericho: Tell es-Sultan," 3: 680.

[21]Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho*, 371.

[22]Fredric Brandfon, "The Limits of Evidence: Archaeology and Objectivity," *Maarav*

A possible solution to the lack of Late Bronze Age walls is the one posited by Kenyon that the LBII inhabitants of Jericho may have used the walls of the MBII city.[23] While her suggestion is possible, it is equally possible that the Jericho that the Israelites attacked had walls that were a single line of unbaked mudbricks or were composed of a small circle of mud-brick houses built side by side. According to Josh 2, the wall of Rahab's house was built on the wall of the city, which does not say much for massive defensive features.[24] A wall composed of houses would almost surely have been lost to the ravages of time, especially with 600 years of open erosion before settlement of a new village in the Iron Age. This loss would especially be likely if the village of Jericho was inhabited for only a short time before it was attacked and abandoned. Wright states:

> The Jericho of Joshua's day may have been little more than a fort. It was the first victory in Western Palestine for the invaders, however, and the memory of the great city that once stood there undoubtedly influenced the manner in which the event was later related.[25]

Note that even though Wright himself was suggesting some allowance for the Jericho story, he too wrote about the "great city." It is this kind of unsupportive assumption forced onto the biblical account that produces difficulties between Jericho and the other book of Joshua stories and the archaeological evidences.

Just because Jericho or Ai is identified as a "city" does not imply more than what the *ancient* people called a city. Modern Western civilization cannot help but interpret the word "city" with certain presuppositions. Note how Barkay places the emphasis on *our* (meaning modern readers') interpretation of city: "We tend to define cities as large sites, well fortified, where the building density is greater than in sites termed villages. In biblical times, however, any place built by royal initiative or housing a representative of the central authority, even a small site or isolated fort, was called a city (*'ir*)."[26] Although Barkay's reference is to the Ir2-3 periods, his words seem even more applicable for earlier, less politically structured periods, when a regional power

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4 (1987): 27, 28. G. Ernest Wright came to similar conclusions in "What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do," *Biblical Archaeologist* 34 (1971): 73.

[23]Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (New York: Norton, 1979), 208.

[24]I have written further on this in "Rahab: The Woman Who Fulfilled the Words of YHWH," in *Women in the Hebrew Bible: A Literary Approach*, ed. David Merling and Heidi M. Szpek (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, forthcoming).

[25]G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979), 80.

[26]Gabriel Barkay, "The Iron Age II-III" in *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, ed. Amnon Ben-Tor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 329.

was not in control. A city (or king) was what the ancients considered a city/king, not what modern readers envision.

Shishak referred to the Arad fortress as a "city" or "town" in his list of "cities" conquered;[27] yet the Iron Age fortress at Arad was never larger than 50 x 55 m.[28] Unless we can recreate with exactitude the meaning of the biblical writers' words, only the widest possibility of meaning to the few details of the stories of the book of Joshua should be allowed. Otherwise, we may be transposing twenty-first-century expectations onto the data, while thinking we are interpreting the book of Joshua.[29]

As an archaeologist, I am more sympathetic to the role of

[27]James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents*, vols. 1-4 (London: Histories & Mysteries of Man, 1988), 711, 716.

[28]Miriam Aharoni, "Arad: The Israelite Citadels," *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 1:82.

[29]Consider Table 1, which lists the statements from the book of Joshua concerning each conquered site. Note the lack of detail. Should not so few specifics give pause to archaeologists excavating sites which they believe are mentioned in the book of Joshua?

Table 1
Sites Destroyed by Joshua with Specific Reference to Their Destruction*

Site	Reference	Description
Jericho	6:20	wall fell in its place (וַתִּפֹּל הַחוֹמָה תַּחְתֶּיהָ)
	6:24	burned the city with fire (וְהָעִיר שָׂרְפוּ בָאֵשׁ)
Ai	8:19	set the city on fire (וַיַּצִּיתוּ אֶת־הָעִיר בָּאֵשׁ)
	8:28	Joshua burned Ai; made it a heap forever (וַיִּשְׂרֹף יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־הָעָי וַיְשִׂמֶהָ תֵּל־עוֹלָם)
Makkedah	10:28	utterly destroyed it (them) (הֶחֱרִם אוֹתָם)
Libnah	10:30	nothing specific about city destruction**
Lachish	10:32	nothing specific about city destruction**
Eglon	10:35	nothing specific about city destruction**
Hebron	10:37	he utterly destroyed it (וַיַּחֲרֵם אוֹתָהּ)
Debir	10:39	nothing specific about city destruction **
Hazor	11:11	he burned Hazor with fire (וְאֶת־חָצוֹר שָׂרַף בָּאֵשׁ)

*Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph (Josh 11:1) could conceivably be added to this list. It seems, however, that the pronoun "them" (Hebrew אוֹתָם) of הֶחֱרִים אוֹתָם (Josh 11:12) does not refer to these cities, but to the kings, since the "kings" are the closest antecedent to this pronoun and אוֹתָם is in the masculine form of the pronoun. In any case, nothing specific in the text is said about the destruction of Madon, Shimron, or Achshaph.

**Josh 10:37, 39 could be seen as implying the total destruction of Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Debir, but there is no specific statement in the text that describes the destruction of these cities.

archaeology than some might be; on the other hand, one cannot stress too much that archaeology, even if done in the most scientific manner, will always remain somewhat subjective. This "art" is limited by the amount of data that can been collected, the skill of the archaeologist, interpretive models, and the limited number of explicit textual explanations.

In 1982, Schoville estimated that only about thirty of more than 5,000 archaeological sites had been "scenes of major excavating."[30] Certainly, since "almost 98 percent of the major ruins of Palestine remain untouched by an expedition," archaeologists should be tentative about final conclusions.

Can Archaeology Prove the Bible?

When archaeology and a Bible story do not seem to support each other, the problem may be that the archaeological evidence found, as interpreted, does not mesh with the biblical account, as interpreted.[31] Miller wanted to conclude that the book of Joshua is incorrect about its story of Ai, and for one to suggest that either or both sets of data be altered was to introduce a "looseness in objective controls."[32] Miller's conclusions are reasonable, but not necessarily correct. Most often one thinks of "proving" the Bible as an apologetic tool.[33] On the other hand, the process of "proving" the Bible has two aspects. Those who accept archaeology as a means of "testing" the truthfulness of a biblical story have much in common with those who set out through archaeology to "prove" that the Bible stories are true. Both have absolute confidence in the unwritten premise that people thousands of years after an event can read a story of that event and clearly predict what kind and/or amount of artifactual data will be recovered that will confirm or disprove the account.

At the same time, the ancient event for which evidence is sought may not be some major architectural feature that took years to build but, as in the case of Ai (Josh 8), an event presented as occurring in one day, of whose specific actions we have no knowledge. There is a gap between the historical text and the archaeological data.[34] This gap is what H. J.

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[30]Keith N. Schoville, *Biblical Archaeology in Focus* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982), 157.

[31]Roland de Vaux, "On Right and Wrong Uses of Archaeology," in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. James A. Sanders (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), 70.

[32]J. M. Miller, *The Israelite Occupation of Canaan*, ed. J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977), 90, 213-284.

[33]de Vaux, 68.

[34]Larry G. Herr, "What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do," *Ministry*, February 1983, 28.

Franken called the missing "straight link" between the two.[35]

Some scholars have misunderstood the nature of archaeological data, falsely assuming that archaeology is somehow more scientific than biblical studies. This misunderstanding is based on the correspondence theory, which supposes that there is no difference between what is found and the description of what is found.[36] When one understands that archaeological finds are the true data and the description of archaeological data is theory, then the gap between the book of Joshua and archaeology is not so severe. The correspondence theory confuses theory with fact and thus confuses itself with "truthfulness." An alternative to the correspondence theory is the coherence theory, which "defines truth not as the relationship of statements to facts but as the relationship of statements to each other. . . . The criterion for truth becomes intelligibility and not verifiability through external checkpoints."[37] Such a change in philosophy puts the archaeological and biblical data in a better-defined relationship. Brandfon writes:

> A good many Syro-Palestinian archaeologists no longer claim that their excavations prove or disprove biblical events. Instead, archaeological evidence has been shown to have a wide variety of applications to the study of the past, none of which involves verifying biblical or other historical statements. Rather than claiming that the excavated evidence corresponds to biblical or other statements about the past, archaeologists have claimed that their discoveries may be understood as a context for biblical history, that is a matrix of data into which historical statements may fit.[38]

Kamp and Yoffee have spoken for the essence of this position:

> All classes of archaeological data (including texts) are complementary; none may be examined as if explanations of the interrelations among sociocultural phenomena may be generated directly from materials that have been recovered in the present. Rather, the task is to model the behavior that produced these surviving remnants in a coherent pattern so that data that have not survived may also be logically deduced.[39]

All evidence of archaeology and the Bible must be coalesced to arrive at any proximity of understanding of the past. To allow archaeology to rule over the biblical stories, or historical criticism to guide archaeology, or for either of them to ignore the thematic purposes of the biblical

[35]Franken, 4.

[36]Brandfon, 36.

[37]Ibid., 35.

[38]Ibid., 36.

[39]K. A. Kamp and N. Yoffee, "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives," *BASOR* 237 (1980): 85, 86.

writers is to talk long and miss much (neither of which is a new problem).[40]

Archaeology is a tool that can greatly help the biblical scholar better understand the background of the Bible stories. For example, scholars today have an increased understanding of who the Philistines were, due to archaeology,[41] because the Bible provides only a limited view of who they were. Archaeology can, on occasion, provide external evidence of individuals.[42] Likewise, archaeology can provide houses and temples and cities (including their defensive features) where biblical characters might have lived;[43] yet, archaeology has limitations. As Miller himself has suggested, archaeologists often believe that archaeology can accomplish more than it actually is able to.[44]

The area where archaeology is least helpful is meshing with historical events.[45] Events, including city destructions, are usually short-lived. The Bible provides too little detail to be of much help to the archaeologist.[46] Due to the many destructions clearly identifiable and almost predictable at Middle Bronze Age IIC and Late Bronze Age IIC sites, some might question this conclusion. But in the same way, should we not expect to find Late Bronze destruction layers at sites, where destructions are suggested by literary sources (e.g., the book of Joshua)? One can only answer that question by first looking at the Middle Bronze Age IIC and Late Bronze Age IIC destructions. In fact, we do not know anything *historically* substantive about the nature of the Middle Bronze Age IIC or Late Bronze Age IIC destructions. Were Middle Bronze

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[40]Sir Frederic Kenyon, *The Bible and Archaeology* (New York: Harper, 1940), 17.

[41]Trude Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

[42]Nahman Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah: Remnants of a Burnt Archive* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986), 28, 29, 139; *ANET*, 320, 321; Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 43 (1993): 93.

[43]Avraham Biran, ed., *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times: Proceedings of the Colloquium in Honor of the Centennial of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion: Jerusalem, 14-16 March 1977* (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1981); Miriam Aharoni and Ronny Reich Kempinski, eds., *The Architecture of Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 193-222.

[44]J. Maxwell Miller, "The Israelite Journey through (around) Moab and Moabite Toponymy," *JBL* 108 (1989): 154; Franken, 10.

[45]Wright, "What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do," 73.

[46]L. T. Geraty, "Heshbon: The First Casualty in the Israelite Quest for the Kingdom of God," in *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall*, ed. F. A. Spina, H. B. Huffmon, and A.R.W. Green (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 30.

Age IIC and Late Bronze Age IIC destructions caused by one-day events, as the book of Joshua suggests of its battles, or were they produced by prolonged sieges or repeated attacks which indeed reduced each city to absolute ruin? While the evidence of Middle Bronze Age IIC and Late Bronze Age IIC destructions may seem compelling, it must be remembered that archaeologists cannot agree even on who or what caused these destructions, even though dozens of sites have produced contemporary destruction layers.[47] If archaeology cannot conclusively answer basic questions about who or what caused the Middle Bronze Age IIC and Late Bronze Age IIC destructions, how can we assume that it can answer the complex questions we are asking archaeology to verify about the book of Joshua?

The Book of Joshua: Redemptive History

The reason the writers of the book of Joshua gave so few details is that they intended the stories to be read for religious purposes, not for historical details.[48] The biblical writers saw history as the working out of YHWH's plans and purposes. Even when events did not go as YHWH promised, the results were seen as the working out of his will (cf. Josh 1:5 with Josh 18:2, 3). This "theological perspective"[49] caused the biblical writers to interpret historical events as theological events and to record them for theological purposes with theology as their primary emphasis. "Theological perspective" does not deny truthfulness. It refers only to viewpoint, selectivity, and detail.

The biblical writers were not writing so that centuries later modern researchers could prove or disprove what they wrote. They selected events and subjectively described those events to demonstrate their point of view by providing only minimal details that would convey their message.

Regarding events, the biblical writers not only limited their choices of reported events to those they deemed most helpful for their message, but they also limited their recording of the events to only those parts that met their objectives. The entire episode of the actual destruction of Ai is presented in three Hebrew words: וישרף יהושע את־העי ("And Joshua burned

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[47]James M. Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment," in *BASOR* 241 (1981):1-28. The origin of the destructions of the LB/Ir1 period are equally problematic; see also Michael G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, 1300-1185 B.C.* (Boston: Brill, 1998), 1-7; Wright, "What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do," 73.

[48]David Merling, "The Book of Joshua: Its Structure and Meaning," in *To Understand the Scriptures: Essays in Honor of William H. Shea* (Berrien Springs: Institute of Archaeology/Horn Archaeological Museum, 1997), 7-27.

[49]Schoville, 154.

Ai," Josh 8:28). This statement does not tell us that the gate was destroyed. It does not tell us how much of the site was burned. It does not tell us that any specific building on the site was destroyed. It does not even inform us that there was a building on the site. For all we know, those living at Ai were living among the ruins of the previous Middle Bronze Age city, and the fire set burned the grass/weeds that covered its surface. After all, its name "the ruin" might have been a literal description.

As Miller suggested about Coote and Whitelam, those who think archaeology has disproved any Bible story are wrong.[50] Biblical scholars can be thankful to archaeology that they have been and are continuing to be forced to reevaluate their interpretation of the text. An assumed picture of the Israelite conquest on the scale of modern military invasions is expecting more from the biblical story than the information provides. William G. Dever rightly called this process of archaeology a bringing of the Bible to the real world of the past.[51] That ancient cities were similar in size and function to modern cities is a (misleading) idea brought to the Bible. Disproving any or all of one's preconceived ideas about the stories of the book of Joshua does not detract at all from the book's reliability.

Archaeology cannot determine the trustworthiness of theology or, as Dever wrote, "create or destroy faith."[52] Roland de Vaux states similarly: "This spiritual truth can neither be proven nor contradicted, nor can it be confirmed or invalidated by the material discoveries of archaeology."[53]

Dever has placed the debate about the relationship of archaeology and the Bible in its proper perspective and has also spoken to my hypothesis: "The failure was that of those biblical scholars and historians who were asking the wrong questions of archaeology."[54] To ask archaeology the wrong questions (i.e., to prove or disprove the historicity of the biblical stories) forces archaeology to provide answers about the text that it cannot possibly provide. Neither archaeology nor the Bible is specific enough to provide answers about those questions.

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[50]J. Maxwell Miller, "Is It Possible to Write a History of Israel Without Relying on the Hebrew Bible?" in *The Fabric of History: Text, Artifact and Israel's Past*, ed. D. V. Edelman, JSOTSupp 127 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 96.

[51]William G. Dever, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies: Retrospects and Prospects* (Evanston, IL: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1974), 28.

[52]Ibid., 42.

[53]de Vaux, 68.

[54]William G. Dever, "'Will the Real Israel Please Stand Up?' Archaeology and Israelite Historiography: Part I," *BASOR* 297 (February 1995): 63.

Conclusion

One cannot disprove literary evidence by nonevidence (the not-finding of archaeological support), and one cannot concretely support Bible stories with nonspecific archaeological finds.[55] The most one can say is that if an excavation does not provide evidence of a building phase at the time a biblical story supposedly took place, one should not automatically assume the biblical story is erroneous. Other explanations abound.

On the other hand, a major study needs to be undertaken to test the limits of archaeology with regard to ancient literature. Such a study, I believe, will go far in correcting the tendency to misuse archaeology as a means of proving or disproving the stories from the book of Joshua.

Until such a study is completed and tested by the archaeological community, the book of Joshua should be allowed the widest latitude in meaning, without preconceived ideas being forced upon it. In the past, readers of the Bible have expected too much from both archaeology and the biblical record. Archaeology is the scattered collection of what has been found, while the Bible is the scattered record of what fit the biblical writers' theological purposes. Rarely should one expect that these two agendas would intersect. When they do, scholars and the general public applaud, but such cases are rare.

Some blame the Bible for its weakness, while others blame archaeology for its limitations. Real blame lies in false expectations. The assumption that archaeology and the Bible will regularly interact is based on an unrealistic "prove-the-Bible" mentality. Those who discount the Bible stories because of archaeological data are working in a "prove-the-Bible mode," just as are those who set out to prove the Bible to be true. Neither group has realized that archaeology and the Bible provide different information, which cannot always be compared and is most often elusive. Information from the Bible and archaeology is parallel, not intersecting; it supplements and complements, but rarely intersects. We must go beyond a "prove-the-Bible" (or "disprove-the-Bible") synthesis in order for true understanding to emerge.

In the end, the relationship between the Bible and archaeology is fluid, not static. Each can help us better understand the other. Neither can, or should, be used as a critique of the other. They must exist separately and be combined cautiously.

[55]See my "The Book of Joshua, Part I: Its Evaluation by Nonevidence," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 61-72.
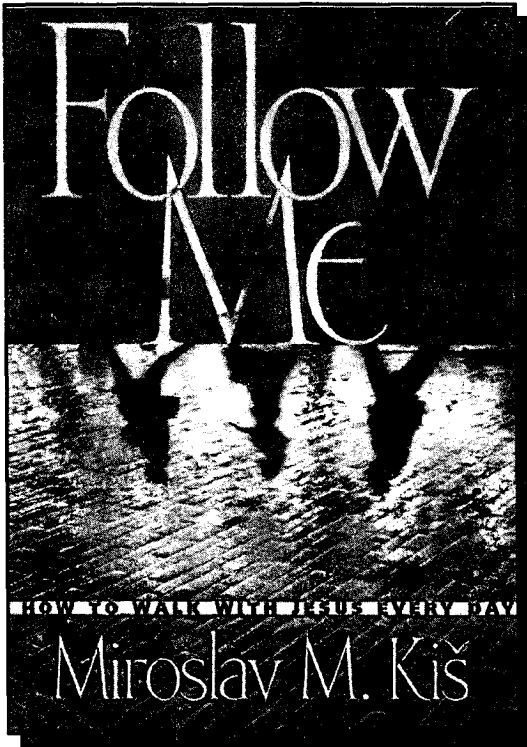
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THE THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF
THE ROOT ŠWB IN JEREMIAH

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Introduction

The New Covenant announced by the prophets is expressed through many lexical forms and metaphors. While Israel was experiencing death because of the Exile, the prophets announced restoration and reconstitution. One of the key words in Jeremiah with regard to this theme is the Hebrew verb *šwb*, which can mean either "turn away" (apostatize) or "turn back" (return or repent).

The purpose of this synchronic study is to analyze the use of the verb *šwb* in Jeremiah, bringing out the theological meaning of the word. The first part of the article will show from Jer 2:1-4:2 that YHWH is the motivator of the return (forgiveness) and also how "return" involves human conversion (confession and commitment).[1] In the second part, an examination of 31:15-25 will show how Jeremiah presents the New Covenant through the use of the root *šwb*. Israel's conversion will be seen to involve an acceptance of YHWH's initial forgiveness and a commitment to live a new covenantal relationship.

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[1]Commentaries, articles, and monographs which treat Jer 2:1-4:2 and 30-31 include the following: E. W. Nicholson, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: Chapters 1-25*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); W. L. Holladay, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: Chapters 1-25*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); B. Walter, *A Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah 1-25* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988); W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah*, vol. 1, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986-1996); W. Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah: Exile and Home Coming* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); T. R. Hobbs, "Jeremiah 3:1-5 and Deut 24:1-4," *ZAW* 86 (1974): 23-29; D. Jobling, "Jeremiah's Poem 3:1-4:2," *VT* 28 (1978): 45-55; T. W. Overholt, "Jeremiah 2 and the Problem of Audience Reading," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 162-273; P. Bovati, "Dio protagonista del ritorno di Geremia," *Parola, Spirito e Vita* 22 (1990): 17-34; H. Leene, "Jeremiah 31:22-26 and the Redaction of the Book of Comfort," *ZAW* 104 (1992): 349-363; M. Zipor, "Scenes from a Marriage according to Jeremiah," *JSOT* 65 (1995): 83-91; M E. Shield, "Circumcision of the Prostitute:Gender, Sexuality and Call to Repentance in Jer 3:1-4:4," *Biblical Interpretation* 3 (1995): 61-74; A. R. Pete and K. M. O'Connor, "Unfaithful Passions: Coding Women Coding Men in Jer 2:1-4:2," *Biblical Interpretation* 4 (1996): 288-310; B. A. Bozak, "Heeding the Received Text: Jer 2:20a, A Case," *Bib* 77 (1996): 524-537; J. Unterman, *From Repentance to Redemption: Jeremiah's Thought in Transition*, JSOTSup 54 (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1987); M. E. Biddle, *A Redaction of History of Jere* 2:1-4:2, Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 77 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1989).

Return as Divine Forgiveness and Human Conversion

The root *šwb²* is often used by Jeremiah in a metaphoric sense to express the idea of forgiveness and conversion.[3] In a number of references, YHWH is the causative agent of this "return" (cf. Jer 12:15; 33:7); in others, the agent is an invitation from YHWH to Israel "to return" (cf. 3:12, 14; 31:21). These texts substantiate YHWH's active role in the historical and religious existence of Israel. At the time when Israel experienced the crisis of the Exile as a result of the nation's weakness, YHWH could be forgive them and invite them to a new way of life. Israel, who recognizes YHWH's love, cries: "Make me return and I shall return" (31:18c).

A panoramic view of Jeremiah's work suggests that from the initial chapters, parting from the concrete historical situation of Israel, the prophet develops the theme of "return" with YHWH as the "primary agent" and Israel as the "secondary agent" of YHWH's causative action. This theme is developed in 2:1-4:2.[4] This section consists of a series of subsections in which the relationship between YHWH and Israel is presented metaphorically as a conjugal union, with YHWH as the husband and Israel as the wife.[5] The theme of "return" in the whole book is inspired by this image. Subsequent texts that speak of "return," especially in the Book of Consolation[6] where the concept of the new covenant is announced, must all be read against this background.

Jeremiah 2 is characterized by words such as *hālak ²aḥⁱrēy* (2:5, 8, 23, 25), *ʿāzab* (2:13,17), and *tāhaq* (2:5), *²aḥⁱbāh, ḥesed*(2:2). Israel forsakes the Lord and becomes distant from him by her sexual infidelity (cf. Jer 3). Thus, the two chapters are joined verbally and semantically.

Three noteworthy metaphors employed by the poet in 2:1-3 are marriage, wilderness, and harvest offering.

a. In the marriage metaphor (Jer 2:1-2a), the prophet equates the relationship between Israel and YHWH to a conjugal union in which YHWH remembers better times in the past.

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[2]For a detailed study on this verbal root, see W. L. Holladay, *The Root šwb in the Old Testament with Particular Reference to Its Usage in Covenantal Contexts* (Leiden: Brill 1958).

[3]We must here distinguish between "virtual" (available or potential) and "actual" (accepted or realized) divine forgiveness, the latter being received through the process of repentance.

[4]The unit ends at 4:2 because in 4:3 there is a change of addressee of YHWH's oracle; YHWH now speaks to Judah and Jerusalem; cf. Unterman, 30-32.

[5]Cf. Zipor, 83-91; Pete and O'Connor, 289-291.

[6]Jeremiah scholarship considers Jer 30-31 as "The Book of Consolation"; cf. B. A. Bozak, *Life "Anew": A Literary-Theological Study of Jer 30-31*, Analecta biblica 122 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991), 5; see esp. n. 30.

b. The wilderness metaphor (v. 2b) alludes to Israel's wanderings in the wilderness of Sinai for forty years before entering into "the promised land" (cf. Exod 15:22-17:15; Num 10:33-22:1). During this period YHWH guaranteed Israel's safety, i.e., by the pillar of cloud and fire (Exod 13:21-22) and by the provision of food and drink.[7] The prophet notes that Israel's love for YHWH at the time did not diminish in spite of the wilderness experience. He also remembers how Israel remained faithful initially even in the face of hardship. This memory serves as the basis to question Israel's deviant behavior after settling in the promised land under improved conditions.

c. The harvest-offering metaphor (v. 3) refers to the Torah's prescription that the firstfruits of any produce be offered to the Lord as a gift (Exod 23:19; Num 18:12-14; cf. Prov 3:9; Hos 9:11), for this part of the harvest belonged to him. Here Israel, as a nation, is pictured as the "firstfruit" that belongs to the Lord, thus occupying a prime position among all the nations that are gathered in the harvest.

The positive marriage and harvest-offering metaphors demonstrate that Israel belongs completely to the Lord: she is his spouse and precious possession. The wilderness metaphor, on the other hand, shows YHWH's loving care for Israel and Israel's reciprocal response to his love. These divine memories of better days set up a sacred and positive perspective to which the later deviant behavior of Israel will be compared. While YHWH has remained faithful, Israel has abandoned the union and forsaken him.

The roots ḥsd,[8] ʾhb, hlk ʾḥry in Jer 2:1-3 are also often found in covenant contexts.[9] This provides some formal similarity between our text and covenant texts. In fact, the language of v. 2 also alludes to the Sinai Covenant, which was metaphorically the wedding of Israel and YHWH.[10] From 2:5, the prophet begins to recount the present unfaithfulness on the part of Israel to YHWH's love (ḥsd).

Jeremiah 2:4-13 stands out as a literary unit, distinct from the preceding (vv. 1-3) and the following sections (vv. 14-15). In v. 3 we have the phrase neʾum-YHWH ("oracle of the Lord"), which concludes that unit. Verse 14 introduces a thematic change, signaling the beginning of a new pericope.

Within vv. 4-13, the sin of Israel is presented chiastically as follows in vv. 5-8:

[7]G. I. Davies, "Wilderness Wanderings," *ABD*, 5: 912-914.

[8]ḥsd applies to both YHWH and Israel. It is YHWH's gift of himself in love to Israel and the response in total faithfulness on the part of Israel; cf. Holladay, 83.

[9]Cf. Brueggemann, 32-33.

[10]P. C. Craigie and P. H. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah, Chapter 1-25*, WBC 26 (Dallas: Word, 1991), 24.

A fathers strayed (v. 5a)
    B go after (v. 5b)
      C where is the Lord (v. 6)
          D wilderness (v. 6b, c)
          D' my land (v. 7)
      C' where is the Lord (v. 8)
    B' go after (v. 8)
A' leaders rebelled (v. 8a)[11]

The central part of this chiastic structure focuses on the land. The wilderness ("a land of deserts and pits," "of drought and deep darkness," where no one lives) stands in contrast to the fertile land of YHWH ("my land"). The negative description of the wilderness suggests it is a lifeless place. From this "lifeless" place, YHWH leads Israel out to settle the nation on a fertile land.

Israel—together with her leaders, priests, and prophets—has forsaken YHWH and gone after other divinities. The ideas expressed in vv. 5-8 are taken up again in v. 13 to summarize the infidelity of Israel. Israel has forsaken the Lord, *an ever-flowing spring of life*, who brought the nation out of Egypt to the fertile land. Israel has distanced herself from YHWH by going after vanity—*waterless and lifeless cisterns*.

On account of their failure, YHWH declares his intention in v. 9 (*lākēn*) to "contend" with Israel and its children. The Hebrew root *rîb* means "to contend," specifically "to bring a lawsuit against someone" or "to bring a person to trial."[12] The basis of YHWH's contention against Israel is the Sinaitic covenant and its renewals with subsequent generations. In this covenant, Israel had pledged total allegiance to

[11]Introduced by *lākēn*, v. 9 forms the conclusion to the description of the sin of Israel in vv. 5-8. With the *kî* of v. 10 a subunit begins, which develops further the situational reference of vv. 5-8 that Israel has exchanged her glory for what does not profit. In v. 12, there is a change of addressee; YHWH now speaks to the heavens, asking them to witness to his grief. The *kî* in v. 13 has a consequential value and introduces Israel's double sin.

[12]Cf. H. B. Huffman, "The Covenant Lawsuits in the Prophets," *JBL* 78 (1959): 285-295. For a detailed discussion of how the prophetic *rîb* functions, see P. Bovati, *Re-establishing Justice: Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures*, JSOTSup 105 (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1994), 20-120; see also J. Harvey, "Le *Rîb* pattern: Requisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'Alliance," *Bib* 43 (1962): 172-196; Brueggemann, 33. A contrary opinion is held by D. R. Daniels, "Is There a 'Prophetic Lawsuit' Genre?" *ZAW* 99 (1987): 339-360. He argues that the genre "prophetic lawsuit" is not identifiable. He argues further that the appeals to heaven and earth in those texts classified as "prophetic lawsuits" are later developments under Assyrian influences and must be understood in relation to the effect of man's behavior on these entities. Daniel's arguments are not convincing, for whether or not there is an Assyrian influence, it still remains that texts such as Jer 2:3-13 perform a certain function in their context (immediate and proximate). It may not be adequate to transfer meaning in one cultural context to the other without taking into consideration the modifications that might have taken place.

YHWH and accepts the consequences of any failure. Failure has occurred; thus YHWH summons Israel to trial.

In the setting introduced already at 2:9, the whole of 2:14-37 discusses the conduct and deviant behavior of Israel as if in a court setting.[13] The case is opened, and Israel's current conduct is examined against its former loyalty (cf. vv. 2-3), which has now become debased. In general terms, v. 11 states that Israel has rebelled against YHWH by abandoning the true faith and resorting to the practices of the fertility cults associated with the Canaanite deity Baal. After receiving salvation from YHWH, Israel has rejected the marital union with YHWH to live as a prostitute (v. 20).[14] Marital infidelity is implied throughout the rest of the chapter, which portrays Israel as now married to Baal. All this serves as the basis of the disputation speech in 3:1-4:2.[15]

In chapter 2, the focus has been on the refusal of Israel to revere YHWH as its only God, a refusal that results in its affliction by foreign powers and ultimately in the Exile. The indictment of evil is presented from the perspective of the covenant. Though the term "covenant" is not used, covenant language is abundant and there is allusion to the marriage relationship between YHWH and Israel. Israel's failure leads to apostasy and servitude to foreign and pagan powers (Assyria and Egypt).[16]

The metaphor of marriage and prostitution in chapter 2 is resumed in chapter 3 to further discuss the unfaithfulness of Israel. A new element, "divorce," is introduced. Nevertheless, there is also a passionate appeal for repentance, together with the assurance of YHWH's forgiveness and mercy. The root šwb is dominant in this chapter and is used in a variety of ways (cf. 3:1, 7, 10, 12, 14, 19, 22).

The rhetorical question in 3:1 opens a disputation speech on the adultery of Israel. Israel is equated to a defiled wife, who under the Deuteronomic legislation (cf. Deut 24:1-4) has no possibility of returning to her first husband because she has become an abomination. The verse presents a dilemma. Can Israel, the adulterous wife, return to YHWH in the light of Deut 24:1-4?[17]

[13]Walter, 40-41; Brueggemann, 37.

[14]For a discussion of translation difficulties of 2:20a, see Bozak, 524-537. She proposes that Hebrew poetic diction must guide the translation of this verse to bring out its contextual meaning. Thus, the MT of Jer 2:20a, as it stands, makes sense if we view it poetically. Hence, the first-person suffix of the verbs šbr and ntq must be understood as YHWH.

[15]Cf. Shields, 65-66.

[16]Craigie and Kelly, 45.

[17]T. R. Hobbs, "Jeremiah 3:1-5 and Deuteronomy 24:1-4," ZAW 86 (1974): 23-29; see

The main issue in this verse appears to be the defilement of the woman—in other words, infidelity to a former relationship. According to Deut 24:1, the husband may send her away if "she has become displeasing." As long as she has not had sexual involvement with another man, she can return to the first husband. Any later sexual relationship defiles her and becomes an insurmountable obstacle for her return, because it is an "abomination."[18]

Thus in Jer 3:1-2, we have an argument from a lesser matter to a greater matter. That Israel has forsaken the Lord is sinful, but it is a lesser matter (v. 1). The grievous matter is that she has become a prostitute (v. 2). Her sexual infidelity defiles her; hence the impossibility of her return to the first union. In the light of Deuteronomy, the prophet presents the impossibility of reconstructing such a broken union even though the former husband may desire it. The broken relationship between YHWH and Israel seems to be beyond repair in the face of the law.

The idea of infidelity is developed in the whole pericope (3:1-13)[19] to include both Judah (vv. 2-5) and Israel (vv. 6-10). In v. 12 the return and reconciliation, which seem impossible, become an invitation and a desire from YHWH (cf. 3:14,19-25; 4:1-4; cf. Hos 11:8-9). YHWH's potential forgiveness (3:12) and Israel's acknowledgment of sin (3:13; cf. 3:25) make reconciliation possible.

The invitation from YHWH to Israel "to return," beginning in 3:12, becomes the dominant theme through 4:2, the climax of the whole section. YHWH directly launches the invitation four times (3:12-13; 3:14-15; 3:21-22b; 4:1-2). Below is a brief analysis of the pericopes in which these invitations are found:

Jer 3:14-18
a. invitation (v. 14a)
b. promise of unification (v. 14b)
c. restoration of leaders (v. 15)
d. restoration of people (v. 16)
e. restoration of the city (v. 17)
f. unification (restoration) of Judah and Israel (v. 18)

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also J. D. Martin, "The Forensic Background to Jeremiah 3:1," *VT* 19 (1969): 82-92; S. Lafont, *Femmes, Droit et justice dans l'antiquité orientale: Contribution à l'étude du droit pénale au proche-orient ancien*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 165 (Göttingen: Editions Universitaires Freibourg Suisse, 1999), 29-91, esp. 87.

[18]Cf. Hobbs, 25-26. In her study of biblical sources (OT) on divorce, Lafont, 88, affirms that "le divorce est directment et clairement attesté comme sanction de l'infidélité conjugale en Jer 3:8 seulement."

[19]Cf. Jobling, 45-55.

As can be seen, this pericope is about YHWH's call to Israel to "return," followed by a promise of unification, restoration (of leaders, people, and the city), and the unification of Judah and Israel. The theme of restoration is continued in the following pericope, where Israel's return (commitment to new life) becomes a blessing for the nations (4:1-2).

Jeremiah 3:19-4:2 presents the following thematic structure:
a. sons (v. 19a)
b. sin (vv. 19b-20)
c. invitation (vv. 21-22b)
d. repentance (vv. 22c-25)
e. forgiveness and blessing for all nations (4:1-2)

This unit (3:14-4:2) concludes the theme of chapters 2 and 3. In 3:19-20, we have the combined metaphors of "sons" and the "unfaithful woman." YHWH had adopted Israel and Judah as sons and given them the promised land, but they failed to respond to their sonship and went astray. This has caused "divine agony of heart."[20] These verses reflect the warmth and love that reside permanently in God's heart. Though YHWH is grieved and disappointed at the failure of Israel, he still loves her and desires repentance (cf. 3:22). Such a strong desire on the part of YHWH could be interpreted as "divine mercy."

In 3:1 the rhetorical question was raised, "Is return to YHWH possible?" Now in 3:22 the prophet announces for the third time the divine invitation to return. In light of the preceding narrative, this is an extraordinary and undeserved act of divine grace.

The invitation to return indicates the mercy of YHWH, the Lord's potential forgiveness. Actual divine forgiveness comes about only after true repentance, confession (cf. v. 13a) and commitment (cf. 4:1b-2). Judah did try "to return" with half a heart (3:10), but this was unacceptable to YHWH. Conversion involves an acknowledgment of sin (confession) and a commitment to embrace a new way of life (vv. 22c-25), to "no longer go astray" (4:1). The rhetorical devices of vv. 21-22b are continued in vv. 22c-25, where the prophet speaks as if the words are from the people. It is his hope that the people will take such words on their lips and return to the Lord. In their immediate context, the words of vv. 22c-25 have the form of a liturgy of penitence. They reflect the stages in the return to YHWH. First, they declare their recognition that "You are the Lord our God." This statement is significant because the root of their past failure lies in not recognizing the Lord as the one and true Lord. The second stage is their renunciation of the shrines of the deities in which they had sought

[20]Cf. Craigie and Kelly, 64-65.

refuge and put their trust (v. 23). Now that they have realized that these false gods cannot save them, they affirm that "truly in the Lord our God is the salvation of Israel" (v. 23c). The divine response in 4:1-2, already expressed in 3:14-18, concludes the penitential act. Strangely enough, 4:1-2 applies to the nations the benefits of Israel's confession of sin and commitment to a new covenantal relationship with YHWH (cf. 3:14-18).[21]

The invitation to return in these chapters is not in the physical sense of motion, but concerns an interior change initiated by the grace of God through his potential forgiveness. This leads to true confession of sin and actual divine forgiveness. In consequence, the covenantal relationship is reestablished.

Return and the New Covenant in Jeremiah 31:15-25

The images and the theme of return found in the literary unit 2:1-4:2 are also present in the units 31:15-22 and 31:23-25.

The formula "thus says the Lord" in v. 15 indicates the beginning of this unit, which is repeated in v. 16. In v. 23, the same formula begins another unit. The unity of the pericope lies in the repetition of certain key words, i.e., the root šwb "turn" occurs nine times in the pericope. Apart from vv. 15 and 20, it is present in every verse. Other words and their synonyms which hold the unit together are "children" in vv. 15-17, also present as "son" in v. 20 and as "daughter" in v. 22.

The unit consists of five parts, each having a different speaker (God, Ephraim, and the prophet) or addressee. It presents the following division:

    a. introduction to the poem by the prophet (v. 15)
    b. YHWH's speech to Rachel (vv. 16-17)
    c. Ephraim's repentance (vv. 18-19)
    d. YHWH's reply to Ephraim (v. 20)
    e. YHWH's calls for Virgin Israel to repent (vv. 21-22)

Verse 15b introduces Rachel as mourning over her children in Ramah. According to the Genesis account, Rachel[22] was the mother of Joseph (and thus the grandmother of Ephraim and Manasseh) and of Benjamin (Gen 30:2-24; 35:15-16; 41:51-52). These are the children over whom she mourns. The name Ramah appears in Jer 40:1 as a stopover for the captives from Judah and Jerusalem on their way to exile in Babylon.[23]

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[21]Perhaps this alludes to Gen 22:18 and 26:4.

[22]Rachel was Jacob's chosen wife (Gen 29:18-19) and thus the female ancestor of Israel, who corresponds to Jacob in Jer 30:10. The feelings of Jacob reflected in Jer 30:10 are similar to those of Rachel in 31:15.

[23]L. G. Keown, J. P. Scalise, and G. T. Smothers, *A Commentary on the Book of*

It is, therefore, appropriate to picture Rachel grieving here over the generations of her children who have been taken captive or banished. Her mourning corresponds to the description of the mother who does not forget her children (cf. Isa 49:15).

In vv. 16-17, YHWH answers the disconsolate mother. The response is an invitation to wipe away her tears and end her weeping (cf. Isa 25:8; Jer 30:10). This represents a fulfillment of the promise in 31:13, "I will turn their mourning into joy." Because in v. 15 Rachel is presented as weeping over her missing children, the promise can be seen as referring to the return of the children from the land of the enemy to their own land (v. 16). The root *šwb* in this context has a literal geographical meaning. Yet, because of semantic resonance, the notion of repentance and restoration is always in the background. The consolation of Rachel indicates YHWH's intention and desire to have Israel return, as specified in the invitation to Virgin Israel.

In 31:18-19, the lost child admits ignoring the discipline of the Lord. Ephraim stands for the whole northern kingdom of Israel in this chapter (cf. 31:9, 18-20).

In the Book of Consolation, the punishment suffered by Israel at the hand of her enemies (and also during the Exile) is God's just discipline for her sin (30:11, 14). With the expression "you have disciplined me, and I was disciplined" (31:18b), Ephraim admits its sin and also the effectiveness of YHWH's correction. In v. 18c, the nation submits to the covenant of the Lord with the expression, "Return me and I shall be returned." This verse is formally similar to 3:22b. Just as in 3:22b, only YHWH's initiative makes the action of Ephraim possible. The meaning of 31:18c is not only geographical (a return from the exile), but also theological (an internal conversion to a new way of life). The theological implication finds support in 31:18b, where Ephraim acknowledges its guilt and the effectiveness of the Lord's correction. Acknowledgment of guilt is an interior act that leads to conversion. Further support for this understanding is found in YHWH's answer to Ephraim's prayer, which is followed by YHWH's invitation, no longer to Ephraim, but to the Virgin Israel. The formal similarities between this unit and chapter 3 serve to tie the two passages together, revealing that it is the grace of God that transforms.[24] Israel, the unfaithful wife (3:1-2; 3:20) who committed adultery under every tree (3:12-13), has been transformed into the "Virgin Israel" after she confesses her sin and commits herself to a new life. In v.

Jeremiah, Chapters 26-52, WBC 27 (Dallas: Word, 1995), 119.

[24]J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 275-276.

22b, the new status of Israel is attributed to YHWH. There is also a metaphorical presentation of a new conjugal relationship, which the context (immediate and proximate) suggests should be interpreted as referring to the new marital union between YHWH and Israel.[25]

Jeremiah 31:23-25 contains a short introduction (v. 23a) and a divine speech (vv. 23b-25). Verse 26 serves as a transition verse between this divine speech and the next oracle that begins in v. 27.

The oracle is a promise of the restoration of the land of Judah and its surrounding towns.[26] The relationship between vv. 15-22 and vv. 23-25 is suggested by the verbal links "cities" (v. 21/vv. 23 and 24) and "in the land" (v. 22/v. 23).[27] The two pericopes are also linked by the common theme of hope for the restoration of Israel. The anticipated renewal touches on all aspects of life—cultic, economic, social, political, and general well-being. It involves a total transformation, after which Israel will resume the old liturgical refrain "YHWH bless you" (v. 23c). Accordingly, vv. 15-22 and vv. 23-25 together demonstrate that restoration (YHWH's actual forgiveness and blessing) comes about only after confession of sin and commitment.

Conclusion

The study of *šwb* in Jeremiah leads to the conclusion that "return" in Jeremiah expresses YHWH's call to Israel to repent and receive forgiveness and blessings. Furthermore, YHWH's actual forgiveness of Israel is manifested only when Israel confesses her sin and becomes committed to living a new covenantal relationship. Finally, YHWH's potential forgiveness is always available to sinners who confess their sins.

[25]H. Leene, 349-365.

[26]Cf. W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, vol. 2, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), 808-809; see also Keown, Scalise and Smothers, 128-129.

[27]Cf. Leene, 354.

TERMINOLOGICAL PATTERNS AND THE TERM עצום "STRONG, POWERFUL" IN THE PENTATEUCH

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In a recently published *Introduction* it has been stated that Pentateuchal studies, once the "show-piece of critical biblical scholarship,"[1] has become probably the most difficult and controversial area in exegesis. In view of this fact it is my contention that it is worthwhile to make "the only fact available to us . . . the text of the Pentateuch itself in all its complexity"[2] the sole point of departure for any exegesis. If we scrutinize the vocabulary by tabulating all the words used in a given literary unit, which may consist of a brief passage, a chapter or even a biblical book; the distinct distribution, the relative frequency, and the structural positioning of significant terms and/or phrases will be brought to light. When we carefully tabulate the respective positions and the frequencies of the words actually used, several suggestive terms turn out to be significant as far as structural outlines are concerned. It is these outlines based on counting a given clause, phrase, or word, which we call "terminological patterns."[3]

The disclosure of terminological patterns—especially in view of their role in structuring the respective textual units—suggests that major parts of the extant text of the Pentateuch are consciously and carefully composed literary entities.[4] The present study aims at exposing a terminological pattern based on the term עצום "strong, powerful" found eleven times in the Hebrew text printed in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. In my view it is of significance that this terminological pattern encompasses almost the entire Pentateuch.

In Deut 7:1 it is stated: "When the Lord your God brings you into the land you are entering to possess and drives out before you many

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[1] E. Zenger, et al. *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1996), 69.

[2] R. N. Whybray, *Introduction to the Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 27.

[3] W. Warning, *Literary Artistry in Leviticus*, BInS 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 25.

[4] Cf. ibid., 133-166; idem, "Terminologische Verknüpfungen und Genesis 12,1-3," *Bib* 81 (2000): 386-390; idem, "Terminological Patterns and Genesis 38," *AUSS* (2000): 293-305; idem, "Terminologische Verknüpfungen in der Urgeschichte," *ZAW* (forthcoming); idem, "Terminologische Verknüpfungen und Leviticus 11," *BN* (forthcoming).

nations—the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, seven nations larger and stronger [ועצומים] than you . . ." (NIV). While the names of the nations that lived in Palestine prior to the Israelites have been mentioned at several points in the Pentateuch, it is important to notice that these lists differ considerably—i.e., the numbers of peoples enumerated differ widely. In Gen 15:19-21 we find a list of ten pre-Israelite nations (both the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint come up with eleven nations because of adding the חוי "Hivites").

After having scrutinized every list of pre-Israelite nations in the Hebrew text,[5] it is noteworthy that Deut 7:1, with its seventh occurrence of the term עצום in the Pentateuch, is the only text where the names of *seven* nations have been listed. To demonstrate this, the respective references to these nations are given below, and the figures in parentheses indicate the number of nations mentioned in that immediate passage.

Proceeding from the longest list in Gen 15:19-21, which lists ten nations, we see that the קיני "Kenites" are spoken of in the Pentateuch only one more time, in Num 24:21; the קנזי "Kenizzites" are referred to a second time in Num 32:12; and the קדמני "Kadmonites" are spoken of only here in the Hebrew Bible.

The חתי "Hittites" are mentioned in Gen 15:20 (10 nations listed); 23:10; 25:9; 26:34[2]; 36:2; 49:29, 30; 50:13; Exod 3:8 (6 nations listed), 17 (6 nations listed) ; 13:5 (5 nations listed); 23:23 (6 nations listed), 28 (3 nations listed); 33:2 (6 nations listed); 34:11 (6 nations listed); Num 13:29 (3 nations listed); Deut 7:1 (7 nations listed); 20:17 (6 nations listed); and the proper noun חת "Het" occurs thirteen times in Genesis and nowhere else in the Pentateuch: Gen 10:15; 23:3, 5, 7, 10[2], 16, 18, 20; 25:10; 27:46[2;] 49:32.

The פרזי "Perizzites" are spoken of in Gen 13:7 (2 nations listed); 15:20 (10 nations listed); 34:30 (2 nations listed); Exod 3:8 (6 nations listed), 17 (6 nations listed); 23:23 (6 nations listed); 33:2 (6 nations listed); 34:11 (6 nations listed); Deut 7:1 (7 nations listed); 20:17 (6 nations listed).

The רפאים "Rephaites" are referred to in Gen 14:5; 15:20 (10 nations listed); Deut 2:11, 20[2]; 3:11, 13.

Mention is made of the אמרי "Amorites"[6] in Gen 10:16; 14:7, 13; 15:16, 21 (10 nations listed); 48:22; Exod 3:8 (6 nations listed), 17 (6 nations listed); 13:5 (5 nations listed); 23:23 (6 nations listed); 33:2 (6

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[5] In Gen 15:21; Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23, 28; 33:2; 34:11; Num 13:29; Deut 20:17 some ancient versions—primarily the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX—add or omit different peoples.

[6] In Gen 10:15-18 the following have been listed as sons of Canaan: "Canaan was the father of Sidon, his firstborn, and of the Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites and Hamathites" (NIV). Each of the following gentilic names, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hamathites, occurs only once in the Pentateuch.

nations listed); 34:11 (6 nations listed); Num 13:29 (3 nations listed); 21:13, 21, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 34; 32:33, 39; Deut 1:4, 7, 19, 20, 27, 44; 2:24; 3:2, 8, 9; 4:46, 47; 7:1 (7 nations listed); 20:17 (6 nations listed); 31:4.

Mention is made of the כנעני "Canaanites" in Gen 10:18, 19; 12:6; 13:7 (2 nations listed); 15:21 (10 nations listed); 24:3, 37; 34:30 (2 nations listed); 38:2; 46:10; 50:11; Exod 3:8 (6 nations listed), 17 (6 nations listed); 6:15; 13:5 (5 nations listed), 11; 23:23 (6 nations listed), 28 (3 nations listed); 33:2 (6 nations listed); 34:11 (6 nations listed); Num 13:29 (3 nations listed); 14:25, 43, 45; 21:1, 3; 33:40; Deut 1:7; 7:1 (7 nations listed); 11:30; 20:17 (6 nations listed).

The גרגשי "Girgashites" are referred to in Gen 10:16; 15:21 (10 nations listed); Deut 7:1 (7 nations listed).

The יבוסי "Jebusites" are spoken of in Gen 10:16; 15:21 (10 nations listed); Exod 3:8 (6 nations listed), 17 (6 nations listed); 13:5 (5 nations listed); 23:23 (6 nations listed); 33:2 (6 nations listed); 34:11 (6 nations listed); Num 13:29 (3 nations listed); Deut 7:1 (7 nations listed); Deut 20:17 (6 nations listed).

The חוי "Hivites" are mentioned in Gen 10:17; 34:2; 36:2; Exod 3:8 (6 nations listed), 17 (6 nations listed); 13:5 (5 nations listed); 23:23 (6 nations listed), 28 (3 nations listed); 33:2 (6 nations listed); 34:11 (6 nations listed); Deut 7:1 (7 nations listed); 20:17 (6 nations listed).

This survey supports the above-stated hypothesis: It is only in Deut 7:1 that in the Hebrew text the names of seven peoples are listed. By correlating this fact with the distribution of the term עצום, "strong, powerful," the following comes to light: It is in Deut 7:1 that the term עצום is being used the *seventh* time in the Pentateuch and it is exactly here that we find the explicit statement: "When the Lord your God brings you into the land . . . he drives out before you many nations . . . *seven* nations larger and stronger than you."[7]

The following table (Figure 1) draws attention to two more structural peculiarities: It is only in four of the following eleven texts that the term "strong" is syntactically related to the two verbs היה "be" and עשה "make." Whereas in Gen 18:18 and Deut 26:5, the *first* and the *last* texts, the term עצום is syntactically correlated with the verb "be," in Num 14:12 and Deut 9:14, the *third* and *third-from-last* texts, it is closely connected with the verb "make:"

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[7] At this point mention should be made of another term, the *seventh* mention of which is likewise correlated with the explicit reference of the number "*seven*." Following Gen 13:18; 23:2, 19; 35:27; 37:14; Num 13:22a, the *seventh* and last mention of "Hebron" in the extant Hebrew text of the Pentateuch occurs in Num 13:22b, where we read: "Hebron had been built *seven* years before Zoan in Egypt."

Gen 18:18		ועצום	ואברהם היו יהיה לגוי גדול	Abraham
Exod 1:9	ממנו	ועצום	הנה עם בני ישראל רב	
Num 14:12	ממנו	ואעשה אתך לגוי גדול ועצום	אכנו בדבר ואורשנו	Moses
22:6	הוא מנני	עצום	כי	
32:1	מאד	עצום	ומקנה רב היה ... ולבני גד	
Deut 4:38	ממך מפניך	ועצמים	להוריש גוים גדלים	
7:1	ממך	ועצומים שבעה גוים רבים	לבא לרשת גוים גדלים	7th
9:1	ממך	ועצמים		
9:14	ורב ממנו	ואעשה אותך לגוי עצום ...	ואשמידם	Moses
11:23	מכם	ועצמים	וירשתם גוים גדלים	
26:5	ורב	עצום	ויהי שם לגוי גדול	Jacob

Figure 1. The seventh occurrence of the term עצום.

In the following translation (Figure 2), leaning strongly upon the NIV, the term עָצוּם has consistently been rendered "strong," although by doing so the English rendition at times sounds slightly awkward:

Gen 18:18	*Abraham will surely become a great and*	***strong*** *nation*	Abraham
Exod 1:9	the Israelites have become too numerous and	**strong** for us	
Num 14:12	but I will make you into a nation greater and	**stronger** than they	Moses
22:6	because they are too	**strong** for me	
32:1	... the children of Gad had numerous and very	**strong** cattle	
Deut 4:38	to drive out before you nations greater and	**stronger** than you	
7:1	*seven nations more numerous and*	***stronger*** *than you*	7th
9:14	... I will make you into a nation	**stronger** ... than they	Moses
11:23	and you will dispossess nations larger and	**stronger** than you	
26:5	*and there he became a great nation*	***strong*** *and numerous*	Jacob

Figure 2. Translation of Figure 1.

In the above table the phrase גוי גדול "a great nation" occurs three times (Gen 18:18; Num 14:12; Deut 9:14), which we shall look at more closely. Whereas according to the concordance the phrase, appearing first in Gen 12:2, "I will make you into a great nation,"[8] is found altogether eleven times in the Pentateuch, it occurs only eight times prefixed by the preposition —ל "to" (it is not present in Deut 4:6, 7, 8),[9] each time containing the idea of *becoming* a "great nation." In these eight texts the verbs עשה "make," נתן "give," היה "be," and שים "put; cause to be, make" have been employed by the ancient author in expressing this concept of becoming a "great nation." While in the preceding table the verbs "be" and "make" are of structural significance, being used in the first and last, and third and third-from-last positions respectively, in the following equidistant structure it is the verb שים that has been placed in the *fourth* and *fourth-from-last* positions. The terminological and thematic similarity of the two almost identical statements (except for the suffixed pronominal form) cannot be overlooked. Whereas Gen 21:18 is a divine promise addressed to Hagar on behalf of her son Ishmael, "for I will make him into a great nation,"[10] in Gen 46:3 the Lord is speaking to Jacob: "Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will make you into a great nation there." In view of these striking similarities we can conclude that in the very center of this equidistant structure two distinct groups of Abraham's offspring are addressed as the recipients of the divine promise: Abraham's descendants through his son Ishmael and his grandson Jacob and his offspring are to become great nations (Figure 3). As was the case with the preceding table, the translation likewise leans strongly upon the NIV (Figure 4).

In these tables the "form" (terminological patterns encompassing major parts of the extant Pentateuch) and the "content" (theological meaning) emphasize (the promise of) numerous progeny. Since the congruence of the form and the content can hardly be denied, the following can be concluded:

First, the structure based on the term "strong" begins with Abraham and ends with Jacob. Gen 18:18 being part of a divine soliloquy gives the reason as to why Abraham is privileged by the Lord: "Abraham will surely become a great and strong nation, and all nations on earth will be blessed through him." Whereas Abraham at this point is still waiting for the promised heir to be born, the fulfillment of the divine promise of progeny still pending, the

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[8]Warning points out that by means of two terminological patterns this first occurrence of the phrase "great nation" has been closely interlinked with the preceding primeval history ("Genesis 12,1-3," 388-389).

[9]In Deut 4:38; 9:1; 11:23 the plural גוים גדלים "great nations" occurs.

[10]In contrast to the MT reading in Gen 21:13 וגם את בן האמה לגוי אשימנו "I will make the son of the maidservant into a nation also"(NIV), the Sam Pent, LXX, Peshitta, and Vg add "great."

later Israelite bringing his firstfruits to an officiating priest is to remember
Jacob, who "went down into Egypt with a few people and lived there and
became a great nation, strong and numerous" (Deut 26:5). Abraham had still
to wait for the fulfillment of the Lord's promise, but after the settlement in
Canaan the Israelite could joyfully recite its fulfillment, and even more so, as
he was privileged to personally experience the fulfillment of another divine
promise, the promise of the land.

Second, the role of Moses as the intercessor *par excellence* between the
Lord and Israel comes to the fore in the third and third-from-last
positions. At two crucial moments in the history of Israel when the Lord
proposed to destroy Israel and make Moses into a nation greater and
stronger than they, Moses' intercession averted the divine threat (Num
14:12; Deut 9:14). We should take notice that in the first structure the
events described appear in a reversed chronological order, since the
episode of the golden calf (Deut 9) took place prior to the rebellion of the
people (Num 14). Whereas the term עצום "strong" is not present in Exod
32:10 ואעשה אותך לגוי גדול "and I will make you into a great nation,"
which appears in the second structure, it appears in the report given in
Deut 9:14: ואעשה אותך לגוי עצום ורב ממנו "and I will make you into
a nation stronger and more numerous than they" (NIV).

Third, in this study which began with the lists of the nations living
in Palestine prior to the Israelites, it has been brought to light that Deut
7:1, with its *seventh* occurrence of the term עצום "strong," is the only
place in the Hebrew text that *seven* nations are listed.

Fourth, the second structure leaves no doubt that the promise of
numerous offspring holds true for both of Abraham's sons, Ishmael and
Isaac, irrespective of the fact that Gen 46:3 is addressed to the latter's son
Jacob and not to Isaac himself.

Probably no reader of the present text would want to attribute to
chance the two terminological patterns presented above. The fact that
their author has been successful in intricately interlinking quite distinct
pericopes might shed some new light on the method of composition of
the present Pentateuch.

Gen 12:2		לגוי גדול	ואעשך
17,20		לגוי גדול	ונתתיו
18,18	ועצום	לגוי גדול	ואברהם היו יהיה
21,18	אשימנו	כי לגוי גדול	Ishmael
46,3	שם אשימך	כי לגוי גדול	Jacob
Ex 32,10		לגוי גדול	ואעשה אותך
Num 14,12	ועצום ממנו	לגוי גדול	ואעשה אתך
Deut 26,5	עצום ורב	לגוי גדול	ויהי שם

Figure 3. The usage of the phrase לגוי גדול

Gen 12:2		I will make you into a	**great nation**
17:20		I will make him into a	**great nation**
18:18		Abraham will surely become a	**great nation** and a strong [one]
21:18	because	I will make him into a	**great nation** Ishmael
46:3	because there	I will make you into a	**great nation** Jacob
Ex 32:10		I will make you into a	**great nation**
Num 14:12		but I will make you into a	**great nation** and a stronger [one] than they
Deut 26:5		and there he became a	**great nation** strong and numerous

Figure 4. Translation of Figure 3.

"CAN THESE BONES LIVE AGAIN?"
A RHETORIC OF THE GOSPEL IN
EZEKIEL 33-37, Part II

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A Summary of the Literary-Rhetorical
Development of Chapters 33-37

The general structural overview presented in Part 1 serves as a background for the examination of the constituent structure of Ezekiel's evangel core (chaps. 33-37) as a cohesively arranged, progressively developed, and rhetorically shaped compositional entity.[1] My analysis will follow the alternating sequence of principal discourse units of this section. Only the most salient, thematically related aspects of a given structural and stylistic segment are included. Each pericope is entitled, delineated, and elucidated in relation to its ostensive pragmatic or interpersonal function. My purpose is to demonstrate how the main literary features manifested in this text serve to enhance the persuasive impact and appeal of the prophet's overall message, not only to his "dry bones" audience of Jewish exiles, but also to all members of the elect people of God who live as "exiles" in this world (cf. 1 Pet 1:17; 2:11), even as they prepare for the new life so vividly promised by Ezekiel in this dramatic portion of Scripture. This exercise also serves to illustrate how a close, text-rhetorical analysis may contribute to the understanding and appreciation of the artistic form and communicative function of any biblical pericope, large or small.

33:1-20: YHWH Renews Ezekiel's Call as a
Watchman for the House of Israel

The divine oracle covering vv. 1-20 presents a carefully crafted combination of instructions previously given to the prophetic "watchman" (33:2; cf. 3:16) regarding individual responsibility (the corporate dimension is also implied, e.g., in the expression "house of Israel," v. 11).[2] The message is

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[1]See Ernst R. Wendland, "'Can These Bones Live Again?' A Rhetoric of the Gospel in Ezekiel 33-37, Part I," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 85-100.

[2]The boundaries of this introductory compositional unit are sharply demarcated by the close of the mock lament of condemnation against Egypt (and similar pagan nations) in 32:32 and by a final, impassioned vocative exclamation ("O house of Israel," v. 20b), along with the onset of a dated narrative segment in 33:21.

presented with an emphasis on "righteousness" (or "wickedness") in relation
to the all-discerning judgment of the Lord and on the basis of his immutable,
authoritative word.

    In keeping with its judicial nature, this section consists of a combined
divine casuistic + disputational speech that is reinforced with a certain
measure of divine *irony*, e.g., the particular danger that the chosen
lookout must warn his people about originates from YHWH himself, not
some foreign enemy (v. 7). This closely knit piece may be divided on the
basis of introductory formulae of prophetic address and parallels in
content into five topical-structural units. These may in turn be arranged
in two primary divisions, each dealing with a serious pastoral problem:
one pertaining to the prophet, and the second, to his people. These are
linked by a transitional bridge, which summarizes the only possible
solution for both prophet and people as far as the Lord is concerned:
sincere repentance and steadfast obedience to God's merciful call. Figure
1 shows the arrangement of the parts of this passage.

    The structural and topical symmetry manifested in this oracle, made
apparent by the abundant lexical recursion (in varied, intricate,
incrementally overlapping sequences), is clear from the preceding outline.[3]
The formally balanced, topically measured discourse represents a literary
reflection of its judicial content—a *theodicy* which concerns the perfect
justice and righteous equity of YHWH's judgments and dealings with
Israel. Neither the people, who are punished for their sins, nor the
unfaithful messenger has any cause for complaint. They have been duly
warned by God's chosen prophets of the dire consequences of covenantal
disobedience—from the very beginning of their initial, divinely worked
establishment as a nation (Lev 26:14-44). This constructive rebuke had to
be penitently understood and acted upon before there could be any hope
of an optimistic word concerning future restoration. The several chiastic
formations that occur within the text are typical of such contrastive,
antithetically phrased, forensic discourse in Hebrew literature.[4]

    [3] See M. Greenberg, vol. 22B, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 676. Observe that Ezekiel
seems to favor compositional patterns based on segments of two, three, and/or four.

    [4] This passage is viewed as a compositional hinge because of its reversal from the order of
appearance in the parallel verses of chap. 18, i.e., 33:10-11 = 18:30-32; 33:12-20 = 18:21-29 (no
inversion appears in part 1, 33:2-9, from the corresponding text in 3:17-21). This device,
therefore, functions to focus attention on what occurs in the middle (v. 11), the boundless mercy
of YHWH in relation to both prophet (1+2) and people (4+5). His pastoral appeal is sealed, as
it were, by a personal oath, which itself expresses the key concept of "life" (חי־אני, "As I live!"),
coupled with the emphatic divine appellation "Sovereign Lord" (or "Lord YHWH" אדני יהוה) at
the very midpoint of the pericope (11a). Such an obvious textual foregrounding of God's intense
desire to deliver his people (of every age and place) underscores the fact that "this cardinal feature
of Ezekiel's theology needs to be written underneath every oracle of judgment that his book

I.	a) *General task*: the responsibility of God's prophet to warn his people (2-6)
	      A: the watchman does warn (2-5) + B: the watchman does not
	          warn (6)
	
	 b) *Specific task*: the responsibility of Ezekiel to warn "the house of Israel" (7-9)
	      B': the watchman does not warn (7-8) + A': the watchman
	          does warn (9)
	
	                = > c) *Hinge*: question—How can we live?
	                      answer—Repent! (10-11)

II.	d) *General principle*: both the "righteous" and the "wicked" need to repent (12-16)
	      C: the righteous sins/dies (12a) + D: the wicked
	          repents/lives (12b) +
	      C': the righteous sins/dies (12c-13) + D': the wicked
	          repents/lives (14-16)
	
	 e) *Specific principle*: the justice of the Lord in relation to Israel (17-20)
	      E: complaint (17) + C": the righteous sins/dies (18)
	          + D": the wicked repents/lives(19)
	      E': complaint (20a) + divine conclusion (20b)

Figure 1. Structural outline of Ezek 33:1-20.

    The key element in Ezekiel's prophetic message, which pointedly mimics the priestly "case-law" legislative style of Deuteronomy (e.g., chap. 13), is situated in its center (segment [c], v. 11; cf. 18:23, 32; 14:6), which is thereby structurally and also topically highlighted. Here in the midst of his "dispute" with "the house of Israel," the Lord himself plaintively calls his wayward people to spiritual "life" (חיה), through repentance (שובו, ‏שׁובו!), rather than "death" (מות) on account of their continued rebellion. This is in response to their confession of sin and anguished plea for a way out of their misery (v. 10b)—in words that fulfill God's prior predictions through Ezekiel (e.g., 4:17; 24:23). They were afflicted with a progressive "rotting away" on account of their sins (cf. Lev 26:39). This was a spiritual problem that could be divinely addressed only if they received the correct message from YHWH through his prophet (cf. vv. 7-

9) and adopted the proper attitude toward God and the prophet (cf. 17-20).

The thematic center is complemented at the conclusion of this section by a parallel, rhetorically constructed "disputation" (i.e., thesis + dispute + counterthesis), which dramatizes, through the use of hypothetical quotations, a related "wisdom" debate concerning the "way" of God's "justice" (יתכן דרך; cf. 11 and 17-20). This judicial message was not really new to the people, for Ezekiel (the Lord) was simply reiterating the covenant principles given to them through Moses in the Torah (e.g., as stated in Lev 26 and Deut 30, an instance of authoritative intertextuality).[5] They therefore had no excuse for their wickedness, and the only option for the "reasonable" among them (the leadership in particular, to whom this didactic discourse appeals) was a complete turnaround with respect to heart and life.

In this incontrovertible, either/or way, despite the impious "protest" that is rhetorically allowed (vv. 17, 20, as an additional instance of human self-incrimination), the Lord's proclamation is set forth by Ezekiel as he is about to begin a new tack in his prophetic ministry. It was a course during which the related threats of indifferent accommodation, blind nationalism, fanatical resistance, and/or demoralized fatalism on the part of his congregation[s] (cf. Part 1) had to be firmly, but gently, combated in order to prepare the ground for a genuine religious reformation and spiritual renewal. YHWH needed to be recognized, revered, and trusted not only as a willing Savior (v. 11), but also as the supreme, righteous Judge of each and every human being (v. 20).

33:21-33: Report of the Fall of Jerusalem and a Twofold Unrepentant Response

In addition to some obvious lexical links (e.g., "blood" + "sword" in 25-26; cf. vv. 4-6), several notable literary-structural features tie this unit into the preceding pericope, thus welding chapter 33 into a coherent segment.[6] The whole discourse functions as a transitional bridge that leads

[5]We may also discern here an allusion to the Noachic covenant through a repetition of the key term "blood" (cf. Gen 9:5-6 + 9-17).

[6]Verses 21-33 constitute a distinct compositional division, as indicated by the new temporal setting in v. 21 coupled with the dramatic quotation recorded there ("The city has fallen!"). Another section begins in 34:1, where we find an *anaphoric* reiteration of the prophetic reception formula (cf. also 33:1, 23), the command to "prophesy" (הנבא), and the distinct content of the following passage ("shepherd"—"flock"). This unit ends with a climactic word of warning of impending judgment to all the impenitent (v. 33a): "Now when it comes [and] behold it is coming" (ובבאה הנה באה), which puns on the people's complacency concerning their ominous future; cf. vv. 30b-31a). The punitive events of world history serve to confirm the prophetic word as well as to vindicate both the Lord and his faithful preachers of repentance (cf. 2:1-3:11, *inclusio*).

off the larger rhetorical-thematic portion covering the book's remaining chapters. Before the blessed promises of chapters 34-48 can be appropriated aright, a complete change of heart and life on the part of the recipients is necessary (cf. vv. 11, 32). In very general terms, the prevailing *connotative* progression of the book as a whole is that shown in Figure 2.

[negative] = > [positive]
accusation + judgment [1-32] // transitional indictment [33] \\
encouragement + blessing [34-48].
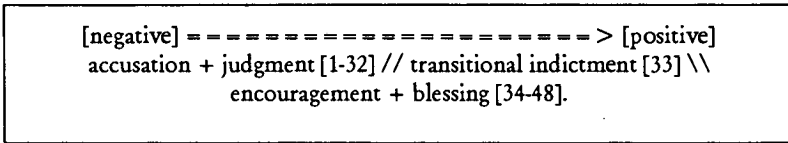
Figure 2. The overall movement from judgment to blessing in Ezekiel.

Fundamental to chapter 33 as an integral unit is the referential *inclusio* that ties in Ezekiel's vocal restoration by the Lord (v. 22) with his certification as a true "prophet" (v. 33) and a moral-religious "watchman" (v. 2; cf. 2:1-5). Within this wider framework a basic topical chiasmus incorporates the larger textual segments of the chapter, which assume the following centrally spotlighted pattern, as seen in Figure 3.

This general structure may help to explain the present arrangement of the

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A Judicial dialogues that emphasize the *importance of obedience*,
of heeding the Lord's warnings—focus on the faithful *prophet* (2-11)

   B Legislative discourse regarding the need for "righteous" *behavior*
   and the consequences of "wickedness"—focus on the *people* (12-20)

      C *Report of Jerusalem's fall*—the Lord's judgment upon the people's sin;
      focus on the faithful *prophet* (his "mouth is opened," 21-22)

   B' Disputation highlighting the judgment that will befall the nonexiles
   on account of their "detestable" *behavior*—focus on the *people* (23-29)

A' Judicial indictment of the people for their *lack of obedience*, for not
   paying attention to the Lord's words—focus on the faithful *prophet* (30-33)

Figure 3: Rhetorical arrangement of Ezek 33.

chapter, that is, with the spatial displacement of the important (and relatively rare) autobiographical narrative away from what might seem to be a more logical or expected location at the beginning (or ending) of the pericope. It is now situated in an equally prominent position at the center of the larger chiastic arrangement, which balances messages of divine warning (1-20) with those of condemnation upon the people for not listening to the word of the Lord (23-33). Neither the Babylonian exiles (30-32) nor those lesser folk who remained in "the land of Israel" (24-29) appeared to have learned thei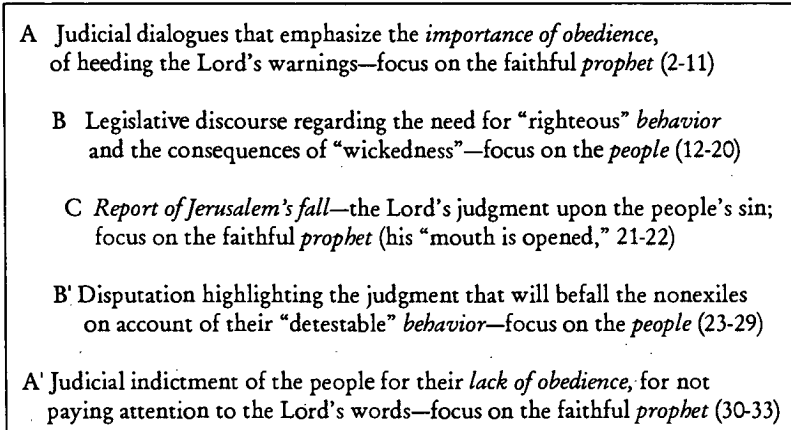r lesson from history, as epitomized in the formally medial exclamation, "The city has fallen!" (21). The validity and authority of the word of the Lord, as faithfully proclaimed by his chosen messengers, is thereby vindicated structurally as well as semantically in chapter 33.

Turning to the internal construction and rhetorical style of this chapter's second half (vv. 23-33), we note its clear, twofold, mutually complementary division, 23-29 and 30-32 (v. 33 acts as a summary conclusion for both portions). First, there is a well-formed judgment oracle, beginning with the "reception [or "prophetic word"] formula" ("Then the word of YHWH came to me," v. 23).[7] This is pronounced against a group of arrogant, impenitent boasters who were left in Judah and had smugly concluded that the "land" was still theirs by divine right no matter what had happened to Jerusalem, their nation, or indeed, to their fellow countrymen who had been exiled to Babylon (cf. 11:15). It is cast in the form of another judicial disputation speech: *thesis* (a self-indicting utterance, v. 24) + *dispute* (accusation, vv. 25-26) + *counterthesis* (= condemnation, vv. 27-29). The latter is a characteristic instance of *lex talionis*—a punishment being molded to fit the crime.[8] To be specific: a spiritual desecration of the land + relying (lit., "standing") on the sword = > physical desolation of the land + falling by the sword (vv. 26-27; cf. chaps. 5-6, Lev 26:14-39).

This is followed by a "unique passage in the prophetic writings,"[9] a stinging divine indictment of the many hypocrites living within the community of Babylonian exiles.[10] These fickle folk (cf. v. 30b) were

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[7]For a survey of common prophetic discourse formulas, see M. A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, Forms of OT Literature 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 544-547.

[8]Cf. P. D. Miller Jr, *Sin and Judgment in the Prophets: A Stylistic and Theological Analysis* (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1982); M. Fishbane, "Sin and Judgment in the Prophecies of Ezekiel," in *Interpreting the Prophets*, ed. J. L. Mays and P. J. Achtemeier (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 170-187.

[9]L. Boadt, "The Function of the Salvation Oracles in Ezekiel 33-37," *Hebrew Annual Review* 10 (1990): 7.

[10]As in virtually all of Ezekiel's oracles, the two constituent pieces of this pericope (vv.

superficially enthralled with or entertained by Ezekiel's dramatic prophecies of word and deed, but they failed—or rather, refused—to take his clear moral admonitions to heart. The prophet could draw a large, enthusiastic crowd; but they were not coming for the right reason, and they had no intention of "putting his words into practice" (v. 31-32).[11] What happened to the land of Israel was a concrete symbolical index of an inner spiritual reality: the relative health of the covenantal relationship between YHWH and his people.[12] When they violated the Lord's trust by their repeated acts of infidelity, his last resort was to startle them into a recognition of his righteous, holy nature, will, and purpose by despoiling the politically unstable piece of territory in which they had placed their vain earthly hope.

The rhetorical effect of such carefully placed and interconnected reiteration is to reinforce the validity of the punishment that this insolent and ungrateful people deserved for their repeated covenant violations (cf. Deut 28:58-68). The only cure for a stubborn and rebellious attitude such as theirs (cf. 2:4-5) was a judgment so awesome and pervasive (i.e., the total destruction of Jerusalem and Judah, 33a; cf. 21b, 24a) that as many as possible would be driven to contrition (if not complete repentance, 33:10). Then even the most skeptical in their ranks would be forced to admit "that a prophet has been among them" (33b). The purpose of this chapter is to emphasize the concrete coming to pass of this potentially demoralizing prediction (33a; cf. 31b-32a and 21b).[13] Such a ruinous

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23-29 and 30-33) are clearly demarcated structurally, both internally and externally, by some key elements of lexical recursion. These embody crucial aspects of the Lord's urgent message to his people, both near (in Babylon) and far (in Judah), ie., the initial *anaphoric* vocative "son of man" (vv. 24, 30; cf. 33:2, 7, 10, 12), and the concluding *epiphoric* "recognition formula" ("then they will know that;" vv. 29, 33). We also note the paired occurrences of the "messenger formula" ("this is what the . . . Lord says"; vv. 25, 27) and popular sayings (vv. 24, 30) along with other thematically prominent expressions, e.g., the accusatory rhetorical question, "Should you then possess the land?" (vv. 25, 26). Finally, there is a negative response, "I will make the land a desolate waste" (vv. 28, 29), along with its incriminating reason, "They hear your words but do not put them into practice" (vv. 31, 32).

[11] I do not think, as does D. I. Block, that Ezekiel's problem of communication was that the "rhetorical form [of his message] has overshadowed rhetorical function; [or that] artistry has interfered with communication" (*The Book of Ezekiel, Chapters 25-48*, NICOT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans], 267). It was rather that unbelief had so blinded the majority of his audience that they were unable to penetrate this prophetic form in order to perceive its divinely intended function.

[12] As D. I. Block, 262, observes: "The integrity of the tripartite deity-people-land relationship depended on covenantal fidelity."

[13] The absolute certainty expressed by the divine assertion here may constitute an implicit indictment of a possible earlier reference to the illicit use of "blood" during certain Near Eastern divinatory procedures (v. 25; cf. Greenberg, 684).

realization was nothing less than a cathartic preparation, as it were, for the new message of spiritual life, restoration, and reconciliation (between YHWH and his people) to follow. However, this message would make sense only to those who had truly turned (שׁוּב) from their wickedness to the Lord in sincere penitence and with faith in a future under his merciful, sovereign rule (33:11 = > chaps. 34-37).

The subtle *irony* that closes this section, the image of a popular singer of "lustful [possibly "erotic"] lyrics" that everyone listens to but nobody takes seriously,[14] highlights the point that the repentance being demanded would have to be a matter of the "heart," not only of the "mouth" (33:31-32). The present, unreligious and unknowing "people" ("my" = more bitter *irony*) would surely get to "know" by personal experience the Lord (and his messenger), whether in the day of their destruction (33:28-29) or through their eventual deliverance (34:29-30). Indeed, such a renewal of divine "knowledge" was "the aim of classical prophecy" (e.g., Jer 31:34; Hos 2:8; 4:1).[15] It constituted the "pathetic dimension" of YHWH's message via Ezekiel, that is, his fervent longing to be recognized and revered as the covenant Lord by a heretofore faithless people (cf. Exod 6:7; 7:5; 14:4, 31).[16]

34:1-33: YHWH Declares a Woe upon Negligent Shepherds, but Weal for Needy Sheep

This chapter, which manifests a strong connection with Jer 23:1-6, may be divided into three principal portions as shown in Figure 4, on the basis of thematic focus coupled with the usual delineative discourse markers (for Ezekiel, *recursion* patterns + topical *shifts* + prophetic speech *formulas*)[17] (see Figure 4).

In the first two sections (vv. 1-16 and 17-24) the prophet's message mainly concerns the unjust socioreligious conditions within Israel. The

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[14]Cf. ibid., 686-687. Even their seemingly pious exhortation, "Come now, listen to the message that has come from the Lord" (v. 30), is probably sarcastically or insincerely meant.

[15]C. H. Bullock, *An Introduction to the Old Testament Prophetic Books* (Chicago: Moody, 1986), 251.

[16]On this point, see Fishbane, 186.

[17]This relatively long unit is bounded by a reiteration of the "prophetic word" saying, which also occurs *anaphorically* at the start of the next compositional section in 35:1. There are multiple instances of closure, including a variant of the "divine recognition formula" coupled with covenantal terminology (30), a double occurrence of the accentuating "signatory formula" (נאם אדני יהוה, 30-31), and an *inclusio* formed by the "sheep/flock-shepherd" metaphor (cf. vv. 2/31). The latter also gives a perceptible cohesive unity to the entire pericope (obviously related intertextually to Jer 23:1-2). Block, 274, offers a rather different perspective on the larger construction of this chapter. We appear to use similar criteria for demarcating the salient units of prophetic discourse, but interpret the textual evidence somewhat differently.

third unit (vv. 25-31) adopts a global viewpoint, as foreign enemies are also included in the divine judgment. As a rhetorical whole, the role of the Shepherd-Lord as the faithful Protector, Provider, and Peace-Maker for his faithful flock is foregrounded throughout.

Sheep-Shepherd Oracle One (1-16)
    a) *indictment —*   of the rapacious shepherds (1-6)
    b) *verdict —*   against the shepherds (7-10)
    c) *deliverance —*   of the Lord's flock (11-16)

Sheep-Shepherd Oracle Two (17-24)
    a) *indictment —*   of the oppressive rams and goats (17-19)
    b) *verdict —*   against the fat aggressive sheep (20-21)
    c) *deliverance —*   of the Lord's flock (22-24)

Covenant of Peace Oracle (25-31)
    a) removal of wild animals (25) —a') (28b)
    b) blessings upon the land (27a) —b') (29a)
    c) rescue from the nations (27b) —c') (29b)

Figure 4. Structural outline of Ezek 34.

It is common in Ezekiel (and the prophets generally) for a sudden shift in perspective to appear as the discourse develops. So here, grim descriptions of the current adverse situation—defenseless sheep scattered in exile (vv. 5-6, evoking the sorry scene portrayed in 1 Kgs 22:17)—are later transformed into glorious promises of salvation under the leadership of the saving Shepherd (e.g., vv. 11-16). Thus, the overall thematic movement is in a positive direction, giving the section as a whole strongly optimistic overtones as the temporal setting moves from the past (vv. 1-10) through the present (vv. 17-21) and on to a predicted future of great blessing (vv. 11-16, 23-24, 25-31). Certainly, this glorious outlook should have given much encouragement to the displaced and, for the most part, leaderless Jewish refugees who were languishing with little hope in a foreign land—if only they would listen (cf. 33:31-32)!

Another typical feature of Ezekiel's literary style evident in this chapter is the complex thematic interweaving that links the several distinct, internal subsections. This promotes an essential *unity in diversity* that appeals to listeners (readers), to whom the main point of his message becomes crystal clear, but not at the expense of boring his audience.

Complementing the prophet's powerful diction and colorful depiction, which features connotatively effective sensory evocation, with imagery that is both negative (v. 18) and positive (v. 26), is a great deal of strategically placed *repetition* (the symbolic expression "mountains of Israel" הָרֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל in vv. 13-14; cf. chap. 36). Such lexical-semantic recursion renders the text rhetorically persuasive, even on the microtextual level of pronominal usage (e.g., the ironic contrast between "*my* flock" and "*my* shepherds" in v. 8). The discourse thus captivates its receptors on several communicative strata (including such important inter- and intratextual resonances as Jer 23:1-4 and Ezek 20:40-42).[18] This is illustrated, for example, in the diversely picturesque pastoral scenes, set within a temporal framework of Jerusalem's judgment ("a day of clouds and thick darkness," v. 12; cf. Joel 2:2, Zeph 1:15), which are graphically depicted in each of the three oracles that comprise the first section (vv.1-16).

Just before an announcement of the divine verdict, in this case condemnation, the initial accusation against Israel's exploitative leaders is reiterated in summary fashion (v. 8, cf. vv. 2-6), thus reinforcing the magnitude of their crimes of commission and omission against the political and religious community of which they were given charge. In another instance of the ironic principle of corresponding retributive justice, the Defender-Lord deprives the greedy shepherds of food (אָכַל) in the end (vv. 2-3/10, an obvious *inclusio*). The calamities that had earlier befallen the defenseless sheep (vv. 4-6) are then wonderfully undone, both denotatively and sequentially, in the closing passage of divine restoration (vv. 11-16).[19] The unit concludes with contrastive emphasis upon the Lord's shepherding (רָעָה) with beneficent judgment (שָׁפַט, 16c—cf. 2, *inclusio*) and a mirrored reversal of the internecine crimes recorded in v. 4.[20]

The transitional middle segment (17-24) begins with a direct address by

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[18]W. E. Lemke calls attention to the subtle nature of Ezekiel's intertextual irony. The rare expression "you ruled harshly" (בְּחָזְקָה וּרְדִיתֶם; 34:4), with reference to the iniquitous shepherds of Israel, is used to describe how the Egyptians treated their Hebrew slaves (Exod 1:13-14). Thus, "he accuses Israel's rulers of doing what their own history should have taught them to abhor and what the law of Moses [Lev 25:43, 46] expressly forbade" ("Life in the Present and Hope for the Future," in *Interpreting the Prophets*, ed. J. L. Mays and P. J. Achtemeier [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987], 207).

[19]For the details, see Greenberg, 706; H. McKeating, *Ezekiel*, OT Guides (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 913. The expressions of divine deliverance in v. 13 reflect "new exodus terminology," to "bring out from" (מִן הוֹצִיא), "gather together from" (מִן קִבֵּץ), and "bring to/into" (אֶל הֵבִיא); cf. 20:34-35, 41-42; Mic 2:12, 4:6-8; Block, 286).

[20]Block, 291, states: "By inverting the sequence Ezekiel emphasizes that with Israel's restoration the tragedies of the past will be reversed. By recasting negative statements as positive affirmations, he deliberately portrays Yahweh as a good shepherd, the antithesis of the earlier evil shepherds."

YHWH to his entire flock (especially the unrighteous oppressors among them).[21] This pericope clearly culminates with its stylistically distinct closing portion,[22] which proposes a divine substitutionary solution for ineffective human leadership. In addition to being messianic (נשיא = the "exalted," ideal intercessor and sin-bearer; cf. 4:4-6), these words are also topically pivotal. That is to say, they look backward by means of the ongoing shepherd-sheep imagery, but also forward through citation of the correlative interpersonal language of the covenant (ברית, cf. v. 25): "I [אני] the Lord will be their God." The other half, "they . . . are my people," occurs *epiphorically* at the close of the next compositional unit, vv. 30-31.[23] As in the preceding section, there is an emphasis upon YHWH's simultaneous salvation (ישע) and judicial vindication (שפט) of his faithful flock (v. 22), but without the ominous word of punishment for any guilty offenders.

The concluding salvation oracle of wholesome peace (שלום, vv. 25-31), which strikingly reflects the earlier or contemporaneous prophecies of Jeremiah (e.g., 30:8-10; 31:8-14), sounds a joyous note throughout, with

[21]The transitional middle segment too is clearly divided into three subsections (vv. 17-19, 20-22, 23-24) by an artful combination of literary devices: first, the prophetic "message formula" (*anaphoric* aperture at vv. 17 and 20 [+ "therefore" לכן]); by a sequence of indictive rhetorical questions (vv. 18-19) that end with an *inclusio* in the striking expression "my flock" (vv. 17a-19a); by another internal *inclusio* ("I will judge between," vv. 20b-22b); by the sudden introduction of the foregrounded messianic "single shepherd" motif (v. 23; cf. Ps 78:70-72; 2 Sam 7:12-16; note the verb "I will place" and the stressed pronoun "he" הוא); and finally, by an emphatic utterance of closure, "I [אני] the Lord have spoken" (v. 24b), which matches the initial accented "but *you*" ואתנה, v. 17a).

[22]*Contra* Boadt, 9. Note the repeated stress upon the key notion of "servant-shepherding" (רעה-עבד). In a significant reversal of 17:11-21, there is a metonymic-metaphorical prediction of the coming of a divinely endowed "David," who would accomplish what all the human "Davids" in Jerusalem manifestly failed to do in their role as covenant leaders, guides, and models (cf. Jer 30:8-9).

[23]In a patent example of circular reasoning, McKeating asserts that "the figure of the messiah is not prominent in the book of Ezekiel" (105) and then concludes that "in each case the messianic oracle looks like an addition . . . [and] that the messianic ideas present in the book have entered the Ezekiel tradition at a later stage of development" (108-109). The hermeneutical problem arises here because in the case of such key theological notions, it is not necessarily *quantity* that counts or makes the case one way or another. Rather, it is *quality*, that is, how and where a particular passage containing such a concept is utilized. Thus, by virtue of its reiterated occurrence in climactic positions (34:23-24 — > 37:22, 24-25) in the thematically focal section of chaps. 33-37, the Messiah-motif is clearly *one* prominent feature of Ezekiel's total message (cf. also 17:22-24, 29:21). Similarly, in view of what he regards as Ezekiel's "narrowly nationalistic" vision of the future, Block argues that his "messiah" is correspondingly only a "national ruler," for such a construal would seem to be at "home in the ideological and cultural milieu of ancient Mesopotamia" ("Ezekiel: Theology of," *NIDOTTE*, 4:625-626). A more immediate and hence relevant context for interpretation, however, would be the writings of earlier prophets, who surely had a much greater, yes divine, figure in mind (e.g., Isa 9:1-7, 11:1-16 + 12:1-6; Mic 5:1-5a; Hos 3:5; Zec 9:9-10; Jer 23:5-6; 30:8-9, 21-22; 33:15-16, 26).

unmistakable echoes of the salubrious promises recorded in Lev 26:4-13
(cf. Ezek 20:33-44).[24] This comforting passage represents what is surely a
major high point within the larger division covering chapters 33-37, and
indeed in the book of Ezekiel as a whole. It is a thematic peak that
anticipates the climactic, triumphant close of the entire unit in 37:21-28.
The "house of Israel" would one day live again; the "Sovereign Lord"
would mercifully see to that according to the outworking of his "covenant
of peace" (34:25; cf. 37:26; = the "new covenant" of Jer 31:31-34).[25] This
pronounced covenantal outlook is emphasized at the very end of the
section by means of a chiastic expression of its two fundamental
correlates, that is A = "the Lord their God" (v. 30a) + B = "the house of
Israel . . . my people" (v. 30b); B' = "the sheep of my pasture . . . [my]
humanity" (v. 31a) + A' "your God . . . the Sovereign Lord" (v. 31b).
Thus this passage, both directly and by way of contrast, also underscores
the Lord's trenchant warning ("woe!") against any arrogant pastoral abuse
(vv. 2/10; cf. Jude 12) and the selfish, discriminatory affliction of weaker
members of the flock by the strong (18, 21; cf. John 10:27-29), especially

[24]For a synoptic comparison of Lev 26:4-13 and Ezek 34:25-30, see Block, 304. This segment
is given cohesion and is at the same time roughly divided into two by a reiteration of the integrated
motifs of "wild animals" (vv. 25a/28a), agricultural fertility (vv. 26-27/29), and deliverance from
pagan nations (vv. 28a/29b). Intertextual allusion, periodically woven into the discourse, adds much
to the richness of the verbal tapestry, e.g., "and no one will make them afraid," v. 28 (cf. 39:26; Lev
26:6; Jer 30:10; Mic 4:4). The sustained focus on the symbolic blessings of the covenant reaches its
climax in the twofold, literal, and metaphoric articulation of the Lord's providing, protective
presence with his people in vv. 30-31 (with YHWH once more suddenly addressing "[his]
flock/sheep" directly as in v. 17; = *inclusio*). These two verses, taken with the preceding primary
pair of vv. 23-24, effect a *means + result* relationship as well as an implicit theological identification
of the Messianic "shepherd" (v. 23) with the Lord himself (v. 31; cf. 37:24-28). Thus, "every new
paragraph of this chapter opens out the analogy [of the Messianic Shepherd] still further; . . . if each
section is taken separately it will be obvious that new ideas are added all along" (Taylor, 222). This
builds up to a culmination in which the "servant shepherd, David" (v. 23) and "the Sovereign Lord"
are viewed as being one.

[25]*Contra* R. H. Alexander, *Ezekiel*, vol. 6,The Expositor's Bible Commentary, ed. F. E.
Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 914. This "new" covenant foregrounded in Jeremiah
may itself be a divine restatement of the ancient salvational "covenant of peace" (Ezek 34:25-30; cf.
Lev 26:3-6; Isa 54:7-10): "Understood in terms of ancient Near Eastern symbolism, planting peace
was a powerful statement about divine rule and its implications. Set in the context of human
rebellion against divine authority, the planting of peace in the earth was a statement of confidence
in divine mercy to forgive human offenses and to take the initiative in bringing peace and harmony
to a world disrupted by sin and violence" (B. F. Batto, "The Covenant of Peace: A Neglected
Ancient Near Eastern Motif," *CBQ* 49 [1987]: 211). Jeremiah, of course, put proper emphasis on
the human, spiritual nature of this inward "peaceful," covenantal relationship (e.g., Jer 31:31-34),
while Isaiah focused upon the essential divine motivating factor of "unfailing love" חסד (Isa 54:10).
Taylor, 224, proposes a more dynamic interpretation of this notion: "The word *peace* is used to
describe the harmony that exists when covenant obligations are being fulfilled and the relationship
[between parties] is sound."

in view of the universal judgment to come (vv. 17, 20; cf. Matt 25:17-22).

35:1-15: Edom Will Be Punished for Its Wicked
Attitude toward God and His People

After the preceding gospel peak in 34:30-31, there is a sharp contrast in topic and tone as the discourse unexpectedly reverts by means of its opening formulas (vv. 1-2; cf. 25:1-2) to another one of the "oracles against the nations," which had seemingly terminated with chapter 32. This one in fact sounds as if it were a continuation or reiteration of the unusually short oracle against Edom found in 25:12-14. Accordingly, the "vengeance" (5 times) that is so prominent in that text is satisfied by the "desolation" which characterizes this one (9 times). This intratextual structural connection aside, there is another, rhetorical reason for the inclusion of this judgment pericope at this juncture: to serve as a sharply contrastive backdrop to the following salvation oracle proclaimed to "the mountains of Israel" (chap. 36). In other words, a deliverance of the righteous is often coupled in the prophetic literature with an announcement of their express vindication in the face, so to speak, of their enemies (hence the device of direct address, vv. 2-3). Edom, the "brother" nation which played such an inimical role in the dramatic history of God's people (cf. Obadiah), serves that very purpose here as the extreme negative, hence also an accentuating counterfoil, to "Israel" within the larger divine message of encouragement to his faithful remnant. Thus, the Lord's "vengeance" would focus upon and find a definite fulfillment in the disastrous fate of their supercilious neighbor to the southeast, "Mount Seir" (vv. 2-3).

There is another prominent connection with the context—in this case, the prior passage in chapter 33 that explained the reason for the fall of Judah and the transformation of the land into "a desolate waste" (שממה ומשמה, vv. 28-29; this emphatic alliterative expression becomes a key motif in the condemnatory oracle of chap. 35; cf. 6:14). As with "the mountains of Israel" (33:28), so also with "Mount Seir" (35:2), a complete devastation is destined for all people, even those who think they are specially chosen, whose wickedness is characterized by sins involving "blood" and the "sword" (i.e., gross immorality and callous oppression, 33:25-26; cf. 35:5-6). It may be that the doom of Edom in chapter 35 is chosen to stand as a vivid object lesson and an obvious warning to any other inimical or iniquitous nation that would have contact with God's chosen community of faith. First, they are liable to the same just judgment for similar evils, but more important, when the Lord graciously decides to defend and restore his people, no enemy dare object, deride the decree, or endeavor to stand in the way (35:5, 12; cf. 36:3-4).

The Yahwistic recognition formula referred to above occurs four times in chapter 35, three times *epiphorically* to conclude a prophetic

paragraph (vv. 4, 9, and 15). This designative expression appears to be displaced for special rhetorical effect to emphasize the act of divine "judgment" (v. 11b), that is, from the close of the unit ending in v. 13 (where an iterative "tag" remains, "I heard" שמעתי) and to its compositional center at the beginning of v. 12. In its place is the *anaphoric* "prophetic messenger" formula—"So speaks YHWH" (כה אמר אדני יהוה, in contrast to the blasphemy of Edom, vv. 10-13)—at the beginning of the final subsection (v. 14). There are thus four balanced paragraphs of structure in chapter 35, namely, vv. 2-4, 5-9, 10-13, and 14-15,[26] and the entire passage is bounded by an *inclusio* based on the crucial terms "Mount Seir" (the accused) and "desolation" (the punishment) (vv. 2-3/15). These segments combine to form the chiastic topical pattern (Figure 5), which reinforces the measured, immutable nature of the Lord's righteous retribution:[27]

A Result: Focus on the desolation wrought by YHWH [*inclusio* of the divine name] (vv. 1-4)

  B Reason: Specification (because יען) of the iniquity and punishment of Edom (vv. 5-9)

  B' Reason: Specification (because יען) of the iniquity and punishment of Edom (vv. 10-13)

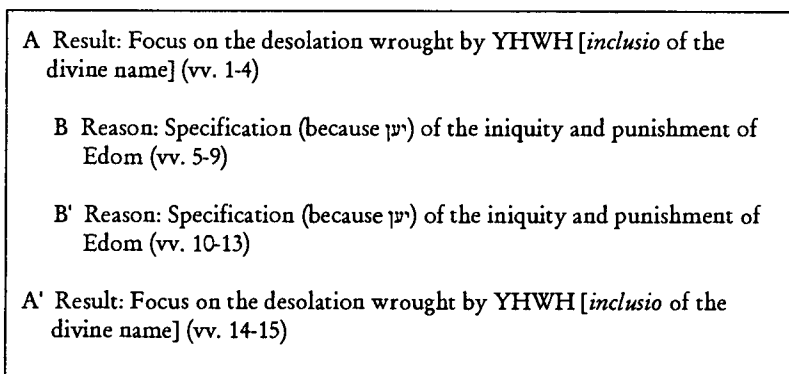A' Result: Focus on the desolation wrought by YHWH [*inclusio* of the divine name] (vv. 14-15)

Figure 5. Structural outline of the double doom oracle in Ezek 35.

Several specific wordplays also appear to highlight the calamity (אידם, v. 5) that will befall Edom (אדום, v. 15, as the epitome of every subsequent, ungodly, corporate villain) and to demonstrate the absolute righteousness of "the Sovereign Lord" (אדני יהוה, v. 6). Indeed, he is the ultimate "kinsman-redeemer/vindicator" of his chosen people (גאל), who is referred

[26]Block, 314, also indicates four internal segments, but corresponding to vv. 3-4, 5-9, 10-12aα, and 12aβ-15. In a later schema, however, he, 324, proposes four that correspond to those listed above, based on the difference between "absolute" and "motivated" declarations of judgment.

[27]In addition to the various markers already mentioned, the two internal paragraph units are also defined by the device of *inclusio* ("forever" עולם, vv. 5/9 + references to Seir's speech, vv. 10/12-13) and by the prophetic "inversion (crime => corresponding punishment) sequence" (also exhibited in vv. 14-15).

to metonymically under the graphic, personified figure of the "blood[shed]" דם (reiterated four times), which, according to the Levitical principle of *lex talionis*, relentlessly "pursues" (רדף) all their former "Edomic" persecutors (v. 6; cf. Num 35).

36:1-15: The Lord Will Renew the Desolate
"Mountains of Israel" and Its People

The respective oracles against (על) Edom and unto (אל) Israel (35:1-15 and 36:1-15) are obviously interrelated, although it is appropriate to view them as distinct but parallel and contrastive literary units. This is indicated by the strongly disjunctive formulaic aperture at the onset of chapter 36, which is indeed quite conspicuous (or audible!) in itself. It leads off with an emphatic "now you" (ואתה), followed by no less than four conventional *anaphoric* elements (vv. 1-2, two of which are reiterated in v. 3). While 36:1-7 evinces much topical overlap with chapter 35, the second half of the section (vv. 8-15, beginning with ואתם; cf. v. 1, *anaphora*) is very different due to its concentration of restoration imagery. It also has many features that anticipate the *next* compositional pericope in 36:16-38, especially vv. 33-35. Just as chapter 35 may be viewed as a renewal of the oracle against Edom in 26:12-14, so also 36:1-15 functions as a prominent reversal of the oracle *against* "the mountains of Israel" in chapter 6.[28] Thus, all nations "will *know*" (personally experience) who the Lord is when he vindicates his people and testifies to his own supreme power and authority by bringing a devastating judgment upon all their adversaries (cf. 34:30).[29] There is simply no escaping the "living" (= eternally active) God who is "always there" (vv. 10b-11a), both to witness the crimes committed against his people and to avenge them.

Even the obvious emotional agitation with which this oracle begins (יען ביען . . . יען "because . . . because, yea because," vv. 2-3) would suggest a new text unit here (cf. the opening exclamation of the initial quotation: האח "Aha!"—v. 2). Continuity with the preceding pericope is established, however, by an overlapping reference to the people in focus and their land, i.e., "house of Israel" (35:15) and "mountains of Israel" (36:1, an instance of structural *anadiplosis*). We also hear another derisive and boastful, but in effect self-incriminatory, speech by "the enemy" (האויב, 36:2; cf. 35:10, 12-13), who is not revealed as "Edom" until v. 5. The Edomites wanted to permanently expropriate the "eternal highlands" given by

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[28]For a listing of some of the chief similarities, see Greenberg, 723.

[29]Block, 310, attempts to demonstrate a "close structural parallel" between 35:1-36:15 and chap. 34. His scheme is marred, however, by a certain reductionistic tendency, i.e., excluding 34:17-21 as an instance of a "judgment oracle" pertaining to the "old order" of leadership in Israel. Similarly, 34:25-29 concerns "the land of Israel" just as much as 36:1-15 does.

YHWH ("my land," v. 5) to his chosen people (cf. Deut 32:13, 33:15). But an angry ("burning," v. 5; cf. v. 6) God would "assuredly" (אם־לא, v. 5; cf. v. 7) intervene for the sake of his honor, that is, put an end to the scornful calumny of the heathen (vv. 6-7). This passage is a solemnly sworn warning (v. 7) that all revilers of the Lord of Scripture need to hear.

Indeed, it is clear that this pericope, considered by some to be "misplaced,"[30] is intended to be foregrounded by way of thematic contrast to the one just concluded. The punishment that is inflicted upon the erstwhile persecutors of YHWH's covenantal community (a rhetorical extension from "Edom" to all impudent adversaries) will be complemented by a dramatic reversal in the status of "Israel." All her trials and tribulations (35:1-15 + 36:1-7) would one day—"soon" (v. 8, that is, according to the Lord's reckoning, i.e., initially at the time of Cyrus the Persian)—be transformed into a new era of prosperity and plenty (chap. 36:8-12; cf. Lev 26:1-13). The prevailing desolation (שממה, ten times) would become a divinely worked possession (מורשה) for God's people[31]—in marked contrast to the punitive judgment that was predicted for these same "mountains of Israel" in chapter 6. Whether or not the horror of intervening events had worked some salutary effects upon at least a remnant of the nation is not revealed (cf. 36:22-23). In any case, the Lord here promises "with uplifted hand" (v. 7, i.e., under a self-imposed imprecatory oath) to reactivate his covenant with them and their (spiritual) descendants.

The prophecy of 36:1-15 is Yahweh's personal address to the personified, symbolical "mountains of Israel" (a natural representation of God's everlasting protective and purifying presence among his people; see 20:40, 28:14, 39:17, 40:2; cf. Ps 48:1, Mic 4:2, Zech 14:4, Mark 9:2, Acts 1:11-12). This prophecy may be divided into three portions, in the form of an A-B-A' "ring construction" with a parallel beginning and ending which surround a distinctive, and thereby foregrounded, middle section, as shown in Figure 6.

In the first segment, vv. 1-7 (A), the basic thrust of which is resumed in vv. 13-15 (A'), the abundance of explicit references to the Lord's speech (e.g., כה אמר אדני יהוה—vv. 2, 13; = *anaphora*) is meant to counteract the blasphemous and threatening talk of all of Israel's pagan adversaries. This rhetorically motivated verbal superfluity may render the piece "form-critically less coherent,"[32] but it is nevertheless an effective device that stresses the powerful performative authority of·God's efficacious word in

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[30]See, i.e., the discussion in J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel*, The New Century Bible Commentary (London: Thomas Nelson, 1967), 186-188.

[31]Greenberg, 724.

[32]L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, vol. 29, *WBC* (Dallas: Word, 1990), 169. Block, 322, refers to 36:1-15 as being very "repetitive" and "disjointed."

contrast to the empty, malicious slander of these impious, but comparatively petty, human enemies. It also emphasizes the fierce protective zeal (קנאה) of YHWH for his land (v. 5)—his "divine patriotism."[33] Thus again according to the Lord's retributive justice (*lex talionis*), their hateful scorn (כלמה) would one day be undone and heaped upon their own heads (vv. 6-7 + 15, = *epiphoric* closure).[34]

A *Woe oracle* (לכן ... יען) against Edom and other pagan "nations":
  These enemies will be punished for their malevolent behavior and
  scornful speech against the land/mountains of the Lord (vv. 1-7)

  B *Salvation oracle*—contrast ("But you" ואתם):
    Messianic/eschatological blessings are predicted
      for both the land/mountains and the people of Israel (vv. 8-12)

A' *Woe oracle* (לכן ... יען)—continued:
  The scornful talk against the land/"nation" of Israel on the part of
  hostile "nations" will be completely silenced by YHWH (vv. 13-15)

Figure 6. Structural outline of Ezek 36:1-15.

Surprisingly, there are no references to speech at all in the contrastively marked (ואתם "but you [pl.]") medial segment (36:8-12), where we find the only occurrence of the divine name within the recognition formula that appears near its close (v. 11b) just prior to the summary and hinge passage of v. 12. The latter reiterates the essence of the Lord's promise for "[his] people" (vv. 8/12, *inclusio*) and looks forward to the negation of Israel's status as a nation "deprived of children" (vv. 12/13, *anadiplosis*). This eschatological piece amplifies its precedent in chapter 34 (e.g., vv. 14-15, 26-27, 29) and also anticipates its further elaboration in the next literary unit, especially in 36:33-36, where the land once despised yet also desired by Edom (אדום) will be transformed into an

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[33]J. Skinner, cited in Greenberg, 724.

[34]In addition to the wicked speech motif (cf. 35:10-13), there are a number of noteworthy lexical correspondences—often involving some dramatic reversal—that tangibly link this prophetic passage directed against "Edom and the rest of the nations" (36:5) to the preceding one. These include, e.g., enmity (איבה, 35:5) and enemy (אויב, 36:2); ruins (חרבה, predicted for Edom (35:4) but now the current condition of Israel (36:4), which the Lord will in future reverse (36:10); YHWH's restored humanity (אדם) filling the very land (אדמה) to which the oppressors of Edom (אדום) greedily aspire (35:15; 36:6,10-12). For other items of similarity, see Allen, 170-171; cf. Greenberg, 724.

Eden (עדן, v. 35) for God's people (אדם, vv. 10-12). The unexpected revelation of the Lord's mercy upon unworthy recipients, begun in chapter 34, is thereby expanded to highlight his goodness and glory as he graciously showers blessings upon them.[35] Ezekiel's pastoral rhetoric of reassurance is progressively and impressively building up to a thematic and emotive climax, also for those of us who are reading/hearing it, as it were, from a more distant vantage point.

36:16-38: YHWH Will Vindicate His Holy Name by Cleansing His People and Their Land

This pericope develops one important aspect of the rhetoric of the preceding unit (36:1-15) and takes it to an even higher, more intense affective plane.[36] This issue concerns the divine honor of YHWH—"my name of holiness" (שׁם קדשׁי, e.g., v. 20)—which the nation of Israel had horribly profaned (חלל, e.g., v. 20) by their persistent rebellion and wickedness (most notably bloodshed and idolatry, v. 18), leading to the disaster of their national judgment (שׁפט, v. 19b). Such activity had in turn provoked the scorn of surrounding pagans in mocking both the Lord and his now-exiled people (due to their ignominious exit from "his land," v. 20; cf. 36:6,13,15). So what was God going to do about this sacrilegious behavior on the part of "the house of Israel," which elicited such public vilification from all observing nations? Contrary to all human expectation—but according to inviolate, irrevocable prophecy—he himself would bring about their miraculous return, renewal, and restoration as a covenant community by means of his chosen messianic servant-shepherd (34:12-16, 23-24).

This gracious divine action was not in the least a result of any virtue or value in the human objects of such mercy, as might be suggested perhaps by the preceding oracle (vv. 1-15). It was due solely to the Lord's righteous "concern for [his] holy *name*" (v. 21), a synecdoche which denotes the whole ineffable being, nature, person, and purpose of God. Here, in contrast to the sacred excellence of YHWH, we have yet another prominent instance of "the

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[35]Thus, we see here both "continuity and development in the gospel of salvation for the shell-shocked exiles" of every world age (Allen, 174; he helpfully provides a list of the key correspondences between chaps. 34 and 36). This manifestly includes the multitudes that stir the emotions of our own supposedly enlightened times, over two and a half millennia later.

[36]The *anaphoric* prophetic reception formula, reinforced by the vocative "son of man," indicates in typical fashion the start of this new structural division (36:16), which closes with the *epiphoric* divine recognition formula in v. 38, just before another principal sectional opener, the revelational formula of 37:1. A minor *inclusio* is formed by the reference to the house/people of Israel in marked relation to the nations (vv. 17-19/36-37). The former group is spoken of in the third person throughout the respective bounding subsections, i.e., vv. 16-21 and 37-38 (in contrast to the medial portion, vv. 22-36).

stress in the book of Ezekiel on Israel's unworthiness to be chosen,"[37] or indeed, to be shown any sort of special favor at all. The shocking imagery of menstruation dispels all such illusions (vv. 17-18).

Most of the essential elements of this vital God-centered aspect of Ezekiel's message to "the mountains of Israel" have already been introduced within chapters 34-35, and even earlier, in chapter 20, in particular.[38] But here once again they serve in the distinct context of *theodicy*, demonstrating the absolute justice and perfect wisdom of YHWH's dealings with humanity in the world—the good as well as the evil—and now in relation to the righteousness of his own inviolate character. Indeed, "Ezekiel's [vigorous] apologetic for the nature of God can be traced throughout the book,"[39] but the issue is expressed with particular clarity and conviction in this pericope (e.g., vv. 20-21, 22-23, 32).

Another critical feature of the inclusive benevolent design for the future of the Lord's people (in keeping with his "holy name") is prominently foregrounded here. This concerns his provision for "the house of Israel" of that crucial dual internal component: a "new heart" (לב חדש) and a "new spirit" (רוח חדשה, v. 26; cf. 11:19; 18:31). This refers to a life-giving, God-effected resuscitation of a person's morality and spirituality, an event powerfully dramatized in the next unit (37:1-14). The reassuring promise of a regenerated total personality to go along with a new covenant, as foretold earlier by Jeremiah (31:31-34; cf. also Ezek 16:60-63), is here reinforced and significantly expanded[40] by explicit mention of the animating Spirit (רוח) of YHWH, the dynamic divine agent of the people's repentance and renewal (cf. 37:14).

Three occurrences of the prophetic messenger formula (כה אמר אדני יהוה, vv. 22, 33, 37) function to divide the section covering 36:16-38 into four segments (vv. 16-21, 22-32, 33-36, and 37-38). The first two antithetically expressed units are interlocked by means of the following inverted topical pattern shown in Figure 7.

Thus the central problem of desecration, brought out in the first part of the section (A-B), finds its divinely occasioned resolution in the second portion (B'-A').[41] Segment A is clearly demarcated by the *inclusio* forged by the

[37]McKeating, 80.

[38]Cf. Boadt, 13.

[39]Bullock, 251.

[40]Taylor, 232; *contra* Boadt, 14.

[41]A prominent iterative overlap (*anadiplosis*) involving the second expression, coupled with the repeated antithetical key terms "profaned" + "name of holiness," accents the point of structural and thematic transition (22b).

chiastically arranged reason-result judicial sequence: "they defiled[the land] by their conduct and by their deeds" (17b) = > "according to their conduct and according to their deeds I judged them" (19b). Another patent *inclusio*, one that highlights the public shame of Israel's offense, bounds paragraph B: "among the nations, wherever they went [there]" (20a/21b). The focal majestic name "Sovereign Lord" encircles the B' element (22a/23b), which is given strong internal cohesion through the mention of either Israel or the nations in every line, with an emphatic pronominal juxtaposition at the very end: "in *you*, to *their* eyes" (23c). These continuous references to the mutually contrastive (but purposefully interrelated) pair of human participant-groups in the soteriological drama of judgment and restoration are reiterated in reversed order to sharpen the outer borders of segment A', i.e., "from the nations" (24a) and "house of Israel" (32c).[42]

A *Defilement* of the people and their land—Means (vv. 16-19)
  B Consequent *pollution* of YHWH's holy name—Result (vv. 20-21)
  B' Revelation of the *purity* of YHWH's name—Reason (vv. 22-23)
A' *Cleansing* of the people and their land—Means (vv. 24-32)

Figure 7. Structural outline of Ezek 36:16-32.

The thematic core of A' (and correlate of the "great/holy name" peak of B') is distinguished by a concentrated reiteration of primary terms and imagery that stresses divine initiative (*means* = > *result*) in the process of corporate (and by way of implication also personal) regeneration. The effect is heightened by a reiteration of selected terms and concepts from A-B (vv. 16-21), but with a reversed reference and connotation.[43] This message is intricately patterned for additional emphasis by means of parallel (as well as chiastic) phrasing and set off within the discourse by a twofold surrounding internal *inclusio* (frame a/b), as synopsized on Figure 8:[44]

[42]The close of this composite unit is further marked by three elements: the oracle formula (נאם ארני יהוה), an imperatival rebuke in direct speech, and an *inclusio* (for the B'-A' resolution portion) "it is not (emphatic לא) for your sake that I am doing [this]" (22b/32a).

[43]For a summary of these topical inversions, see Greenberg, 734. Greenberg, 738, also draws attention to certain "unusual vocabulary [in this section that] injects freshness into what otherwise might have been only an anthology of Ezekielian speech and is now a vehicle for a new idea." Some of this diction undoubtedly stems from the prophet's priestly background, i.e., a cleansing that reflects the rituals performed on the Day of Atonement (v. 25, cf. Lev 16; 731).

[44]Thus, the blessed "result" of YHWH's motivating action (the "means," repeated for emphasis) is a renewal of the covenantal correlates: the people's faithful *obedience* (27), and the Lord's *promise* to protect and provide for his "adopted" people (28). Further benefits for

frame-a:	divine restoration of Israel to "the[ir] land" (v. 24)
frame-b:	divine spiritual "cleansing" of the people (v. 25)
means-a:	YHWH "gives" [A] the people a "new heart"[B]
	and a "new spirit" [B'] he "puts" [A'] inside (v. 26a)
means-b:	YHWH removes their "stony heart"
	and he "gives" [A] them a "fleshy heart" [B] (v. 26b)
	and the divine "spirit" [B'] he "puts" [A'] inside (v. 27a)
result-a:	"my decrees [C] you will follow [D],
	and my judgments [C] you . . . will do [D']" (v. 27b)
frame-a:	divine restoration of Israel to their "land" (v. 28a)
result-b:	"you will be [X] to me [Y] as a people [Z],
	and I will be [X'] to you [Y'] as a God [Z']" (v. 28b)
frame-b:	divine spiritual "cleansing" of the people (v. 29a)

Figure 8: Compositional emphasis on divine initiative (36:24-29).

In this masterful way, Ezekiel has stylistically shaped his message in order to foreground its principal restoration themes of *renewal* for God's people/nation (A', = the initial purpose) and *reverence* for God's person/name (B', = the ultimate purpose). In the process he also rhetorically underlines its dramatic (emotive-volitional) implications for all to hear (primarily) and to see (when reading the text). Indeed, a powerful scriptural proclamation, such as we have here, needs to be forcefully and competently read, and reread—aloud—and just as carefully listened to in order for the desired verbal-religious impact to be felt.[45]

The two final oracles of this major section serve to emphasize by way

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the "elect" (i.e., "taken" and "gathered" from among all the nations on earth, v. 24) are revealed in the surrounding frame: a home-"land," and spiritual "cleansing." The close connection between these concepts, which reflect a "new exodus motif" (Block, 353), and the ideational core is suggested by the intercalation of "frame-a" before the occurrence of "result-b" in the expected sequence.

[45]For some helpful comments concerning these fast-fading faculties in the contemporary church, see J. C. Rang, *How to Read the Bible Aloud* (New York: Paulist, 1994). I agree with the assertion that the "exalted literary style" of 36:16-38 stems from the fact that here "the theology of the book reaches its zenith," especially in the segment covering vv. 24-30, which "contains the most systematic and detailed summary of Yahweh's restorative agenda in Ezekiel, if not in all the prophetic books" (Block, 340, 352-353).

of recursion some of the main motifs of the prior messages of salvation, to keep them current in the minds and hearts of Ezekiel's audience. The first (36:33-36) begins with a citation formula followed by a reminder of the people's moral cleansing (טהר, 33a; cf. 25) and by implication, its marked opposites, defiled (טמא, vv. 17-18) and polluted (חלל, vv. 20-23).[46] Then the land-based, physical notions—as an extended metaphor for underlying spiritual realities—of "rebuilding ruins" (prosperity) and "replanting wastelands" (productiveness) are highlighted (cf. 34:27; 36:10, 29-30) in a graphic reversal of previous judgment passages such as 5:14-17. These golden-age prophetic concepts[47]—in essence, Paradise regained in "the Garden of Eden" (גן עדן, v. 35; cf. Isa 51:3)—give cohesion to the unit as an integral compositional segment. They also act as the evidential background for a variant of the divine recognition formula in v. 36a (cf. 23c)—significantly manifested on behalf of the remnant (שאר—of believers?) among "the nations."[48]

A rhetorical procedure similar to the preceding is observed in the final paragraph (36:37-38), except that here the key recognition formula occurs as a marker of discourse closure (v. 38c). The reiterated ideas of this restoration oracle ("again this" זאת עוד; cf. "never again" לא עוד, v. 30) suddenly reintroduce the metaphor of sheep and flocks (along with associated imagery—cf. 34:11-16 + 31),[49] which are endowed with numerical increase (cf. 36:11, 30). In this picturesque, down-to-earth poetic manner the great Shepherd-Lord is memorably depicted as both vindicating his name (vv. 22-23) and vivifying his people (vv. 26-28, with a further emphasis upon divine instigation) in a God-established realm of future glory. Furthermore, YHWH will once again "allow himself to be appealed to [by name!]" on the part of his penitent people (37, a notable *nip°al* use of the verb דרש). The essential thematic concerns of theodicy and theocracy are thus forcefully combined. And so the literary stage is set for the onset of the grand climax of this prominent gospel portion of Ezekiel's prophetic collection (chap. 37; cf. 11:19-20).

[46]On the importance of such "priestly/cultic language" in Ezekiel, see McKeating, 86-88.

[47]Taylor, 233.

[48]Although there is certainly room for debate on this issue, such expressions of testimonial, when read in the mutually reflective light of similar passages, e.g., the final two (Hebrew) words of v. 23 (literally, "in you to their eyes") convey a definite *missiological* implication. Other OT passages also reflect on this issue, most notably the Psalter (22:27, 47:9, 66:8, 67:1-7) and Isaiah (42:6, 54:17, 55:4-5). The individual books of the Holy Scriptures, of both Old and New Covenants, were not composed, communicated, or canonized in a vacuum. Therefore, due to the ever-present influence of the literary principle of *intertextuality*, they cannot correctly be interpreted or applied in isolation either from one another or from the main hermeneutical tradition of the church throughout the ages.

[49]For a discussion of this figurative usage, see Allen, 180.

37:1-14: The Spirit of the Lord Resurrects the
Skeleton of the House of Israel

The dramatic depiction of a divinely inspired life-infusion with respect to a vast landscape of dry bones is undoubtedly one of the best known (and perhaps also most misunderstood) of Ezekiel's prophecies (cf. the possible allusion to vv. 10-13 in Matt 27:52-54).[50] Moreover, it is, like many of the others, very tightly and symmetrically constructed by means of parallel patterns of lexical recursion, both synonymous and contrastive.[51] It is chiastically arranged, perhaps as a further literary reflection of the spiritual *reversal* that is being revealed with regard to God's people. This dialogic and autobiographical vision-report also exhibits a progressive, seminarrative plot-like development as shown in Figure 9.

A *Problem*: YHWH shows Ezekiel a scattered multitude of human bones (vv. 1-3)

  B *Complication*: the dry bones are raised up and embodied, but still no life! (vv. 4-8)

  B' *Peak*: the bodies are infused with the breath of life, and an army arises (vv. 9-10)

A' *Resolution*: YHWH reveals to Ezekiel his plans for the resurrected bones (his people) (vv. 11-14)
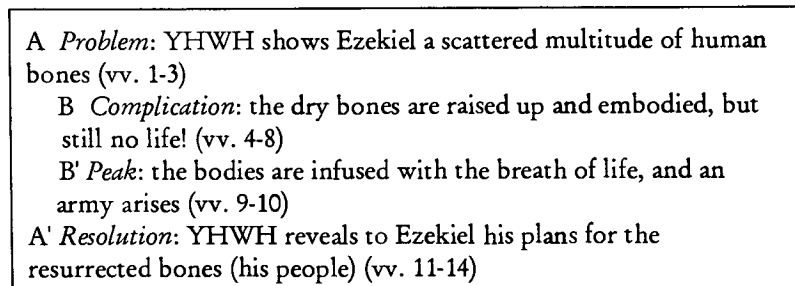

Figure 9. Structural outline of the drama of Ezek 37:1-14.

Many lexical correspondences and formulas serve to demarcate these four subsections and also to interrelate them into a tightly connected rhetorical unit. The purpose of the whole is to spiritually "inspire" the disoriented,

[50]Why have all these bones not been buried? Block, 378, plausibly suggests that "Ezekiel probably viewed the present scene as evidence of Yahweh's own covenant curse in Deut 28:25-26" (cf. Jer 34:17-20). But the Lord is about to graciously undo his punishment—for the glory of his name/person (v. 14).

[51]The twofold announcement of visionary reception, in which divine impression (his "hand upon me") is coupled with a reference to spiritual inspiration (v. 1), replaces the usual "prophetic word" formula as an *anaphoric* signal of a primary textual aperture (cf. 1:3, 8:1, 40:1). This expression reappears at the onset of the next pericope in 37:15, while the "divine utterance" formula marks the close of the present unit, as does an *inclusio* formed by the pair of similar-sounding terms, "spirit" (רוח) and "settle" (נוח) in vv. 1 and 14. It is noteworthy that the setting specified here ("the valley/plain"הבקעה) appears to be the same as that of Ezekiel's initial vision of the glory of the Lord (cf. 3:22). Thus, God is viewed as being powerfully operative in the whole wide world, wherever the objects of his merciful action may happen to be.

displaced, and depressed exilic community of Israel (the immediate referent of the "dry bones," v. 11; = "my people," vv. 12-13). The initial compound speech-opener "And he [YHWH] said to me . . . , 'Prophesy unto . . . and say to . . : "Thus says the Lord"'" *anaphorically* occurs at the beginning of each paragraph (vv. 4, 9, 11-12). The variation, or deviation, evident in the final instance, which includes the transitional double quotation of v. 11, with reference to both (a) vv. 1-10 and (b) vv. 11-14,[52] functions to distinguish the second segment as the *thematic* climax of the entire passage—as distinct from the *dramatic* peak which appears in vv. 9-10. Thus the physical resurrection of a sea of scattered skeletons captures the imagination of the audience, while the spiritual resurrection of a dead and buried people conveys the main religious import of the passage.

A number of other artistic touches highlight the prophetically delivered, but divinely authored, message that is conveyed within this vision (vv. 1-10) and the subsequent interpretive comment (vv. 11-14). The second section begins with Israel's complaint, which leads to a divine salvation oracle that predicts the rejuvenation of God's people and a restoration to their promised land (cf. 37:27-28). The apparently doubtful (from a human perspective) rhetorical question of v. 3a (A, coupled with Ezekiel's ambiguous reply) is balanced by the hopeless communal lament of v. 11b (A').[53] Similarly, the emphatic divine recognition formula in the middle of the section in v. 6b is reinforced by its corresponding expansion in vv. 13-14 at the close of the unit. The sequence of words and actions that comprises the Lord's command to the bones in B is basically duplicated in B' with his summons of the breath/wind/spirit. However, an inversion takes place at the respective endings of each unit: Bodies appear in v. 8 but with "no breath in them." In v. 10, on the other hand, "breath enters them" and the bodies "come to life"—"a very very (מאד מאד) great host,"[54] which is the result of the Spirit-effected transformation of the "very many . . . very dry" heaps of bones in the vision's opening scene (2). The redundant qualifier "dry" (יבש) serves to emphasize the stark and utter deadness of the individuals concerned.

A string of deictic beholds (הנה + an emphatic אני when Yahweh speaks) punctuates the discourse throughout (vv. 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12). It brings the audience—including the prophet—sensorially into the heart of this amazing, cinematic revelation (its sounds as well as sights, cf. the

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[52]F. C. Fensham, "The Curse of the Dry Bones in Ezekiel 37:1-14 Changed to a Blessing of Resurrection," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 13 (1987): 59.

[53]Cf. Lemke, 212; for some psalmic parallels, see Allen, 186.

[54]Note one of a number of significant word/soundplays in this section: חיל . . . ויחיו (v. 10).

clattering, רעש of v. 7). The graphic discourse thus invites all subsequent
receptors "to look in on the theater that is going on inside the prophet's
head."[55] It is true that "as one reads [or hears such] an apocalyptic vision,
he feels as if he is there, for the details are given in the first person by the
recipient."[56] The dramatically prolonged, two-staged resurrection of the
bones—first embodiment (v. 8), then em-breath-ment (v. 10, paralleling the
account of man's creation in Gen 2:7)—is reproduced in the nonsymbolic
expression of the vision's meaning. First, there is a predicted exit of the people
from their metaphorical graves, then an Exodus-like transferal to their land
(vv. 12-14, another dual sequence of corresponding events). The great army
left standing at attention at the end of B' is finally brought home to their God-
given rest at the conclusion of A', where the doing of the Lord is foregrounded
at the very close (14c; cf. 36:32,36; = structural *epiphora*).

This inspired and inspiring spectacle is a vivid, visual, and verbal
reaffirmation of the reliability of *all* the Lord's predictions or promises
given in the preceding oracles, as well as those still to come. Indeed, the
same basic hope-filled theme of renewal and restoration (following
punitive punishment or disciplinary chastisement, as the case may be) is
being recycled throughout these pericopes, but from varied viewpoints
and with differing emphases. This recursive feature serves to further
demonstrate the authenticity, veracity, and authority of God's chosen
mouthpiece, the human vehicle for his holy word (note the repeated נבא).
Everything thus comes meaningfully together in this potent depiction of
an entire "people" resurrected, beginning not from lifeless bodies, but
from the ultimate negative—dry, desiccated bones scattered in the dust.
The repentant among Ezekiel's discouraged addressees should know that
they most surely did have a happy future in store. They might look and
feel quite dead in a religious sense, but they had only to depend on the
energizing breath of YHWH, and new life would one day be theirs, as
noted by Greenberg: "The despondency of the exiles, betokened by their
drastic death and burial metaphors, is met by the prophet's stunning
counter-metaphors of resurrection and disinterment [vv. 11-12]."[57]

"Will these bones live again?" (v. 3): The Sovereign Lord (v. 5) answers his

[55]McKeating, 14.

[56]Alexander, 924.

[57]Greenberg, 47. For some helpful "background to Ezekiel's notions of resurrection,"
see Block, 383-387. Block's, 392, comments on the gospel significance of this pericope are
especially appropriate: "As in his earlier representations of the netherworld, Ezekiel's vision
of the resuscitated dry bones offers his compatriots powerful declarations of hope. The
gospel according to Ezekiel affirms that there is life after death, and there is hope beyond the
grave. Yahweh remains the incontestable Lord not only of the living but also of the dead."

own provocative question through word and deed in a vision so lifelike, albeit surrealistic, that it must have seemed as if it were taking place in the very imaginative presence of the prophet's audience. This distinctive mode of message transmission served to highlight the fact that the revitalization was as good as done. God's own indwelling Spirit was the unfailing guarantor (v. 14; cf. v. 10 and 36:26-27), and God himself was the gracious initiator of the entire process (note the strong first-person focus in vv. 12-14).[58]

37:15-28: A Prophetic Object Lesson in Support of the Divine Message of Restoration

After the drama of the preceding revelation in support of his message, what more could Ezekiel say? In short, just about everything positive that he has already proclaimed as an authoritative "word from the Lord" (37:15; cf. its next announcement in 38:1) in earlier passages (11:17-20; 16:60-63; 20:40-44; 28:25-26), but especially from the immediately antecedent selections in 34:11-31; 36:5-15, 24-38; and 37:12-14. Thus after the initial object lesson (37:15-19), which is an effective symbolical follow-up and scene-setter,[59] what we have in vv. 21-28 is a cohesive pastiche of prophecies that review and reinforce virtually every one of the principal components of Ezekiel's gospel message to "the house of Israel"—here now specified as the whole, unified nation (גוי, v. 22), namely, Joseph (Ephraim, = N) as well as Judah (S, v. 19).

A pair of significant new elements is added to increase the impact and implication of the Lord's words in the final portion of this pericope. First, the notion of *permanence*: the promise of salvation is good—guaranteed by YHWH himself—"forever" (עולם, as stressed in vv. 25-28). Second, the crucial concept of covenantal *presence*: the concrete symbol of "my dwelling place" (משכני) or "my sanctuary" (מקדשי) is here introduced (vv. 26-28; note the distinctive alliteration—cf. the contrasting "their idols" גלוליהם and "their detestable things" שקוציהם in v. 23). The Sovereign Lord is present with, indeed residing in the midst of, his people—in anticipation of the last major compositional division of the book (its heavenly denouement, chaps. 40-48).

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[58]This same resurrection promise (cf. Isa 26:19) has the divine power and potential to renew and restore the flagging hearts and minds of God's faithful saints today—no matter how "dead" they may feel, or how deeply they might be psychologically, socially, and perhaps even spiritually, "buried" (12-13).

[59]McKeating, 14, observes: "Ancient Israel never, as far as we know, produced any drama or developed a theater, as did the Greeks. Any drama which did take place was probably confined to the liturgy, and the cult may well have satisfied any dramatic urge which Israelites may have felt. It is significant that it is from a cultic background that Ezekiel, the priest, emerges. . . . His parables are essentially dramatic, and his visions are pure spectacle."

Another patterned structure is manifested in this section. In contrast to the framework that defined the first half of chapter 37, this one is not chiastic. Rather, it is sequential and conceptually overlapping ("terrace-like") in its overall organization, as outlined in Figure 10.
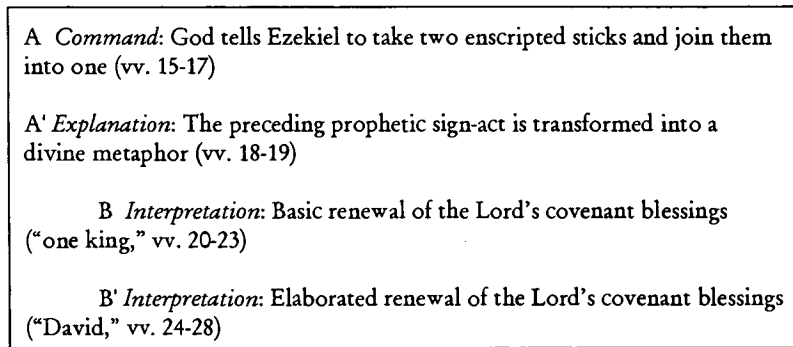

A *Command*: God tells Ezekiel to take two enscripted sticks and join them into one (vv. 15-17)

A' *Explanation*: The preceding prophetic sign-act is transformed into a divine metaphor (vv. 18-19)

    B *Interpretation*: Basic renewal of the Lord's covenant blessings ("one king," vv. 20-23)

    B' *Interpretation*: Elaborated renewal of the Lord's covenant blessings ("David," vv. 24-28)

Figure 10. Parallel patterning of the conjoined sticks passage (Ezek 37:15-28).

Both A' and B' serve to restate, expand upon, sharpen, and intensify the semantic material contained in the corresponding A and B segments—with reference to the singular solidarity of God's regenerated people (stressed also in the earlier resurrected-bones vision). The paired units thus function here as discourse-level equivalents of the technique of parallelism, or "seconding," which is so characteristic of biblical Hebrew poetry.[60]

The same principal set of symbolic actions concerning the stick/tree/ wood (עץ) is reiterated in A and A'.[61] Each ends with an emphasis upon the divinely desired outcome of indissoluble "one"-ness (אחד, vv. 17,19c). Note the reversal in the order of eponymic names: Judah-Ephraim-Joseph [A]: Joseph-Ephraim-Judah [A'], making the two into one. Similarly, paragraphs B and B' are formed within the thematic framework provided by promises regarding the land, one king, divine cleansing, and an expression of the divine-human covenantal correlates. The latter concludes each portion—but in a

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[60]Cf. J. L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 51-52; see also E. R. Wendland, *The Discourse Analysis of Hebrew Prophetic Literature: Determining the Larger Textual Units of Hosea and Joel* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1995), 266-268.

[61]Cf. Greenberg, 758-759. Block presents a strong case for understanding עץ as a "wooden writing table" (399-401, 409; cf. Isa 30:8; Hab 2:2). This would certainly make the action of writing (כתב, vv. 16, 20) more plausible, though the possible royal allusion (of stick/scepter) would be lost.

reversed order to further underscore the envisioned harmony between the people(s) and their Lord ("they will be my people, and I will be their God," v. 23c—"I will be their God, and they will be my people," v. 27b). A noteworthy variation in the divine recognition formula brings the pericope, as well as the larger section (chaps. 33-37), to a close: "Then *the nations* will know that I, YHWH, make *Israel* holy" (v. 28).

Significant areas of conceptual overlap (*anadiplosis*) function to progressively tie one discourse unit into the next within the complete composition. Thus, the query of the curious exiles in v. 18 links A with A'; YHWH's command to hold the two sticks (tablets) together before the people's eyes (20) acts as a transition between the two halves of the text, A-A' and B-B'; and reference to the single Davidic-Messianic king (24) binds the initial divine prediction in B to its expansion in B' and back again to A-A' by virtue of the fact that the stick is a symbol of kingship (scepter) as well as of undivided nationhood (cf. 19:10-14; Gen 49:10). The prophetic object lesson also reflects the preceding vision through the reiterated notion of attaching (נתן) and joining together (קרב)—bone (עצם) to bone and stick (עץ) to stick (37:6, 19; 37:7, 17). This leads in turn to the Exodus-evoking prediction that God's people will be brought together from all points of the world to be reunited in their own land (vv. 12,14, 21-22).

A less overt but equally eminent manifestation of intratextuality, as already noted, is the concentration of citations, allusions, and reminiscences that appear in this section, especially the B-B' constituent. This significant topical recycling acts as a climactic summary of the preacher's urgent message of encouragement to his fellow exiles on behalf of the Lord.[62] In short, this stirring recapitulation "combines the promise of purification of the people with restoration of the land, under a new David, in a covenant of peace, when God's dwelling is reestablished in their midst."[63] Using the scriptural symbolism and concrete imagery from past salvation oracles and promises, Ezekiel proclaims a gospel message of hope in the Lord for all obedient members of the flock of the royal Shepherd (v. 24).

Such an evangelical rehearsal naturally includes many prominent instances of intertextuality with reference to such primary covenantal text precursors as Exod 6:7; Lev 26:4-13; Deut 28:4-13; 2 Sam 7:11-16; and 1 Kgs

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[62]Greenberg, 758. Allen, 192, advances the suggestion that "37:1-13 seems to have been intended as a commentary on 36:27a . . . and likewise 37:15-24a as a commentary on 36:27b." Such an argument is rather too intricate to be credible. Besides, what is one to do then with vv. 24b-28, where we have an equally impressive convergence of prior primary salvation terms and texts?

[63]Boadt, 15.

9:4-5, along with historically more immediate passages like those of Jeremiah (especially chaps. 30-33). The recurrent, theophanic refrain ("then you will know that I [am] the Lord") is itself a constant reminder of the supreme archetypal instance of divine deliverance (37:6, 13-14, 8; cf. Exod 6:2; 7:17; 10:2; 14:4; 16:12). The result is an expertly fused, Scripture-packed prophetic kaleidoscope that fairly bristles with denotative import and connotative impact. It is indeed a nuclear prophecy that resonates with the heart of OT theology, yet one which is stamped with the unique viewpoint and experience of its human mouthpiece, the pastor-prophet-priest Ezekiel.[64]

Rhetorical Drama in the Service of
The Resurrection Dynamic

Obviously, this entire section covering chapters 33-37 presents a carefully and consummately crafted compositional whole. It is indeed a prophetic sermon that is admirably suited to perform its primary rhetorical purpose of highlighting key aspects of the intended message. At the same time it also incites the emotions and captures the imagination of its audience. It does this through the heart-inspiring "hand of the Lord" (37:1), by means of the various parallels, correspondences, and contrasts manifested simultaneously on several conceptual and affective levels in a compelling yet appealing manner. In the end, the thematic spotlight is fixed once more upon the text's central character—YHWH, the sovereign, holy God who will inevitably demonstrate his integrity (note the periodic divine "I" [אני] appearing emphatically throughout the text, e.g., 37:19, 21, 23, 28) by establishing both a people and a place that are completely holy unto himself (27-28; cf. 23bc and 36:23, 26-28).[65]

The preceding analysis of the topical *selection* and structural *arrangement* of Ezekiel, both internally and in relation to the work as a whole, has shown how and why the discourse has been organized as it stands. Certainly there is no need for apologies on account of any supposed infelicities in terms of either compositional artfulness or rhetorical effectiveness.[66] In "classical" rhetorical

[64]The validity of his glorious vision of future everlasting fellowship with the Lord dwelling amidst his people (לי לעם) is certified at the very end of the sacred canon in the reaffirming vision of Rev 21:3. The essential unity in ethnic diversity that John seems to emphasize by his choice of terms in this passage is perhaps an interscriptural commentary on the intended interpretation of Ezek 37:27.

[65]Block's summary is again apropos: "The presence of his sanctuary (*miqdaš*) in the midst of the people will be the ultimate demonstration of his commitment to them ('I will be your God'). His sanctification (*qiddeš*) of Israel will be the final proof of them as a holy nation, consecrated to himself for his glory ('You will be my people')" (*Ezekiel*, 421).

[66]For an overview of such alleged textual discontinuities and disruptions from the point of view of many older Ezekiel scholars, see L. E. Cooper Sr., *Ezekiel*, vol. 17, NAC

terms, the book evinces a convincing combination of *ethos* (e.g., through the constant involvement of the authorial "son-of-man"), *pathos* (e.g., in the many striking, emotionally touching, evocative images), and the preeminent *logos* (the dominant, authoritative "word of the Lord"). Similarly, we have an engagingly varied mixture of the three basic functional types of *epideictic*, *judicial*, and *deliberative* rhetoric. These are passages that express praise or blame of the nature of some character, event, or situation; that refer to human activity which is either right/just or wrong/unjust according to some legislative norm or juridical case; and that pertain to what is advantageous or harmful with respect to some behavior, which is correspondingly either encouraged or discouraged.[67]

What remains, then, in the following portions of the prophecy is to demonstrate this divine motive, mandate, and message also on a cosmic scale and within an eschatological framework at the expense of Gog and all other godless, antagonistic nations on earth (chaps. 38:1-39:20). This penultimate passage foregrounds the holiness of YHWH (38:16, 23; 39:7, 27) even further as it demonstrates his omnipotent power and sovereign control over the entire universe. The almighty Lord is in complete charge of this world's events, and will surely see to it that the ultimate victory is won over all the forces of evil and enemies of his people (Rev 20). After all this vigorous action and high emotive tension, the victorious community of faith—this new Israel of the heart—can finally rest in peace (chaps. 40-48). They can bask in the radiant glory of the Lord's everlasting presence (43:7; 48:35) within the sacred precincts of his temple sanctuary, from which the river of regenerative spiritual life forever flows (47:1-12).[68]

(Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 32-35.

[67]G. A. Kennedy, trans., *Aristotle—On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 48-49. In view of all of the stylistic features which the author seemingly puts to good rhetorical use in the text of Ezekiel, it is difficult to see M. Zulick's point that Hebrew prophetic rhetoric tends to be passive in that it makes "the hearer rather than the speaker the deciding figure in a rhetorical act" ("The Active Force of Hearing: The Ancient Hebrew Language of Persuasion," *Rhetorica* 10 [1992]: 377; cf. Y. Gitay, *Isaiah and His Audience: The Structure and Meaning of Isaiah 1-12* [Assen: Van Gorcum, 1991], 4-7).

[68]As "was common in the judgment-speech literature of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C." (Alexander, 929), this section includes a reiterative recycling to heighten the drama of God's revelation (39:1-8 basically repeats the sense of 38:1-23). It concludes with a cohesion-fixing flashback to the messianic age in the summary of 39:21-29 (cf. chaps. 34:11-37:28; 28:25-26; Deut 30:1-10). In keeping with the earlier text-material that it summarizes, 39:21-29 is another instance of a neatly patterned pericope: A: The Lord's glory is revealed in his justice ("face hidden," 21-24); B: The Lord demonstrates his holiness by restoring the fortunes of his people (25-26) = B': the nations are witnesses (27); A': The Lord's glory is revealed in his mercy ("face not hidden," 28-29). It may be noted that this segment makes it apparent that YHWH's restoration of Israel was not completely unconditional—a "unilateral act of God"

In closing, we might display the varied, rhetorically captivating, "gospel"-centered—but "law"-confirmatory—principal text portion of chapters 33-37 by means of another (admittedly impressionistic) visual summary of its prophetic plot and associated connotative flow. Figure 11 provides a more "scenic" view of the "panoramic" display given at the beginning of this essay in Part 1.

As shown in Figure 11, our focal section begins with the connotatively neutral (0) judicial text of A, but this bearing takes a sudden emotive plunge with the news of Jerusalem's fall (B). The overall depression continues in the judgment oracles of C, but this is relieved to some extent by the just condemnation of the unfaithful shepherds (D). The connotation then moves in a decidedly positive (+), upward direction as YHWH assumes the role of Shepherd for his scattered flock (E), but again there is another perceptible downward trend (not really negative or totally condemnatory in tone), as unrighteous oppressors within the external community are rebuked (F). This wave-like, positive (blessing) < = > neutral (warning), thematic movement continues in rhythmic progression throughout the rest of the unit—up to its quiet, spiritually consolatory close at the end of chapter 37 (Q).

The cleansing mercy of God's gospel message thus stands out more clearly when contrasted with the ugly reality of the sinful human condition, both individual and communal,[69] as evaluated and judged according to the eternal covenantal principles of YHWH. A person's faithful obedience or rebellious wickedness, as the case may be, will inevitably be met with either the Lord's abundant grace or his punitive justice. According to the prophetic philosophy of Ezekiel, the former option is always the utmost divine desire (18:23, 30b-32; cf. Hos 11:8-11). One major implication of this prophetic messenger's proclamation to the dry bones that so often pass for contemporary religion, concerns the importance of experiencing a genuine spiritual resurrection, both individual and corporate. Such a vital inner regeneration (along with its corresponding outer manifestation) is not only a priority from a covenantal peace perspective (34:25/37:26), but it also constitutes an essential aspect of YHWH's glorious self-revelation to the entire world (37:13a) וידעתם כי־אני יהוה.

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or an imposition—in the sense that absolutely no response or reaction on their part was necessary—"a future bliss without the precondition of repentance" (cf. Greenberg, 735-737). Rather, the fact of sin and the need for personal cleansing is strongly emphasized (39:23, 26), even in retrospect within the eternal temple of the Lord's presence (43:7).

[69]Cf. Alexander, 746; *contra* McKeating, 84.

religious connotation

textual progression
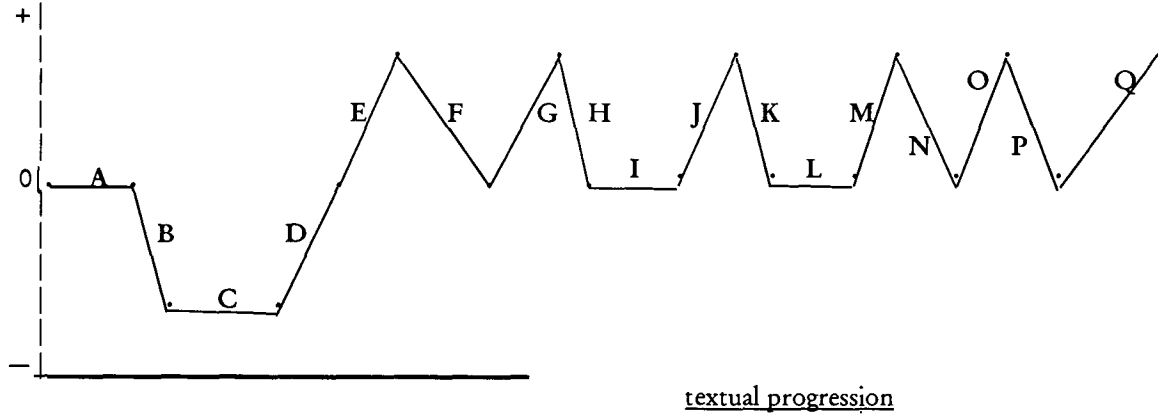
A = 33:1-20   D = 34:1-10   G = 34:20-31   J = 36:8-12   M = 36:24-38   P = 37:15-19
B = 33:21-22   E = 34:11-16   H = 35:1-15   K = 36:13-15   N = 37:1-8   Q = 37:20-28
C = 33:23-33   F = 34:17-19   I = 36:1-7   L = 36:16-23   O = 37:9-14

Figure 11. A depiction of the macrostructural dramatic movement of chaps. 33-37.

THE CHRISTIAN AND TIME-KEEPING IN
COLOSSIANS 2:16 AND GALATIANS 4:10

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Traditionally, Col 2:16 and Gal 4:10 are understood as the negation of Christian observance of Jewish time-keeping schemes, including Sabbath observance. However, Troy Martin has recently proposed radical reinterpretations of these two verses, which are consistent with the continued Christian observance of the Jewish religious calendar.[1]

For Martin, the major problem with the traditional interpretations of Col 2:16 and Gal 4:10 is that each verse is understood in terms of the other, i.e., Gal 4:10 is read as confirmation that the evaluation of the Jewish calendrical list in Col 2:16 is negative, while Col 2:16 is read as confirmation that the calendar of Gal 4:10 is Jewish rather than pagan.[2] However, Martin argues that the critics of the Christian church in Colossae were probably not condemning the Colossians for failing to keep the Jewish calendar. Instead, they may have been condemning them for continuing to observe it.[3] Likewise, Martin contends that Paul is condemning pagan rather than Jewish observances in Gal 4:10.[4] The purpose of this article is to evaluate each claim in turn.

The Calendrical List of Colossians 2:16

In Col 2:16, the Colossians are enjoined to let no one judge them in eating and drinking, or in matters of a feast day, a new moon, or sabbaths. Martin admits that Col 2:16 is ambiguous as to whether the critics "condemn the Colossian Christians for engaging, not engaging, or engaging incorrectly in these practices."[5] However, he seeks to clarify the matter on the basis of v. 17.

Colossians 2:16, 17, is traditionally translated along the following lines:

[1]Troy Martin, "Pagan and Judeo-Christian Time-Keeping Schemes in Gal 4.10 and Col 2.16," *NTS* 42 (1996):105-119.

[2]Ibid., 107.

[3]Ibid., 111.

[4]Ibid., 111-119.

[5]Ibid., 107.

Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν βρώσει καὶ ἐν πόσει ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς ἢ νεομηνίας ἢ σαββάτων· ἅ ἐστιν σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Let no one, therefore, judge you in drinking and in eating, or with respect to a feast, or a new moon, or sabbaths, which are a shadow of the coming things, but the body [is] Christ's.

In such a translation, the expression τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ is clearly interpreted "as a nominal clause with an ellipsed ἐστίν . . . [connected] syntactically to the subordinate relative clause, ἅ ἐστιν σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων."[6] However, Martin critiques this interpretation on two grounds. First, he suggests that the expression should end in the nominative ὁ Χριστὸς rather than in the genitive τοῦ Χριστοῦ, i.e., as "the body [is] Christ" rather than as "the body [is] Christ's."[7] Second, he argues that "δέ is a coordinating conjunction that can connect only grammatical equivalents."[8] Accordingly, if these two clauses are connected, then "τὸ σῶμα . . . must be a predicate nominative with the relative pronoun ἅ as its subject," which leads to the nonsensical translation of Col 2:17: "which things are a shadow of things to come but which things are the body of Christ."[9] Martin, therefore, proposes that τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ should be construed with the independent clause at the beginning of v. 16, μὴ οὖν τις ὑμας κρινέτω.[10] He, then, suggests that Col 2:17 should be translated as "but (let everyone discern) the body of Christ," i.e., let everyone discern the body of Christ in the various practices listed in v. 16.[11] He concludes that these practices are probably those of the Colossian Christians rather than those of the opponents.[12]

Martin's innovative interpretation is syntactically feasible; however, he is unduly dismissive of the traditional interpretation. In view of the casual introduction of "head" and "body" in Col 2:19, and assuming that the author wishes to include the redeemed community in the foreshadowed reality, it makes sense for v. 17 to affirm that "the body

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[6]Troy Martin, "'But Let Everyone Discern the Body of Christ' (Colossians 2:17)," *JBL* 114 (1995): 249.

[7]Ibid., 249, 250.

[8]Ibid., 251.

[9]Ibid.

[10]He notes a parallel construction in 1 Cor 10:24 and the movement from negative to positive nuances of κρίνω in Rom 14:13 (ibid., 252).

[11]Ibid., 252-254.

[12]Ibid., 255.

[the substance of the shadow] (is) Christ's (body) [the church]."[13] It is true that the conjunction δέ is a coordinating conjunction. However, the equivalence required between coordinating clauses is that of their position within the hierarchy of the sentence, not that of their clause types. In Col 1:26, the independent clause, νῦν δὲ ἐφανερώθη τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ ("but now it has been manifested to his holy ones"), is clearly coordinate with the preceding relative clause, τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν ("the mystery hidden from the ages and from the generations"), rather than with either of the nearest preceding independent clauses in v. 24. In Col 3:8, the independent clause, νυνὶ δὲ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα ("but now you also kill all things"), stands in contrast to the relative clauses of v. 7, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς περιεπατήσατέ ποτε, ὅτε ἐζῆτε ἐν τούτοις ("in which you also walked then, when you lived in them"), rather than having any direct connection with the nearest preceding independent clause in v. 5. There is, therefore, no reason why, in Col 2:17, the expression τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ should not be translated as an independent clause ("but the body [is] Christ's"), which is coordinated with the relative clause ἅ ἐστιν σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων ("which are a shadow of the coming things"), rather than as a nominal phrase connected to the nearest preceding independent clause of v. 16.

The question of the translation of Col 2:17 clearly cannot be settled on syntactical grounds alone. However, it can be settled by an examination of the semantics of the preceding nominal phrase in v. 17, σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων ("a shadow of the coming things"), in order to determine whether its use is pejorative or positive.

The clearest NT parallel to Col 2:17 is the reference in Heb 10:1, where the law is presented as "a shadow of the coming good things, not the very image of the things."[14] "Shadow" (σκιά) stands in the same relationship to "image" (εἰκών) in Heb 10:1 as it does to "body" (σῶμα) in Col 2:17.[15] In Heb 10:1, the shadow is clearly portrayed as inferior to the

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[13]On the double *entendre* at work between the body as substance and the body as church, see N. T. Wright, *Colossians and Philemon*, vol. 12, TNTC (Leicester, UK: InterVarsity, 1986), 120,121; Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 117.

[14]Σκιὰν . . . τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων. On the P[46] reading καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ("and the image"), rather than οὐκ αὐτὴν εἰκόνα ("not the very image"), see F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 225, n. 1.

[15]On the synonymous meaning of εἰκών and σῶμα as synonyms, see Lohse, 116. The use of "body" instead of "image" in Col 2:17 may be due to the special emphasis on the term in Colossians, discussed above (ibid., 117).

image or reality it represents.[16] Christians are not encouraged to continue observing the shadow. They are called to focus on the reality instead.[17]

Martin notes that, according to Col 2:17, the practices of v. 16 *"are* a shadow of things to come" (present tense). Thus, he argues that "the text affirms a present, albeit temporary, validity to the shadow."[18]

> The μελλοντα ["things to come"] could only be viewed as having already set in, either in whole or in part, if ἦν and not ἐστί were used previously, and thereby the notion of futurity were to be taken relatively, in reference to a state of things then already past.[19]

On the other hand, Heb 10:1 affirms that the law *is* "a shadow of good things to come,"[20] despite the fact that the Epistle to the Hebrews provides no argument for the continued validity of the shadow. The reason may be that in Hebrews the future is pictured as already present in the person of Christ.[21] Alternatively, Heb 10:1 may be parallel to Heb

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[16]The earthly sanctuary is a shadow of Christ's better ministry (Heb 8:3-6). The sacrifices of the law never bring perfection but must be repeated continually from year to year (Heb 10:1-4, 11). The true sacrifice brings perfection and is not repeatable (vv. 12-18).

It has been denied that "the very image of the things" is equivalent to "the coming good things" in Heb 10:1 (John Brown, *Hebrews* [Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1961], 432). He states further: "I can nowhere find evidence that the phrase, 'image' or 'likeness' of a person or thing, ever signifies the person or thing itself. 'Shadow' and 'image' seem to me equally expressive of pictorial representations, though of different degrees of distinctness" (ibid., 433). However, Kuhli notes that the idea that the terms "σκιά and εἰκών probably distinguish the outer appearance from the essence of the thing itself . . . is supported by the change of meaning in εἰκών in Hellenistic Greek such that the concept is increasingly detached from the characterization of the 'true form' [RSV] and could represent a large range of nuances from 'copy' [Plotonius Enn. iv.7] to 'characteristic feature' and 'visible manifestation' [ibid., v. 8] to 'prototype' and 'original image' [Lucian Vit. Auct. 18]" (Horst Robert Balz and Gerhard Schneider, eds., *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], 1:390, s.v. "εἰκών, όνος, ἡ eikōn image, likeness, archetype."

[17]The author of Hebrews speaks of the first system of sacrifice and offering being set aside to establish the sacrifice of the body of Christ (10:8-10), while he speaks of the first covenant being made obsolete by the second covenant (8:13).

[18]Martin, "But Let Everyone Discern the Body of Christ," 249, n. 1; see also Samuele Bacchiocchi, *From Sabbath to Sunday: A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity* (Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1977), 356, 357.

[19]H.A.W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1875), cited in Bacchiocchi, 387.

[20]The present participle ἔχων ("having") indicates contemporaneity with the main verb of the sentence, the present indicative δύναται ("can," not "could"). Notice also the use of a present indicative in the relative clause ἅς προσφέρουσιν ("which they are offering").

[21]Thus, the subjection of "the world to come" (τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν) to humanity is said to have already begun in the exaltation of Jesus (Heb 2:5-9), while believers are said to have already tasted "the powers of the age to come" (δυνάμις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος,

9:9, which speaks of "the present time, according to which [Levitical] gifts and sacrifices *are* being offered,"[22] not because of any desire to affirm the continued validity of the Levitical system, but as a hypothetical concession to the opponents for the sake of argument.[23] Whichever view is adopted, there is no reason to believe that the situation should be any different with the use of the present tense in Col 2:17.

To summarize, Martin's proposed translation of the clause τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ in Col 2:17, "but [let everyone discern] the body of Christ," has as much syntactical validity as the traditional translation, "but the body [is] Christ's." However, a comparative study of Col 2:17 and Heb 10:1 shows that in Col 2:16 the phrase σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων ("a shadow of things to come") is pejorative, a fact that decidedly favors the traditional translation. The evidence is thus against Martin's proposal that the practices of Col 2:16 are those of the Colossian Christians rather than those of the opponents. While these practices may have had validity at one time, this validity has ended with the advent of Christ.

On the other hand, it is not necessary to interpret Col 2:16, 17 as opposition to any sort of calendrical observance. If Col 2:16 does refer to the practices of the opponents, it does not necessarily follow that the Colossians do not have positive counterparts. Desmond Ford notes that the apostle "is not opposed to all eating and drinking, although he says in 2:16, 'Let no one judge you in eating and drinking.'"[24] He then suggests: "Neither is he [the author of Colossians] against all Sabbath-keeping."[25] Another interpreter points out that when the elements of the calendar in Col 2:16 are listed sequentially in the OT, special sacrificial offerings prescribed for the sacred times are in view rather than the days themselves.[26] It is beyond the scope of this article to explore the implications of these suggestions in detail. However, Mark 2:27 seems to point to a NT tradition in which the Sabbath is seen as a universal

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Heb 6:5) and to have already approached "the heavenly Jerusalem" ('Ιερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ, Heb 12:22), the city "that is to come" (τὴν μέλλουσαν, Heb 13:14).

[22]τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, καθ' ἣν δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι προσφέρονται.

[23]John Calvin, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews and the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter*, vol. 12, Calvin's Commentaries, trans. William B. Johnston (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963), 118.

[24]Desmond Ford, *The Forgotten Day* (Newcastle, CA: Desmond Ford, 1981), 106.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Paul Giem, "Sabbatōn in Col 2:16," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 206-208.

creation ordinance.[27] To the extent that the author of Colossians himself may have seen the Sabbath as predating sacrifice and offering, there would appear to be no basis for seeing Col 2:16 as a rejection of Sabbath-keeping in its entirety.

The Calendrical List of Galatians 4:10

Martin concedes that, in and of itself, the calendrical list of Gal 4:10—ἡμέρας καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς("days and months and seasons and years") "can be either pagan or Jewish."[28] However, he argues that the immediate context of the verse is decisive:

> In 4.8, Paul mentions the former pagan life of the Galatian Christians. In 4.9, he asks them how they can desire their former life again. He then proposes their observance of the time-keeping scheme in 4.10 as a demonstrative proof of their reversion to their old life. . . . Considering only the immediate context of Gal. 4.10, the list must be understood as a pagan temporal scheme.[29]

Although Martin does not acknowledge them, there are precedents for this view.[30] His special contribution is not the view itself, but the way that he proposes to harmonize it with the focus on submission to circumcision and the law in the rest of Galatians. For him, the Galatians do accept circumcision as an essential element of the Christian gospel, but they do not agree to submit to it. Instead, they revert to their former paganism.[31]

In favor of this proposal, Martin argues that it resolves the tensions between "some important passages [that] indicate the Galatians have already exchanged Paul's circumcision-free gospel for the opposition's other gospel (Gal 1.6. 3.1-5; 5.7)" and other passages that indicate the Galatians have not yet been circumcised, e.g., Gal 5:1, 10.[32] However, the use of the present tense μετατίθεσθε ("you are turning away") in Gal 1:6

[27]Gerhard F. Hasel, "Sabbath," ABD (1992), 5:855.

[28]Martin, "Time-keeping Schemes," 112.

[29]Ibid., 112-113.

[30]While he rejects the view that the Galatian Christians have returned to their former pagan lifestyles, Martin Luther claims that "almost all doctors have interpreted this place as concerning the astrological days of the Chaldeans" (A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, rev. trans., [London: James Clarke, 1953], 392). More recently, R. A. Cole comments that "it is not necessary . . . to see any Jewish influence in these Galatians; in all forms of paganism there is some form of 'casting horoscopes,' with consequent 'lucky' and 'unlucky' days" (The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians: An Introduction and Commentary, TNTC [London: Tyndale, 1969], 119).

[31]Martin, "Time-keeping Schemes," 113.

[32]Ibid., 114.

suggests an ongoing but incomplete process. Paul's incredulous questioning in Gal 3:3-5 also suggests an incomplete process, especially in v. 4, where he qualifies his question, "Have you suffered so in vain?" (τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ;) with the forlorn expression of hope, "If [it were] indeed in vain" (εἴ γε καὶ εἰκῇ). The use in v. 5 of the present participles, ἐπιχορηγῶν ("one who supplies") and ἐνεργῶν ("one who works") is a further indication that the apostasy of the Galatians is not complete. In Gal 5:7, the infinitive phrase μὴ πείθεσθαι ("not to obey") may indicate purpose rather than result. There is no indication here that the opponents have fully accomplished their purpose. Martin gives no attention to evidence that the Galatians may not have begun observing the calendar list of Gal 4:10.[33] Even so, it would hardly be surprising for the Galatians' opponents to begin with the cultic calendar before moving on to the subject of circumcision,[34] notwithstanding the fact that the Galatians ultimately "remain shut out (Gal 4.17) unless they take the necessary step of circumcision."[35]

The major problem with Martin's proposal is that he seems to have devised it *ad hoc* in order to harmonize Gal 4:8-10 with the book as a whole without systematically examining how well it actually fits the evidence in the epistle itself. When a systematic examination is made, five major problems with the proposal emerge.

First, the turn from the true gospel by the Galatian Christians is as much practical as it is theoretical. It is not a mere rejection of doctrine, for Paul tells them that it is a turning away "from the one who called you in the grace of Christ" (ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ, Gal 1:6). The turn "to another gospel" (εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον) is likely to be just as practical. In other words, it is not a matter of the Galatians concluding that circumcision is a part of the Christian gospel, then deciding that they must reject Christianity in order to avoid circumcision. They are seriously contemplating embracing the Judaizers' gospel for themselves.

Second, in Gal 3:2 Paul expects the Galatians to affirm their *initial* reception of the Spirit "by hearing with faith" (ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως), even if they now plan to be perfected through the flesh (v. 3). If the Galatians have returned to paganism, it would be expected that they would deny they had

[33]See Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 299; Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 217.

[34]Ernest de Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, ICC, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), 233.

[35]Martin, "Time-keeping Schemes," 113.

ever received the Spirit at all. Their danger is clearly more subtle. Just as the Judaizers have done, so they too will accept their reality of initial justification by faith in Christ, but then rebuild what they have destroyed (Gal 2:16, 18).

Third, Martin may doubt the prospect of Gentiles being willingly circumcised, but the Judaizers seem to have been convinced that just such a practice might be possible. Their zeal for the Galatians might not have stemmed from pure motives, but there is no doubt that they expected it to be reciprocated (Gal 4:17), while Paul's distress over the Galatians' lack of zeal for the gospel in his absence suggests that he also believed the Judaizers' expectations were being met (Gal 4:12-18). There is no hint that anyone expected the Galatians to reject both the Judaizers and Paul.

Fourth, that some of the Galatians are seriously contemplating circumcision is evident from the fact that in Gal 4:21 Paul uses the second person verbs λέγετε and ἀκούετε ("tell" and "hear") to address "those who desire to be under law" (οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι), for Paul never addresses the opponents as his readers, only the Galatians themselves.

Fifth, the Galatians are told that their persuasion to disobey the truth does not come "from the one who called you" (οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντας ὑμᾶς; Gal 5:8). They are warned that "a little leaven leavens the whole lump" (μικρά ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ, Gal 5:9). Both statements would be profoundly disturbing admonitions to people who believe that their legalism is bringing them closer to the Christian God, but pointless truisms to those who have openly adopted paganism.

Of course, it is one thing to criticize Martin's proposed harmonization of the immediate and broader contexts of Gal 4:10. It is another to advance a more convincing hypothesis. Martin rightly rejects the suggestion that a Jewish-pagan syncretism is in view,[36] for while evidence of a syncretistic opposition can be found throughout Colossians, there is no clear supporting evidence of syncretism in Galatians. However, a possibility that Martin has overlooked is that in Gal 4:8-10 Paul is intentionally identifying the Galatians' practice of the Jewish calendar as the spiritual equivalent of the paganism that they have left behind.[37]

At first sight, this identification appears to be a Marcionite equation. However, it must be remembered that when Paul speaks of "law" and

[36]Ibid., 106, n. 6.

[37]See Witherington, 297, 298; G. Findlay, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 2d. ed., Expositor's Bible (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1889), 264, 265; George S. Duncan, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*, Moffatt New Testament Commentary (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1955), 136; Otto Schmoller, "The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians," in *Galatians-Hebrews*, Lange's Commentary, vol. 7 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960), 105, 106; E. Huxtable, "Galatians," in *Galatians-Colossians*, Pulpit Commentary, vol. 20 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 235.

"the works of the law," his focus in Galatians is on the legalism of the Judaizers, rather than on the prophetic religion of the OT.[38] For example, the refusal to share in table fellowship with Gentiles is a clear characteristic of the law religion of the Judaizers (Gal 2:11-13). However, it is not commanded by the OT.[39] In fact, the NT elsewhere rejects this halakhah on the basis of the Pentateuch itself.[40] Likewise, the Sinai covenant was not originally a covenant of slavery (Exod 20:2); that is a later understanding (Gal 4:25).

Due weight must be given to the polemical use of irony in Galatians.[41] The Judaizers are said to prove themselves transgressors of the law in the very act of promoting the law (Gal 2:18); they might think that they are keeping the whole law, but they are not (Gal 6:13). Their lawkeeping produces the works of the flesh, not the fruit of the spirit (Gal 6:16-20).[42] It is, thus, consistent with the tone of the letter that the time-keeping of the Judaizers actually causes them to lose their distinctiveness from the pagans (Gal 4:8-11).

How is it possible, then, to maintain a calendar observance that is in keeping with the prophetic religion of the OT? Paul clearly argues for the historical relativity of the law instituted 430 years after the Abrahamic

[38]William Barclay, *The Letters to the Galatians and Ephesians*, rev. ed., Daily Study Bible Series (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 37.

[39]George Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia*, 2d. ed., SNTS Monograph Series, no. 35 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), xix-xx, citing Esth 5.4ff.; 7.1ff.; Dan 1.8-16.

[40]Acts 10:15 has traditionally been interpreted as teaching the abolition of the distinctions between clean and unclean foods. However, this interpretation fails to recognize the subtle difference between the adjectives κοινός ("common") and ἀκάθαρτος ("unclean") in Acts 10:14; 11:9. The latter term refers to inherently unclean animals, and the former term to clean animals defiled by association with unclean animals. See Colin House, "Defilement by Association: Some Insights from the Usage of κοινός/κοινόω in Acts 10 and 11," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 146-149. In the Pentateuch it is only the corpse of an unclean animal that defiles a clean animal, not an unclean animal itself while it is still alive (Lev 11.24). Accordingly, the command in Acts 10:15, "What God has cleansed, do not call common" ("A ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου) does not contradict the Pentateuch, but is directly based upon it. The implication is clear: association with Gentiles will no more defile the Jew than the unclean animal will defile the clean, not because Lev 17 has been abrogated, but because it still stands (ibid., 153).

[41]It has been strongly argued that the new covenant of Jer 31:31-34 is simply the Sinai covenant fulfilled. Wilber B. Wallis, "Irony in Jeremiah's Prophecy of a New Covenant," *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 12 (1969): 107. In other words, the new covenant is objectively the same as the old covenant, but new to Jeremiah's listeners because they have no experiential knowledge of its longstanding terms (ibid., 108). Wallis significantly notes the same irony at work in Gal 4:21-31 (ibid., 109); see also William Hendriksen, *Galatians and Ephesians*, NTC (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1968), 157.

[42]Howard, 12-17.

covenant (Gal 3:15-17). It is, therefore, unlikely that he would have advocated the wholesale Christian adoption of the pentateuchal calendar. However, to the extent that he may have seen the Sabbath as a creation ordinance predating the Abrahamic covenant, there would appear to be no basis for reading Gal 4:10 as a rejection of all Sabbath-keeping.

Conclusion

Martin has argued that in Col 2:16, the critics probably condemned the Colossians for continuing to observe the Jewish calendar, rather than for setting it aside. On the other hand, he argues that, in Gal 4:10, Paul does not condemn the Galatians for adopting a Jewish calendar, but for embracing a pagan calendar instead. However, the evidence surveyed in this article suggests that the practices of Col 2:16 are those of the critics, which are evaluated negatively by the author, and that Gal 4:10 identifies the Galatian Christians' particular practice of the Jewish calendar as the spiritual equivalent of the paganism that they had left behind. Nevertheless, neither text should be read as a wholesale rejection of the entire Jewish calendar. For example, Mark 2:27 seems to point to a NT tradition in which the Sabbath is seen as a universal creation ordinance to the extent that this tradition may have been assumed in Colossians and Galatians. There would appear to be no basis for seeing it as abrogated in these epistles.

REFORMATION-ERA RESOURCES AT
LA SIERRA UNIVERSITY

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While helping to complete the conversion of La Sierra University's card catalog to an online database, I came across a collection of rare books in our vault, which had apparently never been cataloged. Further investigation revealed that, first, these rare books dealt almost entirely with the Reformation and, second, that there were a number of other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books on the Protestant Reformation in our rare-book collection which, though already cataloged, had not received much notice. The twenty-six volumes here described may be of some interest to scholars of the Reformation.

The majority of these books are found in standard bibliographies and reference works on the period, but three (#1, #2, and #7) were not in any work I was able to consult.[1] The reference works are as follows:

Aland	Aland, Kurt. *Hilfsbuch zum Lutherstudium.* 2d ed. Berlin: Bertelsman, 1957. While not providing bibliographic detail on the level of Benzing and Kuczynski, Aland provides references to the location of the most current critically edited texts of Luther.
Benzing	Benzing, Josef. *Lutherbibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod.* Bearbeitet in Verbindung mit der Weimarer Ausgabe unter Mitarbeit von Helmut Claus. Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1965.
Kuczynski	Kuczynski, Arnold. *Verzeichnis einer Sammlung von nahe zu 3000 Flugschriften Luthers und seiner Zeitgenossen.* Niewkoop: B. de Graaf, 1960. Reprint of the edition Leipzig, 1870-1874.
STC	Pollard, A.W. *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640.* Reprint. London: Bibliographical Society, 1969-1976.
Wing	Wing, Donald. *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700.* 2d ed. New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1972- .

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[1] I was not able to consult Hans-Joachim Köhler's catalog of Reformation pamphlets, currently in process (*Bibliographie der Flugschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts* [Tübingen: Bibliotheca Academica Verlag, 1991-]).

I have divided these books into three groups: those dealing with the German Protestant Reformation (#1-10, mostly sixteenth century), the English Protestant Reformation (#11-18, mostly seventeenth century), and the Catholic reaction to the Reformation (#19-26, mostly sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).[2] Some books were difficult to place, but I considered the thematic unity useful for purposes of discussion, i.e., #8-10, English translations of Luther, and #20, a pamphlet written by one of Luther's teachers, who died early in the Reformation. Within each group the books are listed by date of publication.

Two eighteenth-century works have been included (#17-18, Sir Isaac Newton's book on the prophecies of Daniel, and #25, a French translation of Paolo Sarpi's history of the Council of Trent), since they were written by seventeenth-century authors and are characteristic of the Reformation interest in biblical interpretation and current church reform.

Nearly all of the sixteenth-century works, as far as I have been able to tell, were collected by Dr. William Landeen, former president of La Sierra College and a scholar in Reformation history. Others, as an investigation of library records and the books themselves revealed, traveled a variety of courses *en route* to La Sierra University. I have included detailed notes on the history and provenance of individual copies where I have been able to discover them. This is more than a matter of bibliographic interest; it is a reminder that books exist not only at the time of their creation and at the present time, but through all the years between as well, touching many lives in their passage through the centuries. The most obvious examples in the present list are #16 (owned by a Bible teacher at Walla Walla College early in this century) and #17 (once in the reference library of the Pacific Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Church). Most of the Reformation pamphlets have at least some notes or underlining, perhaps by their original purchasers, and in many cases reminiscent of annotations I have seen in present-day scholars' libraries.

The bibliographic descriptions are generally modeled on Philip Gaskell's directions.[3] Some notes on the limits of typography:

[n] and other letters in parentheses indicate expansion of abbreviations in the text.

ñ indicates n-with-overscore, *not* the Spanish letter ñ.

ê indicates e-with-overscore.

ſ indicates long "s."

// indicates a slanted hyphen-pair (used as we would use a hyphen today).

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[2]I have deliberately avoided the term "Counter-Reformation" here as it generally applies to Catholicism after the Council of Trent, and three of these Catholic works predate the Council.

[3]Philip Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

/ indicates a slash, used as punctuation (much like a modern period or line break).

| indicates a line break.

Underlining indicates text of a different color (usually red).

Italics indicate text in italics.

Bold face indicates text in gothic (does not include bolded subheadings).

<div align="center">

Section A: The German Reformation

</div>

1.   **Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.**

Ein Sermon von der Be//|trachtung des hailigen leydens Chriſti/ | Doctor Martini Luther zu | Wittenberg.

Collation: 4° A⁶ [$4 signed; -A1].

Title page has woodcut showing the Crucifixion surrounded by four panels (grapes, flowers, and birds, probably ornamental).

No colophon.

Aland 408. Not in Benzing or Kuczynski.

Comment: The book is undated and may be a later reprint of the sermon in question, which was reprinted numerous times. A label on the binding attributes it to 1519, but many editions were printed in later years.

2.   **Karlstadt, Andreas Bodenstein von, 1480-1541.**

Von gerueychtem | Waſſer und Saltz: | Do. Andreas Carl | ſtat Wider den | unuerdienten | Gardian | Franciſcus Seyler.

Colophon: Getruckt als manzalt nach Christus geburt | M D XX.

Collation: 4°: A-D⁴ [$3; -A1; D4 blank].

[16] leaves.

Ornamental woodcut border around title.

Comment: Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, a fellow instructor of Martin Luther's at Wittenberg, was one of the most influential publicists of the Reformation. During the period of 1518-1525, he was second only to Luther himself in the number of works and editions printed. This pamphlet, a polemic against the Catholic practice of blessing water and salt, dates from shortly before the height of Karlstadt's influence.[4]

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[4]See *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation,* s.v. "Sacramentals," for a discussion of the practice of blessing various items (Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed. [New York: Oxford University Press, 1996]). Peter Matheson discusses Andreas Karlstadt at some length in chap. 2 of *The Rhetoric of the Protestant Reformation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998).

3.   **Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.**

Auff das ubirchriſt|lich | ubirgeyſtlich. und ubirkunſt//|lich buch Bocks Emſzers zu | Leypczick Antwortt | D.M.L. | Darynn auch Murnarrs ſeynſs | geſelln gedacht wirt. | Lieber Bock ſtoſz mich nit.

Colophon: Gedruckt zu Wittembergt durch Johan: Grunenbergt | Nach Christ geburt / Tausent funff hundert und eyn und zwentzigſten Jar.

Collation: 4°: A-K⁴ [$3, -A1].

[40] leaves.

No illustrations.

Aland 190. Kucyznski 1422. Probably Benzing 868, but identification not certain.

Some marginal notes in a probably sixteenth-century hand.

Comment: One of Luther's responses to Hieronymus Emser (1478-1527), a noted Catholic controversialist of the time, whose writings and influence did not outlast his death. Probably connected with the controversy over Luther's *An den christlichen Adel*.

4.   **Von Hutten, Ulrich, 1488-1523.**

DIALOGI | HVTTENICI | *novi, perquam* | *feſtiui* | BVLLA, *vel Bullcida.* | MONITOR *primus.* | MONITOR *ſecundus.* | PRAEDONES. | [Around woodcut of a man in armor: VLR. AB | HVTT. GERM. | LIBERT. | PROPVGNAT.] | IACTA EST ALEA.

No colophon.

Collation: 4°: A-H⁴I⁶ [$3; +I4; -A1; G3 missigned E3].

Not in Kuczynski.

Comment: This is written as a dialogue with five speakers, listed as "*Libertas Germana, Bulla, Huttenus, Franciscus, & nonnulli Germani.*"

   Ulrich von Hutten was one of the major figures on the political side of the Reformation. A German humanist and neo-Latin poet, he was mostly interested in German nationalism, but his politics and Luther's theology reinforced and confirmed each other. Von Hutten made extensive use of classical models, reintroducing the dialogue form into the pamphlet literature of the Reformation.[5] After 1520 he wrote mostly in German rather than Latin; this 1521 Latin dialogue on Leo X's bull is, therefore, somewhat of an aberration. The typography of this book is done after Italian models rather

   [5]*Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, s.v. "Pamphlets" and "Hutten, Ulrich von." James V. Mehl discusses some aspects of Ulrich von Hutten's use of humor in "Language, Class, and Mimic Satire in the Characterization of Correspondents in the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*," *SCJ* 25 (1994): 289-305.

than German; the use of Julius Caesar's motto, "The die is cast," on the front cover further reinforces the impression that perhaps it was directed to Italian readers rather than German.

5.   Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Antwortt | deutʃch | Mart. Lu//|thers auff | König Henrichs von | Engelland buch. | Lügen thun myr nicht/ | Warheyt ʃchem ich nicht/

Colophon: **Gedruckt zu W. Hemberg / durch** | **Nickell Schyrlentz /** | **M.D. XXii.**

Collation: 4°: A-F⁴ [$3; -A1, E3].

[24] leaves.

Very ornate woodcut border around title.

German translation of Aland 280. Benzing 1228. Not in Kuczynski.

Heavy underlining and other marks by a previous owner, probably sixteenth century.

Previous owners:
    Bookplate inside front cover, showing red and white helmet and shield.
    Purple ink stamp inside front and back covers: "Lib | <v>end | V.G." in a circle.

Comment: Luther's response to the treatise *In Defense of the Seven Sacraments* by King Henry VIII of England.[6] The Reformer's spirit shows clearly in the last sentence: "Es soll disiem Evangelio das ich Marti Luther predige habe, weychen und unterligen Bapst, Bischoff, Pfaffen, Münch, Könige, Fürsten, teuffel tod, sund, und alles was nicht Christus und ynn Christo ist, dafür soll sie nichts helffen."

6.   Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Ein Brieff D. | Mart. Luthers / von | den Schleichern vnd Win/|ckel predigern. | Wittemberg. | M D XXXII.

Colophon: **Gedruckt zu Wittemberg** | **durch Nickel Schir//|lentz.**

Collation: 4°: A-C⁴ [$3; -A1; C4 blank].

[12] leaves.

On the title page, four woodcuts: Judith with the head of Holofernes,

    [6] For a discussion of the pamphlet war sparked by Luther's exchange with Henry VIII, in which none of the parties came off well, see Neelak Serawlook Tjernagel, *Henry VIII and the Lutherans: A Study in Anglo-Lutheran Relations from 1521 to 1547* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1965), 17-33.

David just after beheading Goliath, and two court scenes showing a dinner and a dance respectively.

Aland 772. Kucyznski 1745. Benzing 2993 (possibly 2994).

Comment: Letter addressed to Eberhard von der Tannen.

7.   **Luther, Martin, 1483-1546; Jonas, Justus, 1493-1555.**

SVM//|MARIA D. MAR. | LVTHERI IN | Pʃalmos, Dauidis e germa. latine red//|dita per | IVSTVM IONAM. | VITEBERGAE | M. D. XXXIIII.

Colophon: AD LECTOREM I. IONAS. | SVMMARIA ita translata ʃunt, ut | permittente DOC MARTI//|NO, quibuʃdam locis ʃentent, & res, de | quibus author ʃentit, pro piis lectoribus | prolixius ʃint tradite. | Impreʃʃum Viteberge per Iohannem | Vveiʃs. D M XXX IIII.

Collation: A-M⁸N⁴O⁸ [$5; -A4, B4, C4, D4, I5, K4, K5, L4, M4, N4, O4; B2 missigned A2; leaves A8 and O8 removed]

[106] leaves.

Title page bordered in an ornate woodcut showing Saints Peter and Paul, the symbols of the four evangelists, God the Father, and two cherubs.

Probably a translation of Aland 595. Benzing 3055.

Ownership signature on top of title page: Ex bibliorhem S. oaʃham Ligarij Molgi < mrhi >
[Alas, mostly illegible]

Previous owners:
     Note inside back cover: "Lacks blanks A8 + O8 | 7/22/72 LBS. Fredericksburg, Va, | 5.14." Probably from 1972 just before Dr. Landeen purchased this book.

Handwritten marginal notes in Latin, partly cut off by subsequent trimming in a rebinding. At the beginning of the commentary on each Psalm someone has written the opening line in Latin. The hand(s) involved is (are) probably sixteenth century.

Comment: The Reformation rapidly became not just a German movement, but one which concerned all of European society. Luther addressed himself to the international community of scholars and clerics (who were not yet fully distinct) as much as to the people of Germany. This required presentation in languages known outside of Germany.

     Justus Jonas was primarily an administrator rather than a scholar. A German humanist initially in favor of Erasmus's moderate approach, he

served as Dean of Theology at Wittenberg during the tumultuous years from 1523 to 1533. His output as a translator was considerable and included vernacular translations of Luther's *De servo arbitrio* and Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*, as well as translations from German into Latin, such as this commentary on the Psalms. The colophon assures the reader that the translation was done with Luther's permission and filled out with additional material presumably not in the German edition.

8, 9. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

A | COMMEN- | TARIE OF M. DOCTOR | MARTIN LVTHER VPON THE EPISTLE | of St. Paule to the Galathians, firſt collected and gathered word | by word out of his preaching, & now out of Latine faith- | fully translated into Engliſh for the vnlearned. | *Wherein is ſet foorth most excellently the glorious riches of Gods | grace & power of the Goſpell, with the difference bewene the Law & | the Goſpell, and ſtrength of faith declared: to the ioyfull comfort and | confirmation of all true Christian beleuers, eſpecially ſuch as inward-|ly being afflicted and grieued in conſcience, doe hunger and thirſt | for iustification in Chriſt Ieſu. For whoſe cauſe most | chiefly this booke is tranſlated and printed, | and dedicated to the ſame.* | [...] | Diligently reuiſed, corrected, and newly imprinted againe | by Thomas Vautroullier dwelling within the | Blacke friers by Ludgate for | William Norton. | 1588.

Collation: 4° : A⁶B-2P⁸ [$4; -A1].

[6], 296 folios.

Preface by Edwinus London, 1575.

Text in Gothic type; marginal notes and biblical quotations in Roman.

Woodcut on the title page shows an ornate wreath around an anchor with text ANCHORA SPEI.

Woodcut at end of book, head with florals and initials "T. V.," probably a printer's device.

STC 16968. Translation of Aland 228 or 229.

La Sierra University has two copies of this book. Copy 1 has leather page tabs added at the start of the commentary on chapters 2 (f. 42) and 3 (f. 92); tabs once existed for chapters 4 (f. 178), 5 (f. 231), and 6 (f. 275) but have been torn out or removed over the years. Copy 2 has no sign of tabs, but lost about one-half of its margin height due to trimming during rebinding, which removed most of the running headers and foliation.

Previous owners, #8 (copy 1):
    Signature on title page: Willᵐ Short | Ejus Liber | 1744.
    Signature on title page: Lockier | 1784.

Signature on title page: Edwd Wade 1804.

Signature on title page: Edwd Wade | His Book | 1807 [name and date crossed out].

Previous owners, #9 (copy 2):

Signature on title page: Rector de Radwei [name removed by trimming].

Signature opposite front cover: Jno. D. Ellis.

10. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

A COMMEN- | TARIE OF M. DOCTOR | MARTIN LVTHER VPON THE | EPISTLE OF S. PAVL TO | THE GALATHIANS: | First collected and gathered word by word out of his prea- | ching, and now out of Latine faithfully tranſlated | into Engliſh for the vnlearned. | *Wherein is ſet forth moſt excellently the glorious riches of Gods grace, and | the power of the Gospell, with the difference betweene the Law and the Goſ\pell, & the confirmation | of all the Chriſtian beleeuers, eſpecially ſuch as inwardly being afflicted and grieued in conſcience do hunger and thirſt for iuſtification in Christ | Ieſu. For whoſe cauſe, most chiefly this booke is tranſlated | and printed, and dedicated to the ſame.* | [...] | *LONDON,* | Imprinted by RICHARD FIELD dwelling in Great Woodſtreete. 1616.

Collation: 4°: A⁴B-2P⁸ [$4, -A1, A4; 2C4 missigned 2E4].

[4], 296 f.

Preface: Edwinus London, 1575.

STC 16973.

Extensive handwritten notes opposite the title page.

Previous owners:

Signature on title page: Ralph Good price.[7]

Comment: This edition appears to have been typeset directly from the 1588 version, or one very similar to it. For the most part, the two books are line for line identical, and even occasional variations late in a quire are kept within that quire. It is unlikely that the two were printed from the same type, since there are minor but consistent changes in spelling, and an occasional variation in typeface.[8] The title page and closing woodcuts are identical, with the exception of the removal of the initials "T.V." from the

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[7]It is unclear if Ralph's name was Mr. Goodprice, or if he was commenting on his ease in purchasing the book, but the former appears more likely.

[8]Printers rarely kept type standing between editions of a book because few had enough type to set up an entire book at once, according to Philip Gaskell (*New Introduction to Bibliography* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972], 116-117).

closing woodcut, and may represent reuse of the same blocks.

The recurring printing of Luther's commentary on Galatians (9 translations listed in STC from 1575 to 1626, a full quarter of his works published in England) shows considerable interest in his ideas on justification.[9] Note that these copies continued to be used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Section B: The English Reformation

11. Wilson, Thomas, 1563-1622.

A | CHRISTIAN | DICTIONARY. | Opening the ſignification of the chiefe Words | diſperſed generally through Holy Scriptures of | the Old and New Teſtament, tending to | increaſe Chriſtian knowledge. | Whereunto is an- | nexed, a Parti- | cular Dictionary | For the REVELATION of S. Iohn. | For the CANTICLES or Song of Salomon. | For the Episſtle to the HEBREWES. | The ſecond Edition. | Augmented by Addition of divers thouſands of Words, | Phraſes, and Significations, and by explication of the Leuiti- | call Rites: Alſo, of moſt difficult and ambiguous ſpeeches, | with farre more profitable Annotations then before. | By Tho. Wilſon, Miniſter of the Word at S. Georges in Canturbury. | [...] | LONDON, | Printed by William Iaggard, dwelling in Barbican. 1616.

Collation: 12° : A⁸π⁸B-3I⁸3K⁶ [$4; -A1, A2].

872 p.

First two supplementary dictionaries each begin with a woodcut including the English royal arms. Woodcut of a head surrounded by floral pattern repeats on pp. 583, 688, 704, 717, 747, 755, 784, and 813, suggesting that a single block was reused multiple times during the printing process.

Frequent marginal notes in several hands. Considerable marking, notation, and underlining of words.

Previous owners:

Signature inside front cover: ffor Mʳ William Thomas in Bristoll.

Signature in front endpapers: John L. Folcrofte.

Signature on title page: Jo: Thomaſ.

Comment: This is the second edition of the earliest alphabetically organized English dictionary of the Bible. Dictionaries, indexes, concordances, and many other tools of modern scholarship were first developed for preaching and the study of religion.[10] Thomas Wilson must

[9]Cf. A. G. Dickens for a useful summary on the impact of Luther and the doctrine of justification by faith on the English (The English Reformation [New York: Shocker, 1964], 59-62).

[10]Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the

have found this useful in the preparation of the three or four sermons he preached each week.

Note that the William Jaggard who printed this book also printed the Shakespeare First Folio in 1621. However, the edition of the *Christian Dictionary* which overlapped with the Folio's printing and provided Charlton Hinman with some valuable clues is the third edition, not the second, which is the one in La Sierra's possession.[11]

12. Taylor, Thomas, 1576-1633.

A | COMMENTARIE | *UPON THE EPISTLE* | of Saint Paul written to | *TITVS.* | *Preached in* Cambridge *by* Thomas Taylor, and now publi∫hed for the further | *use of the Church of God.* | REVIEWED BY THE AVTHOR, | *and enlarged with ∫ome notes, and be∫ides the addition of many* | hundreths of places of Scripture, with an Alphabe-|*ticall table of the cheife and mo∫t ob∫eruable* | points contained in the | *Booke.* | [...] | PRINTED BY CANTRELL LEGGE, PRIN-|*ter to the Uniuer∫itie of* Cambridge. 1619.

Collation: 4° : π-2π⁴A-3A⁸3B⁴3C² [$4; -π1, π4, 2π4, 3B4, 3C2, 3C3, 3C4]

[16], 751, [15] p.

No illustrations.

STC 23826.

Previous owners:

Illegible signature on title page.

Bookplate inside front cover: standing lion, bearing a halberd, on a masonry crown; beneath are ornate initials KH. Probably eighteenth century.

Comment: The Reformation involved not only discussions among academics, but the extensive communication of the new doctrines to the common folk. Preachers employed both the spoken and written word in the endeavor, and frequently published collections of their sermons.[12]

A question of the later Reformation (for instance, the early seventeenth century in England) was what form the new Protestantism would take after the split with Rome. Thomas Taylor was a Puritan, part of the wing of the English church which believed that practice and ritual, as well as doctrine,

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Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979).

[11]For details, see Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 1:20.

[12]A practice observed as late as the 1960s in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, judging by the printed sermon pamphlets in the collections of the La Sierra University Heritage Room. The custom appears to have been replaced by audiotaping of sermons and more lately by videotaping.

needed to be purified of any lingering traces of Roman practices. Hence he was known for both Puritanism and anti-Catholicism.[13]

13. Fisher, Ambrose, d. 1617.

A | DEFENCE | OF THE | LITVRGIE | OF *The* Church *of* England, | OR | *Booke* of *Common Prayer.* | *In a dialogue betweene* NOVATVS, AND IRENÆUS. | BY | *Ambrose Fisher,* sometimes of | TRINITIE Colledge in | *CAMBRIDGE.* | [...] | *LONDON;* | Printed by *W.S.* for *Rupert Milbourne* in | *Pauls* Church-yard at the signe of | the Greyhound. 1630.

Collation: 4° : π-2π⁴A⁴-2R⁴[$2;+B3, C3, D3, E3, F3, G3, H3, J3, R3, X3, Z3, 2J3, 2R3; 2H3 missigned as H3]

309 p. Woodcut border on title page, done in red and black.

STC 10885.

Previous owners:
    Almost illegible signature inside front leaves:
R<..>r<.>ra<..> M<..>h<..>a<.>h.

    Bookplate inside front cover: Catharine F. Boyle (probably nineteenth century).

Comment: The book is dedicated to Sir Robert Filmer, otherwise known for his theory of the divine right of kings, who had custody of the manuscript and arranged for its publication after the death of the author. Ambrose Fisher appears to have been raised a Puritan but gone over to the Anglican school while a student at Cambridge. The dedication describes this as the first defense of the entire Book of Common Prayer against Puritan assaults, but Fisher also covers the Anglican use of the apocryphal books of the Bible and several other issues which divided them from the Puritans.

    In the dialogue, Novatus presents the Puritan view, while Irenaeus defends the Anglican status quo.[14] Readers will remember that both names come from early church history, where Irenaeus was a loyal defender of Christianity and Novatus one of the early schismatics. This marks a stage in the Reformation where both sides were looking to the practice and history of the early church for examples, as well as in the Bible. An interesting typographic device is that Novatus speaks in roman type, with emphasized words indicated in italic, while Irenaeus speaks in gothic type, with emphasized words indicated in roman.

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[13]*Dictionary of National Biography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1937-1939), s.v. "Taylor, Thomas."

[14]John F. H. New provides a useful discussion of the various differences between Puritans and Anglicans (*Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of Their Opposition, 1558-1640* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964]).

14. Lynde, Humphrey, 1579-1636.

UIA DEVIA : | THE | BY-WAY: | Miſ-leading the *weake* and *vn-* | *ſtable* into *dangerous paths* of Error, | by colourable ſhewes of Apo- | cryphall *Scriptures*, vnwritten | Traditions, *doubtfull* Fathers, | ambiguous *Councells*, and | pretended Catholike | *Church* | Diſcovered By HVMFREY LYNDE, Knight | [...] | LONDON, Printed by Aug. M. for ROB MIL- | BOVRNE, and are to be ſold at his | shop at the Grayhound in *Pauls* | Churchyard. 1630.

Collation: 12°: A^{12}a-b^{12}B-2F^{12}2G^6 [$5; -A1, S2, 2G5]

[72], 684 p.

Occasional ornamental woodcuts.

STC 17095.

Previous owners:

    Signature inside front cover: Robt Marriott.

Comment: Theological debates were often carried out in pamphlet exchanges, which last for years; this is part of one such exchange. Sir Humphrey Lynde had published a book called *Via Tuta* ("The Safe Way") in 1628, extolling the Protestant view; several Catholic responses inspired him to publish a more direct attack. Both *Via Tuta* and *Via Devia* were translated into French and published in 1645; the Reformation was still at this time an international affair, with ideas crossing national boundaries.[15]

15. Andrewes, Lancelot, 1555-1626.

THE | PATTERN | OF | CATECHISTICAL DOCTRINE | AT LARGE: | OR | A Learned and Pious Expoſition | Of the Ten COMMANDMENTS, | With An INTRODUCTION, Containing the Uſe and Benefit of Catechizing; the generall Grounds of | Religion, and the truth of Chriſtian Religion in particular; | proved againſt ATHEISTS, PAGANS, | JEWS, and TURKS. | By the Right Reverend Father in God | *LANCELOT ANDREWS*, late Biſhop of | WINCHESTER, | perfected according to the Authors own Copy, and | thereby purged from many thouſands of Errours, | Defects, and Corruptions, which were in a | rude imperfect Draught formerly publiſhed, | as appears in the Preface to the Reader. | [...] | LONDON, | Imprinted by *Roger Norton*, and are to be ſold by *George Badger*, | at his Shop in S. *Dunſtans* Church-yard in *Fleet Street.* | *Anno Dom.* 1650.

Collation: 2° : tp π-2π⁴ A-3V⁴3X^2 [$2, -3X2; 3H2 missigned 3H].

[15]For complete details and names of the authors and books involved in this exchange, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Lynde, Sir Humphrey."

[34], 530, [2] p.

Ornamental woodcuts pp. 191, 399, 427, and 520.

Each commandment's exposition begins with a floral woodcut and enlarged initial.

Wing A3147.

Previous owner:

    Presentation plate inside front cover: Presented to Fulton Memorial Library, La Sierra College, by Mrs. J. G. Gjording.

Comment: Lancelot Andrewes was one of the foremost divines of England, highly thought of by three royal courts and most of his contemporaries, as prelate, preacher, and writer, and known for his principles and scholarship. He published little in his lifetime, being too busy with preaching and church administration, but many works bearing his name were published after his death.[16] A noted reference source describes this particular one as "his ideas put into shape by others."[17] The Preface to this book gives a fairly full description of the process, and begs the reader's indulgence for printers' errors.

16.

POPERY | Not Founded on | SCRIPTURE: | OR, | The TEXTS which PAPISTS | cite out of the BIBLE, for | the Proof of the Points of | **Their Religion,** | EXAMIN'D, | And ſhew'd to be alledged without Ground. | *LONDON.* | Printed for **Richard Chiſwell**, at the Roſe and Crown | in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard. MDCLXXXVIII.

Title enclosed in double rules.

4°: $A^4(A2+\text{ç}1)$B-F^{4}G^{2}H-N^{4}O^{2}P-S^{4}T^{2}V^4-2G^{4}2H^{2}2I-2N^{4}2O^{2}2P-2R^{4}2S^{2}2T-2X^{4}2Y^{2}2Z-3L^{4}3M^{2}3N-3T^{4}3V^2 [missing 3X-4S]4T-4Z^{4}5A^{2}5B-5M^{4}5N^{2}5O-5R^{4}5S^{2}5T-5Y^{4}5Z^{2}6A-6L^4.[\$2; -A1, A2, G2, O2, T2, 2H2, 2O2, 2S2, 2Y2, 3A2, 3M2, 3V2, 5A2, 5Z2].

[6], 5-880, [48] p.

Wing P2924B.

This book was originally issued as a series of twenty-five separate parts, each with its own imprimatur ranging from 2 February 1687 [1688 NS] to 3 December 1688. The signatures, however, indicate that they were intended to be bound as a single book, for which a title page, preface, and

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[16]Peter McCullough discusses the posthumous editing of Andrewes's work ("Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642," *The Historical Journal* 4 [1998], 401-424).

[17]*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Andrewes, Lancelot." A perusal of the complete article is most rewarding.

table of contents were supplied. Most of the parts are treatises attempting to refute one or another of Bellarmine's views.

The La Sierra copy is missing pp. 489-640 (quires 3X-4S), which compose two two-part tracts dealing with "Satisfaction" and "Purgatory."

Previous owners:[18]

> Signature on title page: Jenkin Owens.
> Signature opposite title page: O. A. Johnson.
> Bookplate inside front cover: A. C. Harder.

17, 18. Newton, Isaac, 1642-1727.

OBSERVATIONS | UPON THE | PROPHECIES | OF | *DANIEL,* | AND THE APOCALYPSE | OF St. *JOHN.* | In Two PARTS. | By Sir *ISAAC NEWTON.* | *LONDON,* | Printed by J. DARBY and T. BROWNE in *Bartholomew-Cloſe* | [...] | M.DCC.XXXIII.

Collation: 4° : A-2S⁴2T²; [$2, -1, S1, 2R2, 2T2]

vi, [2], 323, [1] p.
La Sierra University Library has two copies.

Previous owners, #17:

> Bookplate inside front cover: Pacific Press Publishing Association Library.[19]

Comment: Newton's interest in biblical prophecy is less well known than his scientific activities. This book is mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as "a historical exegesis, unmarked by any mystical short-circuiting of the rational process or direct communication from the godhead."[20]

Section C: The Catholic Reaction

19.

Gabrielis Biel ſacre theſophie lice[n]//|tiati noſtre tempestatis p[ro]fundiſſimi ſacri | canonis miſſe tam myſtica q[ue] littera//|lis

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[18]O. A. Johnson (1851-1923) was a Bible teacher at Walla Walla College early in the twentieth century; A. C. Harder (1889-1983) was an Adventist elder in the third quarter of the twentieth century. Many books from both their collections are in the La Sierra University library. Johnson in particular had a considerable collection of early Adventist tracts.

[19]When the Pacific Press moved from Oakland, California, to Nampa, Idaho in 1984, La Sierra University—then part of Loma Linda University—acquired a large portion of its library. I remember cataloging some of the last few items from the donation in 1996.

[20]*Dictionary of National Biography*, 10:81. R. S. Westfall discusses Newton's interests in prophecy (*Science and Religion in Seventeenth-century England* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958], 215-216).

expoſitio : iamia[m] ſumma cu[m] dili | gentie iteru[m] atq[ue] iteru[m] reuiſa [et] | correcta : nihil de prioribus | omiſſis : aliquibus tu[nc] | in colu[m]nis : tu[nc] in mar | ginibus additis : q[ui] | bus facilius ea q[uam] nitit[t overscored] lector in// | venire pot[est]

Colophon: Gabrielis Biel ſacre canonis miſſer tam lit/ | teralis q[ue] myſtica expoſitio / iamiam diligentiori | modo qua[m] huc uſq[ue] calcothypis notulis : a ma/ | gistro Jacobo Pforczenſe Baſilee co[m]mendata : | octauo Kale[n]das marcias. anno partus virginei | milleſimo quingenteſimo decimo[21] / felici auſpia / ta est fine.

Collation: 2° : A-2J⁸2K-2L⁶1⁸2⁶ [$5; -A1, 2K5, 2L5, 25; R4 missigned R2; 26 blank]

cclxix, [xii] folios

Illustrated with several small woodcuts of the Crucifixion.

Comment: The colophon and a note in Lecture 19 ("datu[m] Baſ .1510. decimo kalen[ds] Februarias") indicate a date in 1510 OS (1511 NS), but a note from Dr. Landeen states that this edition was printed in 1512. It seems barely possible that a lecture given in January could result in the entire book being typeset by late February. Thus the 1512 date seems reasonable.

The book is printed in a style very similar to that of medieval manuscripts, which was generally used in the half-century or so following the invention of printing and must have been old-fashioned by the time of publication. This is an example of the world soon to be shattered by the Protestant Reformation.

One interesting note: this is the only work I have ever seen dated in the style "in the year of the virgin birth"; the more usual style is *anno domini* .

20. Von Staupitz, Johann, 1460/69-1525.

Vo[n] der liebe got | tes ein wu[n]der hübsch un | derrichtung / beschriben durch D. Johan Stau | pitz / bewert unnd approbiert durch D. | Martinum Luther / beyde Auguſtiner ordens /.

Colophon: Getructt zu Basel durch Adam | Petri / Anno M. D. xx.

Collation: 4° : A-C⁴D⁶ [$3; +D4; -A1]

18 leaves, unnumbered.

Woodcut on title page portraying the Trinity with Jesus on the cross, supported by the Father, with the dove of the Spirit descending from the clouds.

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[21]February 22, 1510 OS/1511 NS.

Ornamental woodcut surrounding title page.

Kuczynski 2560.

Comment: Johann von Staupitz, the ecclesiastical superior and spiritual advisor of the young Martin Luther, was influential in the Reformer's early career, encouraging him to take a doctorate in theology and later releasing him from his vows of obedience during the debate in Augsburg so he could defend himself more effectively. While some of Staupitz's views (notably his emphasis on God's initiative in the election of the believer) influenced Luther, Staupitz grew increasingly dissatisfied with his pupil and remained on the Catholic side of the growing split in the church until his death a few years after this pamphlet was written.[22]

21. 1521, Hessus, Simon, fl. 1521.

Argument diſes biechleins. | Symon Hessus zeigt an Doctori Martino Lu|ther urſach / warumb die Lutherische biecher vo[n] den Colo//|nienſern un[d] Louanienſern verbrent worden ſein /dañ | Martinus hat das begert iñ einem biechlein / dar|iñ er urſach sagt mit .xxx. articklen im [m overscored] geists//|liche[n] Recht begriffen / warumb er dem | Bapſt seine Recht zu Witten//|berg verbrennt hatt. | Auch eyn | newer zuſatz inn|etlichen articklen begriffen. | Frag und antwort Symonis Hessi/| und Martini Lutheri/ newlich mit//|einander zu Worms gehal//|ten/nit unlieplich | zuleſen.

Collation: 4° : A-F⁴G⁶ [$3 signed; +G4; -A1]

[30] leaves.

Not in Kuczynski. Similar to Kuczynski 1020 and 1021, but includes a dialogue between Luther and Simon Hessus at Worms which is not in those editions, titled: Dialogus nit unlustig zulesen / newlich von Mar/|tino Luther / und Simone Hesso /| zu Worms geschehen.

The two works were obviously printed together, since the last page of the first and the first page of the second are printed on opposite sides of leaf F1, and the signature numbering is continuous throughout.

Extensive marginal notes in Latin, apparently by a Protestant reader, in a sixteenth-century hand.

22.

CATECHISMVS | EX DECRETO | CONCILII | TRIDENTINI | AD PAROCHOS. | PII V. PONT. MAX. | IVSSV EDITVS. | Parmae, Typis Eraſmi Viothi. | *Ex licentia Superioru[m].* 1588.

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[22]*Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, s.v. "Staupitz, Johann von."

Collation: 8° : π⁸A-2K⁸; [$4 signed; -π1; R4 missigned S4]

500, [28] p.

Preface headed: ALDVS MANUVTIVS LECTORI, and dated Venice, 1575.

Previous owner:

Blue oval ink stamp on title page: BIBLOTH. CAT SUITH.

Explication in the order: Apostle's Creed, Sacraments, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer.

Comment: This is the first illustrated Catholic catechism, and very professionally done. Each chapter starts with an illustration. The section on the Apostles' Creed shows the apostle traditionally responsible for each clause, and each sacrament, commandment, and section of the Lord's Prayer has an illustration of the action or quality discussed in the chapter. There are also a good index and table of contents at the rear of the book.

23. 1609, Smith, Richard, Bishop of Chalcedon, 1566-1655.

THE PRVDENTIALL | BALLANCE OF | RELIGION, | Wherin the Catholike and Proteſtant religion are | weighed together with the weights of | Prudence, and right Reaſon. | [...] | Printed vvith Licence. 1609.

Collation: 8°: a⁸e⁸i⁸A-2K⁸ [$5 signed; -e4, e5, i4, D3, D5, Q4, X5, Z5, 2a3, 2A5, 2B5, 2C5, 2D5, 2E5, 2F5, 2G5, 2H5, 2I5, 2K5, 2L5, 2M5, 2N5, 2O5, 2P5]

[48], 598 p.

STC 22813

Previous owners:

Initials on title page: W.B.

Marginal note at end: Librte Jacobus Holdforth est AD 1632.

Richard Smith was a prominent English Catholic, who studied under Cardinal Bellarmine at the English College in Rome, and had a varied career as teacher, writer, and administrator. This book was written while he was in Paris with a group of other Catholics writing anti-Protestant literature for English consumption. Later Smith was chosen as the Papal vicar-apostolic for England and Scotland, and became much involved in resolving disputes among Catholics in England. His career does not seem to have been a success, due to his ability to provoke controversy among the Catholics and conflict with the English government; his term lasted only a few years, after which he retired to a convent in Paris.[23]

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[23]For the full story, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Smith, Richard, Bishop of Chalcedon."

24. 1686.

THE | HISTORY | OF | **Monastical Conventions** | AND | Military
Inſtitutions | With a SURVEY of the | COURT of *ROME.* | OR, | A
Deſcription of the Religious and Mili- | tary Orders in *Europe, Aſia,* and
Africa, for above | twelve hundred years, being a brief Account of | of
their Inſtitution, Confirmation, Rules, Habits, and manner of Living; the
Qualification of their | Institutors, and the time of their reſpective Inſti-
| tutions, extending to either sex, &c. Together | with a Survey of the
Court of *Rome,* &c. in all | the Great Offices, and Officers Eccleſiaſtical
| and Civil dependent thereon ; as alſo the Cere- | monies of the
Conſiſtories, Conclave and | thoſe that have been uſed in the Creation
of | Cardinals; Election of the High-Biſhop or Pope, | and his
Triumphant Coronation Proceſſion, and | that of his taking Poſſeſſion
of the *Lateran* Church in *Rome*; with what is obſerved in his | Sickneſs,
and the manner of Solemnizing his Fu- | neral Obſequies; with many
other things wor- | thy of Note, according to what has been re- | corded by
Candid Authors of divers Nations, and faithfully Collected | by *J.S.* |
LICENSED *May* 11. 1686. | *London,* Printed for *H. Rhodes* next door to
the | *Swan-Tavern* near *Bride-Lane* in *Fleet-ſtreet.* 1686

Collation: 12°: A-I¹² [$5 signed; -A1, A2, C4, F5; F5 possibly lost signature
due to trimming]

197 p. plus [4] p. of advertisements.

Title page woodcut showing the course of a monastic life, the fall of Jerusalem
to the Crusaders, and a Pontifical procession to the Lateran church.

Wing S66.

Comment: After reading the title, there is scarcely any need to explain the
book's contents. The authorship is uncertain; an examination of Wing
reveals several authors with the initials "J.S.," but none who can be
positively identified as our author. While it is possible that this book was
published as part of James II's campaign in favor of Catholicism, it
appears more likely that it was simply published for those curious about
foreign countries and ceremonies (several similar books by "J.S." do not
reveal a consistent interest or ideology).

25, 26. Sarpi, Paolo, 1552-1623.

HISTOIRE | DU | CONCILE | DE | TRENTE, | *ECRITE EN
ITALIEN* | PAR FRA-PAOLO SARPI, | de l'Ordre des Servites; | *ET
TRADUITE DE NOUVEAU EN FRANÇOIS,* | AVEC DES NOTES
CRITIQUES, HISTORIQUES ET THEOLOGIQUES, | PAR PIERRE-

FRANÇOIS   LE   COURAYER, | [...] | Suivant   l'*EDITION*
d'AMSTERDAM de 1736. | Avec Privilège. | TOME PREMIER | *A*
BASLE | Chez Jean BRANDMULLER & FILS | M. DCC. XXXVIII

HISTOIRE | DU | CONCILE | DE | TRENTE, | *ECRITE EN*
ITALIEN | PAR FRA-PAOLO SARPI, |de l'Ordre des Servites; | *ET*
TRADUITE DE NOUVEAU EN FRANÇOIS, | AVEC DES NOTES
CRITIQUES, HISTORIQUES ET THEOLOGIQUES, | PAR PIERRE-
FRANÇOIS   LE   COURAYER, | [...] | Suivant   l'*EDITION*
d'AMSTERDAM de 1736. | Avec Privilège. | TOME SECOND | *A*
BASLE | Chez Jean BRANDMULLER & FILS | M. DCC. XXXVIII

t. 1: 4°: $\pi^2(-\pi 2)2\pi^4 a$-$i^4 A^4$-$4S^4$; [\$3, -4S3]

[5] leaves, *i*, ii-lxxv, *i*, *1* 2-696 p.

t. 2: 4°: tp A-5O^4

[1] leaf, *1*-844, [4] p.

Extensive index in t. 2 (pp. 793-844).

Comment: Paolo Sarpi was a Venetian scholar with a considerable enmity
toward the Curia and the Jesuits. His history of the Council of Trent
included major attacks on the *Index* of prohibited books, and was soon listed
on the *Index* itself.[24] This French edition was published in the Protestant city
of Basel, either for the Protestant market or to be sold to French buyers
during one of the repeated Jansenist controversies of the eighteenth century.

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[24]For a discussion of Sarpi's role in helping Venice fight the last Papal interdict of 1605, see
John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice*, 512-517. An extensive discussion of the Venetian press,
Sarpi, and why his books were published mostly outside of Venice can be found in Elizabeth L.
Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations
in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 1:412-414.

Figure 1. Martin Luther, *Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des hailigen leydens Christi*, title page showing the Crucifixion (#1).
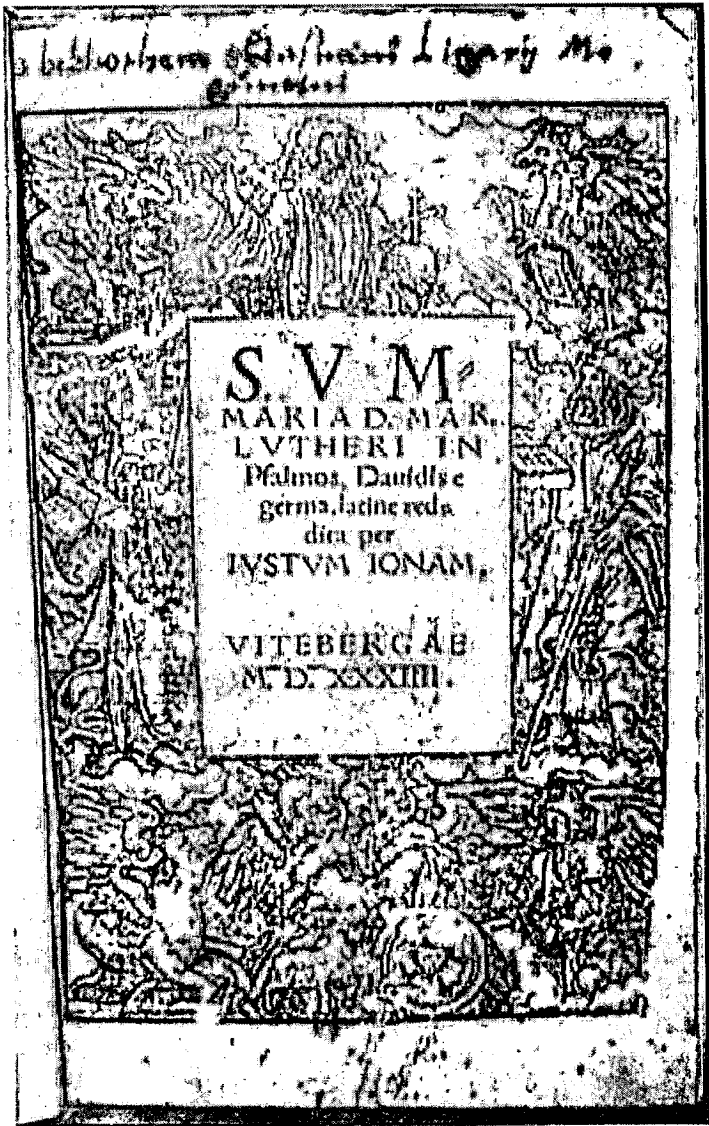
Figure 2. Martin Luther, *Summaria in Psalmos*, trans. Justus Jonas, 1534, title page (#2).

Figure 3. Martin Luther, *Ein Brieff...*, 1532, title page. The faint "1532" under the "MDXXXII" has been penciled in by a later hand (#6).
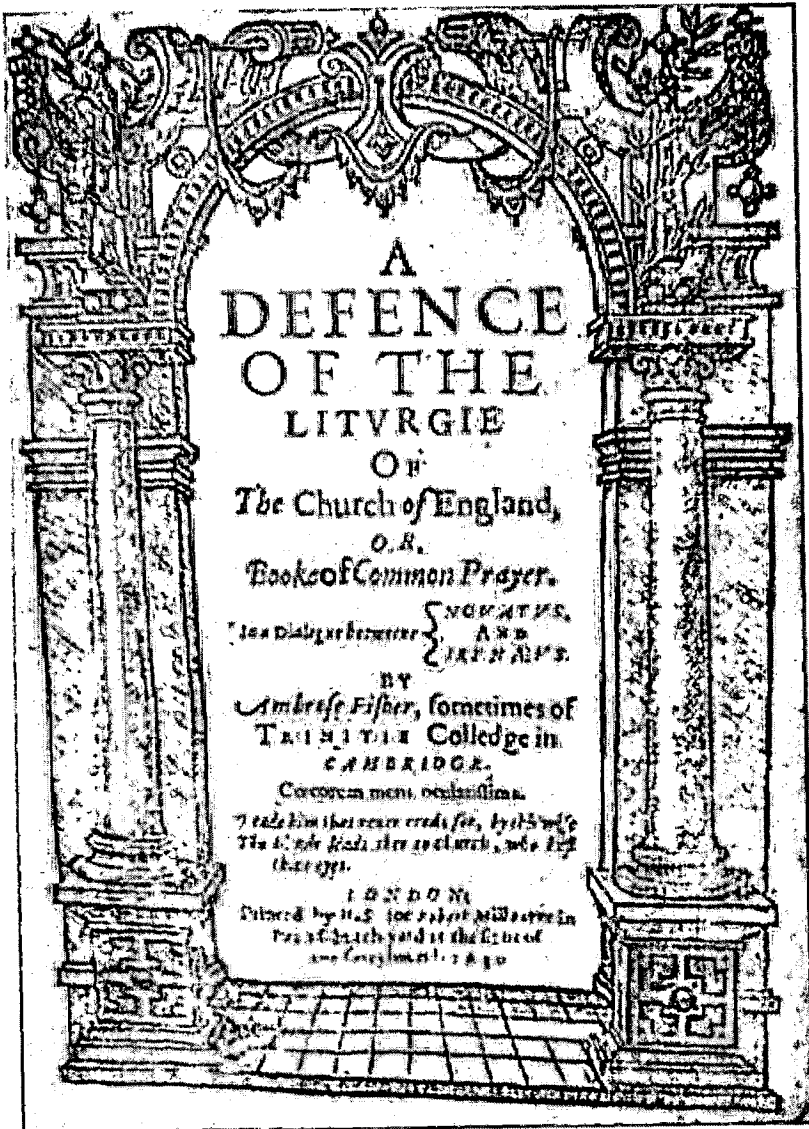
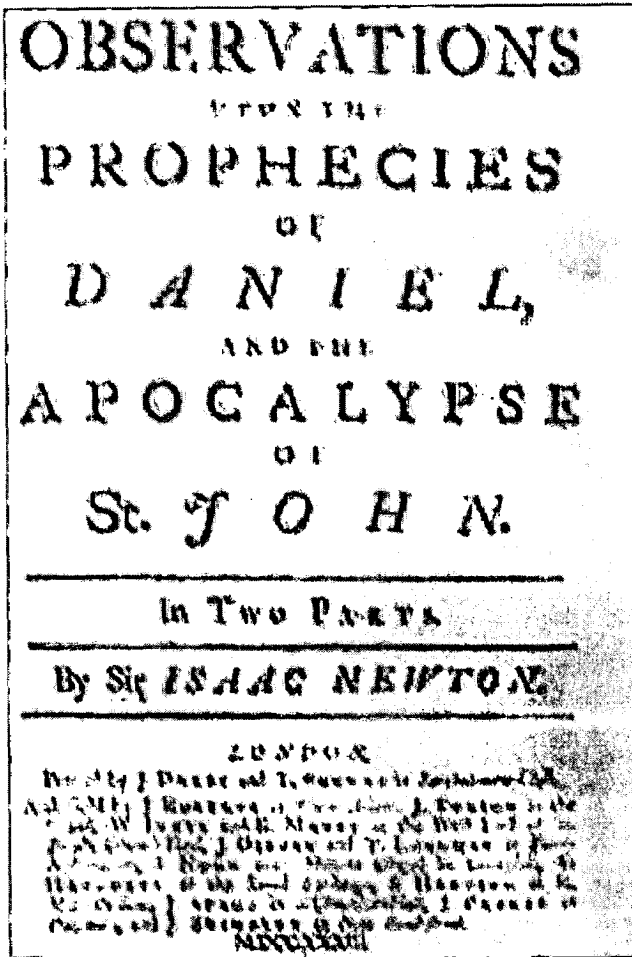**Figure 4.** Ambrose Fisher, *A Defence of the Liturgie of the Church of England*, title page showing red and black printing (#13).

Figure 5. Isaac Newton, *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John,* 1730, title page (#17).
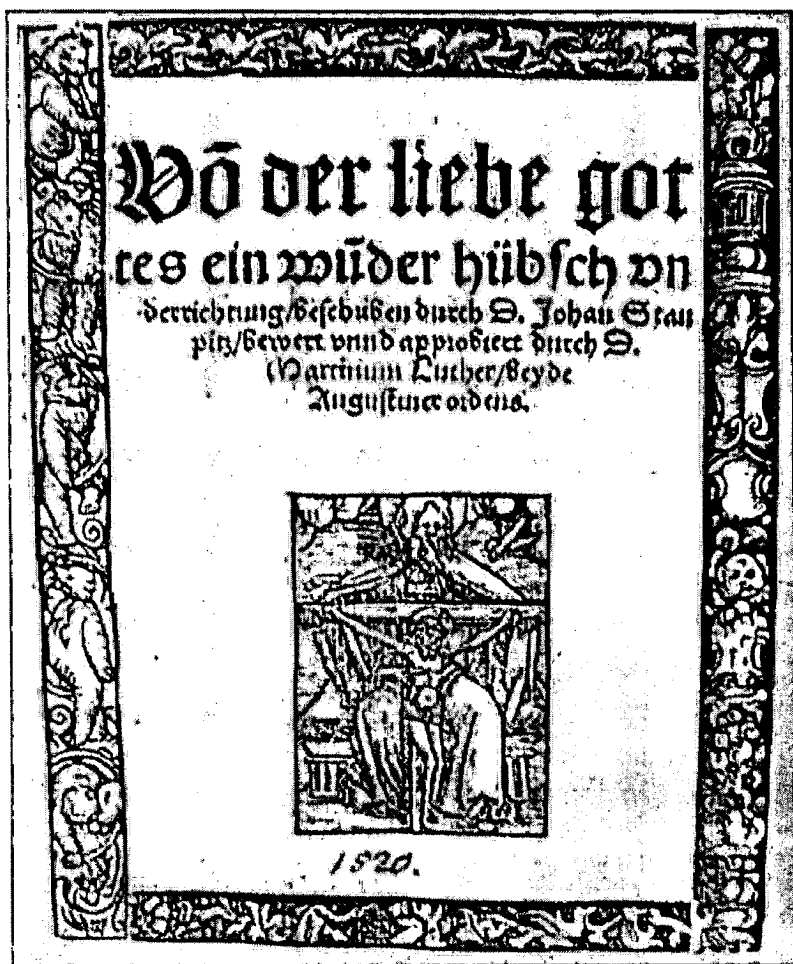
Figure 6. Johann Staupitz, *Von der liebe Gottes ein wunder hübsch underrichtung*, 1520, title page showing woodcut of the Trinity (#20).
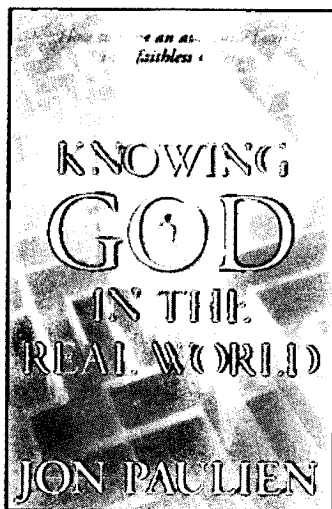
TRADITION AS A VIABLE OPTION FOR PROTESTANT THEOLOGY: THE VINCENTIAN METHOD OF THOMAS C. ODEN

Name of Researcher: Kwabena Donkor
Advisor: Fernando Luis Canale, Ph.D.
Date Completed: March 2001

This dissertation analyzes Thomas Oden's theological method in order to understand its structural elements. Thus it facilitates a clearer comprehension of his commitment to the classical Christian tradition in response to increasing emphasis on postmodernism in Protestant theology. Given Oden's affirmation of the Christian tradition and his simultaneous commitment to postmodern sensitivities, the dissertation strives to examine how he is able to harmonize what appears to be a dialectical situation. Although Oden's emphasis on tradition raises the perennial issue of Scripture versus Tradition, the postmodern question raises the issue beyond the usual Scripture-Tradition controversy to a fundamental concern regarding the compatibility of the postmodern agenda and the classical Protestant tradition.

The introductory chapter defines the problem which Oden's Vincentian method is designed to solve and delineates the objectives, method, and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of Oden's theological development, noting his major concerns and the influences that affected him. In this chapter Oden's shift from liberalism to classical orthodoxy is considered. Chapter 3 develops a formal, theoretical structure for understanding method in general. The formal structure developed in this chapter is subsequently applied in chapter 4 to describe and analyze Oden's Vincentian method.

The final chapter evaluates Oden's method in terms of the coherence of its parts and the consistency of its application. In this chapter, some tensions in the structure of Oden's method are noted, along with a few suggestions regarding adjustments that may need to be made to the system.

THE MAGISTERIUM AND THEOLOGIANS IN
THE WRITINGS OF AVERY ROBERT DULLES

Name of researcher: Dariusz W. Jankiewicz
Adviser: Raoul Dederen, Dr. es-Sc. Mor. (Ph.D.)
Date completed: July 2001

This study explores Avery Robert Dulles's views regarding the nature of doctrinal authority in the Roman Catholic Church, and particularly the relationship between the hierarchical magisterium and theologians, with special focus on the apparent disparity between his early post-Vatican II views and his recent views.

To attain this goal, Dulles's convictions were considered in the context of his theological system, without neglecting the presuppositions undergirding his ideas and the methodologies used to support them. To highlight contrasting positions, three periods are studied consecutively: the earliest writings, i.e.,those published before the end of the Second Vatican Council; the post-Vatican II publications, with particular emphasis on the seventies; and finally, his most recent writings, with specific emphasis on the nineties.

A brief introduction, delineating the objectives, method, and limitations of the study, is followed by a historical survey of developments in regard to doctrinal authority in the Church, with special emphasis upon the respective roles of the episcopate and theologians. The survey demonstrated that the Christian Church has struggled with the issue of doctrinal authority from its inception. This struggle intensified following the Second Vatican Council.

Chapters 3 and 4 contrast Dulles's early and recent thinking concerning the relationship between the magisterium and theologians. The early Dulles refuted the official view that revelation was mediated by a specially commissioned class of individuals, who alone were to be regarded as authoritative in the Church, and that the role of theologians was to reflect upon and defend authoritative statements. The recent Dulles believes that the remedy to the widespread damage wrought by post-Vatican II Catholic theology includes acceptance of the authority of the magisterium in its current form by Roman Catholic theologians and the admission of their dependence on authoritative Catholic sources.

The final chapter summarizes Dulles's views and suggests the reasons for his shift.

THE EVOLVING FACE OF GOD AS CREATOR: EARLY NINETEETH-CENTURY TRADITIONALIST AND ACCOMMODATIONIST THEODICAL RESPONSES IN BRITISH RELIGIOUS THOUGHT TO PALEONATURAL EVIL IN THE FOSSIL RECORD

Name of Researcher: Thane Hutcherson Ury
Advisor: John T. Baldwin, Ph.D.
Date Completed: April 2001

The Topic

From the early Reformation through the early 1800s, Gen 1-11 was consensually understood as providing a perspicacious, historical account of how God brought the world into being. Tenets of belief included six literal 24-hour days of creation and a catastrophic global Flood, and most often the conviction that Gen 1:31 implies that no evil of any type existed prior to the Fall. New geological interpretations in the early nineteenth century, however, pointed toward an earth history that seemed anything but *very good*, instead suggesting a harsh concatenation of deep-time prelapsarian pain, struggle, destruction of the weak, predation, diseases, plagues, catastrophic mass extinctions, and death in the subrational creation. Thus, a new theodical dimension arose which the church had not had to address prior to this time, i.e., paleonatural evil as posited by a deep-time interpretation of the fossiliferous portions of the geologic column. If those entities that are commonly labeled as natural evil are deciphered to have existed long before the arrival of humanity (and thus sharing no causal nexus with original sin), then believers would have to justify why they see the Creator as good in light of concomitants in his handiwork which seem *prima facie* so counterintuitive to how an omnibenevolent and omnipotent Creator might reasonably be expected to create.

The Purpose

Thus in the early nineteenth century, questions arose as to the compatibility of paleonatural evil with Gen 1-11 and an omnipotent, omnibenevolent Creator. To what extent would embracing an "evolver-God" impact the primary attributes of God such as omnibenevolence? Would traditional understandings of omnibenevolence need to be recalibrated to comport with a deep-time interpretation of the fossil record? Who were the first believers to recognize this as a potential theodicy issue, and how did they respond? The purpose of this study is to

assess the theodicies of some of the first thinkers to recognize and respond to the problem of paleonatural evil.

The Sources

Given this context this dissertation seeks to discover, codify, analyze, and assess the theodical formulations of two groups of early nineteenth-century British groups, i.e., the traditionalists and accommodationists. Do they see natural evil as intrusive or nonintrusive to the original created order? If the Fall is historical, to what extent was the created order impacted? Contrasting accounts of divine creative method between the traditionalists and accommodationists provide conceptual perspectives by which to trace the evolving face of God, i.e., to detect a changing understanding of his beneficence from the period of the Reformation to the early nineteenth century. Further, an attempt is made to adjudicate whether the theodicy of the traditionalists or accommodationists is more compatible with the early Protestant understandings of God's beneficence as revealed through his method of creation; and to surmise how the early nineteenth-century dialectic between these groups can inform the same debate in the third millennium, which, in the wake of two additional centuries of geological discoveries, will continue to amplify the dialogue on paleonatural evil.

Conclusion

Traditionalists and accommodationists, past and present, broach the problem of paleonatural evil quite differently. The present study highlights ten areas of contrast between these two groups of theists, perhaps the most important being how each deals with the question of what omnibenevolence and a *very good* created order mean if nature has been read in tooth and claw for deep time. When pondering the God of the *Lagerstätten*, is one likely to see a paternal, caring, loving Creator—the same omnibenevolent Creator revered by the early reformers? Considering the staggering levels of paleonatural evil yet to be revealed, it must be asked what concessions, if any, would be exacted of divine benevolence in order to preserve an all-loving God. Once the time-honored perspicuity of the Genesis account is allowed to be recalibrated by an extrabiblical philosophical yardstick, is evangelicalism setting a precedent for incremental accommodations to subsequent edicts of scientism? If evangelicals accept one inch of such a source as ultimate authority, what coherent rationale can be given for not going further?

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF 1 PETER WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON METHODOLOGY

Name of Researcher: Kenneth Keumsang Yoo
Advisor: W. Larry Richards, Ph.D.
Date Completed: May 2001

The Problem

Due to either methodological flaws or inadequate databases, Greek manuscripts of 1 Peter have not been satisfactorily examined. This study is an attempt to establish a better textual-critical method and to apply it to a larger database. The method identifies new quantitative analysis techniques that are necessary to establish the tentative groups used for profiling manuscripts.

The Method

The method used for the classification of Greek manuscripts of 1 Peter combines the computer-generated profile method and a statistical technique known as factor analysis. The profile method has been used for the last thirty-five years, whereas factor analysis is applied to textual criticism for the first time. Factor analysis eliminates hours of laborious computation usually associated with the quantitative analysis of the Revised Claremont Profile Method, while at the same time yielding accurate results because tentative groups are formed in an efficient process. The computer-generated profile method refines and modifies the tentative groups made by factor analysis, thus enabling the establishing of the final groups.

The Results

When factor analysis is applied to 106 Greek manuscripts of 1 Peter, three groups of Alexandrian and thirteen groups of non-Alexandrian manuscripts emerged. When the computer-generated profile method was applied to those tentative groups, twenty-seven of the manuscripts were characterized as Alexandrian in text-type (three groups), sixty-three as Byzantine (ten groups), and sixteen as Mixed (three groups).

Conclusions

Factor analysis and the computer-generated profile method used in this study are presently the most efficient methods for the classification of the Greek manuscripts. The Greek manuscripts included in this study are also helpful resources for understanding textual groupings of 1 Peter.

BOOK REVIEWS

Guy, Fritz. *Thinking Theologically: Adventist Christianity and the Interpretation of Faith*. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1999. xi +271 pp. Paper, $24.99.

Everyone who has listened to Fritz Guy or read his work over the years will appreciate having his essays on theology in permanent form. His book addresses issues of fundamental importance clearly, logically, and carefully. An evidence of Gut's tidy way of thinking is his table of contents. Note the careful parallelism of section and chapter headings.[1]

Expounding the Argument

Guy's study is far too rich to summarize in a short space. It moves through a long parade of theological issues, from logical fallacies to be avoided, through presuppositional issues to be addressed, to various structures of biblical and historical theology, and different ways of pursuing theological topics—synchronic, diachronic, and focused (214). But the last chapter of the book is clearly the best, and readers would benefit from reading it first. As Guy describes it, theological thinking must be tripolar: it must include careful reflection on "the Christian gospel, our spiritual center; our cultural context, where we live, worship, witness, and serve; and our Adventist heritage, the foundation of our theological identity" (225).

It is important to realize that a tripolar conception of theological thinking is not the same as a tripartite division of the theological task, or a mapping of the theological territory. When we think theologically about any topic, Guy argues, attention to the gospel, to culture, and to our denominational heritage will all play a role. They cannot be separated because they are all dimensions or aspects of our religious identity.[2] We cannot extract ourselves from our culture or our

[1]Table of contents:
Explaining the activity
1.   What theological thinking actually is
Exploring the task
2.   Why everyone should think theologically
3.   How theological thinking should begin
4.   Why theological thinking is open-ended
5.   how to think with intellectual integrity
Explaining the ingredients
6.   How Scripture should function
7.   What else is involved
8.   How culture makes a difference
Envisioning the work
9.   What logical presuppositions need to be identified
10. What forms theological thinking can take
11. Why tripolar thinking is essential.

[2]Guy, 250-251, states: "The three 'poles' of Adventist theological thinking . . . are not separate from each other and do not represent separate tasks. Rather, Adventist theology is a single task—one comprehensive, integrated activity of interpreting faith, albeit with three

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denominational background when we think nor should we try. The important thing is to be aware of their influence and their proper roles, so we can maximize their appropriate contribution.

As Guy describes the gospel, its central element is the notion that God is universal love, and that this deserves a preeminent role in religious reflection. His remarks on cultural context express one of the pervasive concerns of the book, namely, that we cannot think about anything, including our faith, apart from the situation in which we find ourselves. And his suggestive account of the Adventist heritage serves as a programmatic theological essay of its own. The comments on sabbath, advent hope, the ministry of Christ, human wholeness, and especially on truth, not only engender a deep appreciation for the Adventist perspective, they provide exciting glimpses of what a full-fledged Adventist theology might look like.

Another important feature of Guy's proposal is the way he relates the Adventist heritage to the Christian gospel. While he affirms the importance of authentic Adventism, being Adventist is a way of being Christian, not something other than or more than being Christian. And the features which we share with Christianity in general are more fundamental, more important, than the distinctives that set us apart (229, 251).

Theology as Craft

One of the most helpful aspects of the discussion is Guy's description of theological thinking as something that all serious Christians not only should but can do. It is not the province of the specialist alone. Like every human endeavor, it has its superstars, figures whose ideas are widely discussed, sometimes for centuries. But these are rare exceptions. Theology, to use Guy's distinction, may be a profession, but theological thinking is not.[3] It is accessible to every dedicated church member. In this respect, theology is more like a craft than an art. You don't have to be a genius to do theology. The required skills are accessible to all. You just have to be willing to put in the time to acquire them.[4]

Expanding the Discussion

Although Guy's book makes a number of helpful points, it also raises a number of important questions.

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fundamental concerns. . . . For the whole point of the metaphor of polarity is to insist that the concerns associated with each of the three poles should be continually recognized and addressed in our collective interpretation of faith."

[3]Schubert M. Ogden, in "Toward Doing Theology," states: "A profession is distinguished from a trade or a craft only insofar as the practice of it is informed by a proper theory" (*Journal of Religion* 75 [1995]: 13).

[4]It could be argued that theological thinking is like a craft in other ways, too. It is best learned not through theory, but through practice, specifically, by repeated contact with those who know the craft well and communicate their skills effectively. And like a craft, theological thinking of the sort Guy describes is typically done in a somewhat "ad hoc" way, by addressing concrete problems as they arise rather than constructing a theoretical edifice.

The Audience

I am not sure this project quite achieves Guy's objectives. His intended audience is the "serious general reader." But I am not convinced that's who will profit most from it. When people say, "I'm not writing a book for experts," the subtext is usually, "but they *will* be by the time they finish reading this." In spite of Guy's declared intentions, this is not a how-to book for the general church member. It is a manual for professionals. It is a helpful discussion for people who already have a pretty good idea of what theology involves. In fact, I think it provides an excellent description of what a good ministerial education should do—acquaint students with all the facets of theological inquiry in ways that uplift the life of the community.

I am particularly interested in the way this book might serve the needs of Adventist pastors. And I am curious that there is very little said here about the pastor's role in thinking theologically. After all, who is the person most likely to assist the church members in this area of their lives? Guy's book shows that theology plays a pastoral role in the life of the community. But the pastor also plays a theological role, and I would like to see that aspect of ministerial service developed here.

Guy's proposal also raises important questions about Adventist education. If thinking theologically is something everyone in the church should do, then training people to think theologically should be a high priority in the church. In this connection, we need to hear more about the distinctive role of Adventist schools, specifically colleges and seminaries, as places where this work should be carried out. The fundamental task of Adventist education is arguably to do precisely what Guy describes as theological thinking. That is, to encourage and equip young church members to think carefully through their beliefs, with professional assistance in light of the challenges these beliefs face in the contemporary world. Educators need to hear Guy's call for thinking theologically.

The Church as Theological Community

While emphasizing that every member of the church should think theologically, Guy also describes theology as a function of the church as a whole. He speaks of "the community's theological vocation" and calls for a "community-wide discussion" (180, 43). And at the end of chapter 7, he remarks: "Everything I have said here about individual religious experience as an ingredient in theology has parallel in the life of the community of faith: the shared experience of the community is a significant ingredient in its collective understanding of faith" (156). Well and good, but how hoes this work? Just how does the community *as a community* do its thinking? What are the organs of theological communication? What are the goals of theological interaction?

In this connection, Guy speaks of theological thinking as a professionally assisted activity, and says some helpful things about the contributions that those whose "vocation is the ministry of theology" can make (40-41). One of them is "to identify major theological issues" that should be "addressed by the community as a whole." But just how does the community as a whole address these issues? And how does the community as a whole make its decisions? We need to hear more about the way in which "the community as a whole, as distinct from its organizational and institutional structures" carries on theological conversation (9).

Experience as a Theological Resource

Guy's discussion overall focuses predominantly on Adventist beliefs. Theological thinking is surely an intellectual enterprise and this methodological proposal consists of thinking about how we ought to think. In this connection we have chapters on how to analyze beliefs, determine their meaning, assess their truth. But Guy also tells us that our theology should arise from what the community of faith "experiences" and "practices," not simply what it believes (38), and he identifies "personal-experiential ingredients" in theology (156-157). We need to hear more about this connection between experience and theology. How do we cull or extract theological convictions from the rich matrix of personal and communal religious experience? This is a more pressing theological task than analyzing explicit beliefs. It is also more difficult. A community's beliefs are only a part of its religious dynamic. They are intimately connected with other factors, and these factors deserve attention, too.

Although Guy portrays theology as a fundamentally intellectual activity, it has other dimensions too, and these need exploration, particularly if the intended audience is general church members. This would be a good place to explore the interaction between theology and worship. There are theological proposals that devote significant attention to the church's liturgical life as the place where theology is enacted.[5] But Guy says little about the corporate worship of church as a theological activity. He says more about ethical issues as a theological concern (232, 248), but it would be helpful to hear more from him in this regard as well.[6]

Theology as Interpretation

The key word on the cover of Guy's book is *interpretation*. It points to a particular configuration of the theological task, and in our current context this raises questions that cry out for discussion.

Behind this configuration lies a consistent emphasis in *Thinking Theologically*. We are willy-nilly citizens of our time, inhabitants of our cultural world, and we can no more depart this setting than we could change our address to another planet. All thought and experience take place within a framework of inherited and largely unrecognized assumptions. And our cultural perspective is with us whenever we approach the gospel, and whenever we attempt to communicate it to others. We cannot speak effectively about the gospel to anyone without taking into account his or her cultural setting as well as our own. As Guy says: "Our culture is, whether we like it or not and whether we admit it or not, a significant ingredient in our interpretation of faith" (160). "No one can live in the contemporary world without breathing its intellectual atmosphere anymore than one can live in a place without inhaling its air" (236-237).

Accordingly when we describe the task of theology (or of theological thinking) as interpretation, it implies a work of mediation. The interpreter

[5]See, for example, Don E. Saliers, *Worship as Theology: Foretaste of Glory Divine* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994).

[6]See, for example, the systematic theology of James W. McClendon, which devotes vol. 1 to ethics and vol. 2 to doctrine (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994).

undertakes to mediate between the faith of the ages and men and women who live in the twenty-first century. As Guy put it: "The constructive way of being theologically relevant is to take seriously the need both to understand the contemporary world of knowledge, beliefs and values, and to understand (and be true to) the gospel within this world" (236).

With this view of things, Guy stands in the tradition of theologians who see their goal as mediating between the gospel and the contemporary world. Whether we describe the poles of theological thinking as message and situation (Paul Tillich),[7] message and existence (Langdon Gilkey),[8] or religion and culture (Bernard Lonergan),[9] the essential strategy is the same. The theological thinker moves between the gospel and the modern mind. His or her task is to render the contents of faith intelligible within our cultural context. This gives theology a bipolar configuration. As Schubert M. Ogden put it, theological proposals must satisfy two criteria, "appropriateness and credibility." They must represent the same understanding of faith as expressed in "normative Christian witness." They must also meet "the relevant conditions of truth universally established with human existence."[10]

The problem for theological thinking is the relative unintelligibility of the original and originating expressions of the Christian faith to secular persons of the twenty-first century. One solution is to rephrase the biblical and historical material in terms and categories that make the relatively unfamiliar more accessible.

Those undertaking this task face certain hazards. There is always the danger that the message may be lost in the translation. Paul Tillich acknowledged that exchanging the traditional language for philosophical and psychological concepts in his method of correlation runs the risk of losing the substance of the Christian message.[11] Similarly, Guy acknowledges that "contextualization is not risk-free." It carries with it the possibility of "letting the context control the content of our theology" (236).

In recent decades, a number of Christian thinkers have mounted a vigorous protest to this way of looking at things. They want to "reverse the trend in modern Christianity of accommodation to culture." In their view, the attempt at interpretation has cost Christianity its unique voice and reduced it to an echo of the world around it. Their critique goes roughly like this. Modern theology is "shaped by the Enlightenment's demand for a ground common to all rational

[7]Paul Tillich states: "A theological system is supposed to satisfy two basic needs: the statement of the truth of the Christian message and the interpretation of this truth for every new generation. Theology moves back and forth between two poles, the eternal truth of its foundation and the temporal situation in which the eternal truth must be received" (*Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951-1963], 1:3).

[8]Langdon Gilkey, *Message and Existence: An Introduction to Christian Theology* (New York: Seabury, 1979).

[9]Bernard Lonergan states: "A theology mediates between a cultural matrix and the significance and role of a religion in that matrix" (*Method in Theology* [New York: Herder and Herder, 1972], xi).

[10]Schubert M. Ogden, *On Theology* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), 4-5.

[11]Tillich, 3:4.

beings."[12] Accordingly, God becomes a way to thematize our essential human religiosity. Christ becomes a symbol of the authentic humanity available to all of us. And the Bible loses its authoritative voice. When Guy says that "the answers to some religious questions are logically prior to the interpretation of faith and even to the experience of faith itself," and speaks of "a theologically neutral standpoint, outside of faith," and "basic religious belief," he reflects the Enlightenment mentality to which these critics object (183, 195).

As they see it, the goal of theology is not to find ways to render the claims of the gospel intelligible to the modern mind, but to bring our minds into conformity to the gospel. In other words, the theological task is to adapt the framework of our thinking to the contents of Scripture, not the other way around. Postliberals embrace "Christianity's unique and historical particularity," and they propose a hermeneutic in which "the scriptural world structures the church's cosmos and identity." "Rather than translating Scripture into an external and alien frame of reference, which devalues and undermines its normative exposition and eventually produces an accommodation to culture, the postliberals call for an intratextual theology that finds the meaning of the Christian language within the text."[13]

To etch the contours of his position more clearly, it would be helpful if Guy answered such questions. We must avoid a narrow biblicism, but we need to be attentive to the biblical modes of thought, to the narrative patterns of biblical expression, and to the desire to make every thought captive to Christ.

I agree with a friend of mine who once said: "Nothing is more practical than a good theory." But we need praxis as well as theory. I urge Guy to continue his theological work by fulfilling the practical promise that *Thinking Theologically* provides, and by extending the constructive theological work outlined in his programmatic final chapter. Guy has shown us around his shop, defended the importance of theology, described its objectives, praised its values, appraised its challenges, summarized its history, and demonstrated the impressive array of tools at his disposal. Now, let's hope, he will turn on the equipment and build us something more.

Extending the Effort

Books on theological method are often symptoms of theological malaise. Whenever Christian thinkers run out of interesting things to say, they seem to spend their time spinning theories about what it means to say something interesting. They offer people the sort of thing Jeffery Stout disparages as "seemingly endless methodological foreplay." Instead of robust expressions of religious faith, they merely give the cultured despisers of religion less and less to disbelieve.[14]

On the other hand, books on theological method may point to something altogether different. They may show that a church feels a fresh burst of energy.

[12]Timothy R. Phillips and Dennis L. Okholm, *The Nature of Confession: Evangelicals and Postliberals in Conversation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1996), 11, 10.

[13]Phillips and Okholm, 13.

[14]Jeffery Stout, *The Flight From Authority: Religion, Morality and the Quest for Autonomy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 147.

They may also indicate that the community has acquired a new level of maturity, that its members have come to realize that reflecting carefully on their faith and life can enrich their experience and enhance their witness.

I hope that Guy's book is an indication that Adventism has reached a point where it can confidently survey the resources at its disposal, think methodically about its task, and develop an expression of its faith and life that will do justice to the vitality of the movement—to the breadth of its vision and the depth of its convictions. But only time will tell.

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Dederen, Raoul. *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*. Commentary
    Reference Series, vol. 12. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000.
    xxiv + 1027 pp. Hardcover, $37.95.

Under the skillful editorship of Raoul Dederen, Emeritus Professor of Theology at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, the *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology* consists of twenty-eight chapters articulately addressing all the major doctrines of Christianity and the distinctive doctrines of Adventism. The subjects of these chapters closely parallel those of the SDA Statement of Fundamental Beliefs. The chapters were written by twenty-seven contributors, with the editor authoring the two chapters on Christology and ecclesiology. This *Handbook*, representing a wide diversity of scholarly disciplines, was ten years in the making. It was produced in cooperation with the Biblical Research Institute Committee, which reviewed each chapter. "The aim of the editorial staff and contributors has been to produce a work of reference written in a spirit of unqualified loyalty to the Scriptures as the written Word of God, in the hope that these pages will be fruitful for personal reflection in faith and practice" (xi).

Each chapter includes four sections. The first section, and by far the most prominent, presents a given subject from a scriptural perspective. A second section highlights the historical and theological developments of the doctrine. The last two sections offer a selection of quotations from Ellen G. White and a short selected bibliography. Given the high caliber of detailed biblical and theological studies found in the first two sections, the third section on Ellen White's thought is a disappointment. Only a few chapters offer commentary on her perspectives, while the rest provide only quotations. This gives an unfortunate semblance of proof-text methodology when it comes to Ellen White, a methodology that many are consciously trying to get away from.

One of the great assets of this work is its theological strength. To the editor's credit, the different authors' theological contributions are well linked together so that many chapters build on each other. This volume is focused on its intended theological purpose. Thus the chapters on "Revelation and Inspiration" and "Biblical Interpretation" convey a clear and consistent theological approach. The same can be said of the chapters on the "Doctrine of Man," "Sin," and "Salvation."

Throughout the *Handbook* one finds evidences that common beliefs are shared by Adventists and many other Christians on such doctrines as the infallibility of Scripture, an Arminian/Wesleyan understanding of the doctrines

of man and salvation, simplicity of lifestyle, and a nonsacramental ecclesiology.

To better understand distinctive Seventh-day Adventist doctrines and their theological underpinnings, Christians of other denominations will benefit greatly from reading the chapter on "Revelation and Inspiration," in which a high view of Scripture is presented without a verbal/dictational doctrine of inspiration. Likewise, in the chapter on the "Doctrine of God," one will find a biblical approach to God's relationship with the world (temporal subordination) that rejects both the classical views of Platonic dualism, timelessness, and open theism. The theological contributions of this chapter are, I believe, crucial to understanding some distinctive Adventist beliefs, in particular, the doctrine of the Sanctuary.

The two chapters on the "Law of God" and the "Sabbath" present a positive view of the laws of God, including the Decalogue and other biblical laws as a reflection of the divine character. This approach counteracts accusations of legalism that the Seventh-day Adventist denomination has faced. Both chapters argue that observance of the Decalogue is the response of faith to the gift of salvation.

Known for its apocalypticism and interest in end-time events, Seventh-day Adventism is the only denomination to still retain a historicist eschatology. This approach, which offers a more biblical alternative to the currently popular tribulationist dispensationalism, occupies the last third of the *Handbook*. Given the current interest in both conditional immortality and annihilationism, the *Handbook* also contributes much to this discussion with its timely treatment in the chapter on "Death: Origin, Nature, and Final Eradication."

The *Handbook* includes four chapters on practical Christianity under the rubrics of "Stewardship," "Christian Lifestyle and Behavior," "Marriage and Family," and "Health and Healing." While Seventh-day Adventists have been commonly known for their lifestyle rules and prohibitions, these chapters make a remarkable and positive contribution to practical theology and personal ethics by drawing clear principles from the biblical materials and applying them to modern life. Not only are biblical arguments set forth to support an Adventist perspective on lifestyle issues, but clear and sound theological arguments and principles are drawn from the biblical materials and applied to modern life. It is unfortunate, however, that nothing is said about abstinence from harmful substances such as tobacco, alcohol, and other drugs, which is a part of the Adventist lifestyle that is well supported by medical science.

The order in which some chapters are presented is puzzling. Given the strong theological links between all the chapters, I get the sense that some chapters are out of sync. I believe the chapter on "Creation" should have been presented before the "Doctrine of Man," and the one on the "Great Controversy" theme before those on the "Sanctuary," "Divine Judgment," and the "Remnant and Three Angels' Messages." I was disappointed to see the Great Controversy theme left to the very end of the book, since many other chapters allude to it. For the last 150 years, this theme has been at the core of Seventh-day Adventist theology, faith, and practice, and earlier Adventist statements of beliefs used this topic as an organizing principle. Does an appendix treatment of this theme mean that it is not as prominent in Seventh-day Adventist theology as it used to be? If such an unfortunate trend continues, it will ultimately alter other aspects of Adventist theology, as well as faith and practice.

In spite of a few weaknesses, the *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology* will undoubtedly become an authoritative expression of Seventh-day Adventist beliefs. Although this book does not intend to answer all theological questions, it is nonetheless a remarkable achievement that has been long overdue. No theological work of this magnitude has ever been produced by this denomination. By filling a large void, it benefits both the denomination and the wider Christian community. I concur with the editor, who says that "this volume is sent forth . . . in the hope that it will be of use in Adventist and non-Adventist homes, classrooms, and libraries, as well as in pastoral offices as a handy and valued reference tool for information on various aspects of Adventist understanding and practice" (xi).

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Barker, Margaret. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ: Which God Gave to Him to Show to His Servants What Must Soon Take Place (Revelation 1.1)*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000. xii + 447 pp. Paperback, $29.95.

Margaret Barker, Old Testament scholar and former president of the Society for Old Testament Study, has written a provocative commentary on Revelation that pulls together and culminates a number of her previously developed views (e.g., *The Older Testament: The Survival of Themes from the Ancient Royal Cult in Sectarian Judaism and Early Christianity* [London: SPCK, 1987]; *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem* [London: SPCK, 1991]; *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Second God* [Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1992]; *On Earth as It Is in Heaven: Temple Symbolism in the New Testament* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1995]; and *The Risen Lord: The Jesus of History as the Christ of Faith* [Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, 1996]). She states, in fact, that "all of my publications have been leading in this direction, and their conclusions form the foundation for this book" (xiii).

Although the book contains twenty-two chapters, these do not correspond to Revelation's twenty-two chapters. The first three chapters contain the key conclusions mentioned in the books above, here grouped into three foundational themes (Jesus, the temple, and the priests of Israel), undergirding the rest of her commentary. In the fourth chapter, Barker sets forth her views on the development of Revelation as a literary product. The remaining chapters do not attempt a verse-by-verse commentary; instead, she discusses broad theological themes within the overall sequence of chapters in Revelation, and thus there is some repetition of material throughout the book. An excursus on the Parousia and its relation to Christian liturgy follows the commentary proper. It is followed by less than five pages of endnotes (although some lengthy footnotes, enclosed within parentheses, masquerade as text; cf. 116-117, 189-190, 2652-66, and 324). A succinct discussion of primary sources and two helpful indices (persons, places, and subjects; and biblical and ancient texts) round out the work.

Barker derives her reading of Revelation by comparing it to primary sources of the Second Temple period—in particular, the Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, and Josephus. But she also sifts through apocryphal, apostolic and postapostolic, gnostic, medieval, rabbinic, kabbalistic, and merkavah texts to contextualize her overall interpretation and to trace trajectories from it. Her career

work is to attempt a reconstruction of Israel's ancient religion, which was destroyed by Hezekiah, Josiah, and the Deuteronomists (cf. 15-17, 34-38). She sees Revelation's last chapters envisioning the restoration of the ancient temple cult earlier preserved in Enochic writings (301).

To Barker, the core of Revelation is a series of temple oracles "collected and preserved by John the beloved disciple and his brothers the prophets, the greatest of whom had been Jesus himself" (xi). Unfortunately, the people did not accept Jesus' testimony (Rev 1:1) of what he had seen and heard in heaven (cf. John 3:32). Nevertheless, these prophetic oracles, which were used to interpret current events, "inspired the war against Rome with their conviction that the LORD would return to his city" (xi-xii) to make the final atonement as the Great High Priest. After collecting these apocalyptic Hebrew oracles and escaping Jerusalem, John—who had received his own vision of the Lord's return as recorded in Rev 10—began to reinterpret Jesus' sayings and to teach that the Lord would return to his people in the Eucharist.

Barker thus attempts to shed new light on the origins of Christianity as well as on the development of the Christian liturgy. Strongly emphasizing the Jewish background to Revelation, largely on the basis of the illumination of Second Temple Judaism by the Dead Sea Scrolls, she argues positions opposed to the contemporary exegetical consensus on a number of issues involved in the interpretation of Revelation (cf. xi-xiii). For example, Barker believes Revelation is not a late text from Asia Minor, but rather the *earliest* material in the NT. Favoring internal over external evidence, she believes that Revelation refers to contemporary events in and around Jerusalem during 68-70 C.E. rather than during the reign of Domitian during the 90s.

In her preface, Barker states that ideally she "should like to have written a much longer work, engaging in debate with others who work in this field, but the realities of time and publishing make this impossible"; instead, what she offers is "my reading of the Book of Revelation" (xiii). This is the reason for such a paucity of endnotes for a commentary of this size. It is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It is an advantage because one's reading is not slowed down by valuable but lengthy notes (cf. her *The Risen Lord*). It is a disadvantage, however, in that one cannot easily associate or dissociate her views from those of other scholars.

Barker's key OT text to her cultic understanding of Revelation is the description of Solomon's accession to the Israelite throne in 1 Chr 29:20-23, a passage that she has emphasized in previous works. This demonstrates to her that Solomon literally ruled from the Lord's throne in the Most Holy Place of the tabernacle (121), a confusing conclusion in light of her statements elsewhere that only the high priest could enter the Most Holy Place (21, 28, 45-46). She goes further: "When Solomon was enthroned as king *he became the LORD*" (378, emphasis hers; cf. 37-38, 384); thus, he was worshiped as the Lord. She sees this text not only as key to the apotheosis of the Lamb in Rev 5 but as "*the most important piece of evidence in the Hebrew Scriptures for understanding the Book of Revelation*" (121, original emphasis).

Barker's apotheosistic interpretation of 1 Chronicles, however, cannot be sustained. Barker has overlooked the theocratic emphasis of the chronicler, clearly seen by comparing 1 Chr 17:14 with 2 Sam 7:16, 2 Chr 1:11 with 1 Kgs 3:11, and 2 Chr 9:8 with 1 Kgs 10:9 (cf. 1 Kgs 2:12; 1 Chr 28:5-6; 2 Chr 13:4-8). The

chronicler has changed his sources to emphasize the sovereignty and rule of God—rather than the Davidic king—over Israel. He sees the throne and kingdom of Israel as God's, and thus to "sit on God's throne" refers not to sitting on the throne in the Most Holy Place, but rather ruling Israel as God's chosen king.

Barker's interpretation of the appearance of the mighty angel of Rev 10 as the personal "return" of Jesus to John, prompting his need to "give further teaching that the return of the LORD would not be literally as the prophecies had predicted" (180; see also 181-82), is unconvincing. This particular interpretation is a key transition, however, to her understanding that Jesus would return in the Eucharist. She argues this latter position on the basis that "Come, Lord Jesus" in Rev 22:20 is a version of "Maranatha," later linked to a Eucharistic prayer in *Did.* 10 (373). Because this fervent prayer and other fragmentary assurances of the Lord's return are at the end of the book (Rev 22:7, 12, 20), she concludes that the promise of Jesus' literal return was no longer central and was being reinterpreted to mean that Jesus would return in the Eucharist (372-88). But the use of the *Didache* as the primary key to understanding this phrase in Revelation is problematic.

In many places Barker's work is clearly speculative, a fact she recognizes in several places (cf. 62, 286, 378, 387). The use of "could," "may," "possible," "likely," "probably," and similar terms underscores the tentativeness of her hypotheses. It is nevertheless surprising to see her conjecture that Jesus' childhood visit with the temple teachers (Luke 2:46-47) might have been his first contact with temple mystics (10) morph into a fact later in the book (129). Apparently, this particularly "tempting" (10) interpretation of Jesus' childhood experience was too great for her to resist.

Barker's multiple use of the word "must" in arguing some positions is equally mystifying in light of the recognizably conjectural nature of her work. One gains interpretive credibility through forceful arguments rather than verbal insistence. Thus, the repeated use of strenuous assertions (e.g., the false prophet of Rev 16:13 "*must have been Josephus*" [237; original emphasis]) raises more questions than it demonstrates fact. The same concern applies to her claim that John "must have been a priest" because his description of the heavenly temple was inspired by the Jerusalem temple, and only priests were permitted to enter it (260).

Barker does not feel compelled, however, to consistently use such insistent language in order to present her conjectures in factual language. For example, she asserts that "Jezebel, the false prophetess in Thyatira, was Lydia, whom Paul had met in Philippi" (100; cf. 62). Yet, the only facts identifying both Lydia and "Jezebel" are that they are both women and both associated with Thyatira—slim evidence indeed. Nevertheless, this radical identification coincides with her belief that it was none other than the apostle Paul who was the false prophet Balaam (Rev 2:14), whose teachings constituted the "deep things of Satan" (Rev 2:24), and against whom Jesus warned the seven churches (99-102; 107).

We should remember that Barker explicitly wrote this book as *her* reading of Revelation. Thus, her boldly asserted notions should be seen as her understanding of the text, in spite of the way they are presented. In her previous work, *The Risen Lord* (xii), she agreed with J. H. Charlesworth that interpretive positions are not infallible, that interpreters work not with certainties, but relative probabilities,

and that reticence to put forward one's position is not necessarily a virtue. If this
is true, Barker is to be commended for being daring enough to share her personal
understanding of Revelation—even if it is frequently inconclusive, conjectural,
filled with gaps, and/or simply open to criticism. Even so, her piling up of
hypotheses and conjectures makes me wish that her work looked more like a
fortress than the proverbial "house of cards."

I was baffled by some of the ways in which Barker uses sources and ancient texts.
Why did she use Swete's out-of-date text of Revelation as her critical Greek text (389)?
Why is her translation of 1 Chr 29:20 (37-38), so key to her interpretation, not the same
as that given on page 140? Why does she rely on Codex Bezae's nearly singular reading
of Acts 18:25 in her discussion of Apollos (96)? In what convincing way do the Old
Latin translations of Matt 3:15 in Codex Vercellensis and Codex Sangermanensis
provide "evidence" (127) for a fire appearing on the Jordan at Jesus' baptism? How
conclusive is the fifth-century Freer manuscript of Mark 16:14 in providing "evidence"
of what Jesus taught (349-50)? And even if Eusebius's second-hand information from
Hegesippus (that James the Righteous used to enter the Most Holy Place to pray for the
forgiveness of the people) "is almost certainly accurate" (10), how accurate and
trustworthy is Hegesippus himself?

In spite of the preceding concerns, I believe there are at least four major strengths
to this work that set it apart from many other commentaries on Revelation. First,
Barker has attempted to demonstrate that the NT teaching about Jesus originated with
him and was not invented by his disciples (7). Second, she has underscored the
importance of the temple cult for an overall understanding of Revelation. Third, she has
highlighted the importance of the Day of Atonement and its rituals for understanding
Revelation's theology. And finally, she has focused more clearly than any recent
commentator on the importance of the high-priestly identity of Jesus Christ in
Revelation. She believes that Revelation is "steeped in the imagery of high priesthood"
(40-41). While her belief that the high priest was "the key figure in the book of
Revelation" (35) is overstated in light of other explicit imagery (cf. the Lamb), her
emphasis on the importance of such high-priestly imagery is valid. Moreover, she states
that "the picture of Jesus as the great high priest in all his roles and aspects appears throughout
the New Testament and is the key to understanding all early Christian teaching about him"
(4, original emphasis), a bold assertion that I believe is on the right track. Again and
again, Barker weaves these fascinating and welcome approaches into the loom of her
work, and the result is that familiar passages in Revelation take on vivid color and finely
detailed texture. These provocative emphases alone are worth the price of the book.

I hope editorial and printing errors will be corrected in future printings or editions.
For example, on page 91, lines 7 and 13 are unintelligible as they currently stand. On
line 31 of page 281 there are two successive "the"s. Also, her references to the gnostic
tractate *Wisdom of Jesus Christ* should rather be *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (she uses both titles,
403-444).

While not written in a highly technical style, Barker's commentary is nevertheless
theologically demanding. Despite my reservations about and disagreements with her
methodology and many of her conclusions, I recommend this work both to scholars
and others who wish to further explore the first-century Jewish background to
Revelation and Jesus' portrayal there. I believe her work deserves an audience of readers

willing to be stimulated and challenged in their study of the riches of this apocalypse about Jesus Christ.

Berrien Springs, Michigan ROSS E. WINKLE

Barth, Markus, and Helmut Blanke. *The Letter to Philemon*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000. xviii + 561 pp. Hardcover, $40.00.

In only its second volume, the Eerdmans Critical Commentary Series (ECC) distinguishes itself from other standard commentary sets with the publication of an exceptional commentary that deals exclusively with one of the smallest books in the NT, Philemon. Instead of being examined as an addendum to a volume on Colossians or another NT book, Philemon stands alone. The commentary is the result of the lifelong research of Markus Barth (son of the noted Lutheran theologian Karl Barth) and completed posthumously by his former student Helmut Blanke. It bears the typical marks of distinguished scholarship that we expect from Markus Barth.

Well organized and lucidly written, the work is divided into three sections. The first section (102 pp.) furnishes background to Philemon, with a comprehensive examination of one of the most scandalous forms of human existence in the ancient world, the life of a slave. This section, which is one of the key strengths of the book, includes such topics as "The Slave's Daily Life and Legal Position," "Fugitive Slaves," "Slave Revolts and Wars," "Manumission," and "Old Testament and Later Jewish Traditions." One of the most interesting discussions here is the examination of letters by Pliny the Younger, which include his intervention for a fugitive freedman analogous to Paul's intervention for Philemon.

The second section (137 pp.) deals with the literary, biographical, and contextual issues connected with Philemon. While the commentary's approach to the typical introductory material is conventional and covers only about twenty-five pages, the intriguing part of this section is the authors' discussion of what is "known" and "unknown" about each of the *dramatis personae*—Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus. What response did Paul want from his letter—immediate manumission, eventual manumission, a reform of slavery, or transfer of custody of Onesimus to himself? Other questions deal with the relationship between Philemon and Onesimus. Was the latter a house-born slave, and if so, was Philemon his physical father? Why did Onesimus flee? While the authors acknowledge that the "abundance of things unknown dwarfs the fairly certain information" (149), their detailed discussion provides a good introduction to the interesting and difficult questions that one must consider when examining Paul's letter to Philemon.

The final section is the commentary proper. Each portion commences with the author's own translation of a passage, followed by discussion of pertinent elements of the text. While the commentary covers the full range of interpretative issues associated with Philemon, its strength does not lie in new or unconventional exegesis, but in the high level of detail with which it treats the text. Examples of this can be seen in the discussion of textual variants which are often superficially addressed or ignored in other commentaries (e.g., Phlm 6, 11), as well as interaction with the Vulgate. In addition, there are twenty-three interpretive asides

sprinkled throughout the commentary, which deal with topics that require more detailed elucidation—e.g., "Does Paul Ask for Manumission?" (412-415). While the author periodically makes comments that are based on the structure of the original text, all citations of Greek or Hebrew wording are transliterated.

While the initial two volumes published in the new ECC series (1 & 2 Timothy and Philemon) were published in the same year, there are some conspicuous differences in the layout and appearance of the two works. While both commentaries sport similarly designed dust jackets, the actual covers of the books themselves are of starkly different colors. The series boasts a fresh translation of the text; but while in the 1-2 Timothy volume the entire translation was placed at the beginning, the Philemon volume has the translation is interspersed throughout the commentary. Similar lack of standardization also applies to the locations and designations of the bibliography and indices as well as to the layout of the commentary proper. While such differences are trifles in terms of substance, their conspicuous nature makes one wonder if the two volumes really constitute a series, or just merely two independent commentaries that were given similar dust jackets.

Regarding accuracy, the reference at the end of the first paragraph on page 87 mistakenly refers to "pp. 34-36," but should read "pp. 49-53." The word "pluperfects" is spelled incorrectly on page 364. On the same page, the reference to "sec. III.B., 18-23" should read "sec. III.B., 18-22."

In the final analysis, this work is well done and finally allows Philemon to be considered as an independent book in its own right and as worthy of detailed examination. It is also a highly informative source for examining the sensitive and difficult issues associated with Philemon. For these reasons, including the fact that this volume contains probably the single best compilation of social background information on slavery in the ancient world in relation to Paul's letter to Philemon, it should find its place on the bookshelves of professors, students, pastors, and studious laity.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina   CARL COSAERT

Bienkowski, Piotr, and Alan Millard, eds. *Dictionary of the Ancient Near East.*
    Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. 352 pp. Hardcover,
    $49.95.

The editors of the *Dictionary of the Ancient Near East* are both at the University of Liverpool. Piotr Bienkowski is Curator of Egyptian and Near Eastern Antiquities, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, and Honorary Research Fellow. Alan Millard is Rankin Professor of Hebrew and Ancient Semitic Languages.

The *Dictionary of the Ancient Near East* is a one-volume reference work, with entries written by experts in a variety of fields, covering major aspects of the history, culture, and language of the Ancient Near East. The coverage of chronological periods ranges from the Lower Paleolithic to the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 B.C. Entries deal with a broad spectrum of topics, including people, places, chronology, geography, institutions, religion, poetry, economy,

trade, and architecture. Most entries include major bibliographic references, and some are illustrated. The book includes a map of the Ancient Near East, a chronological chart, a king list of the principal dynasties, and an index.

Although the *Dictionary* does not cover Egypt, it has a broader scope than other recent reference works on the Ancient Near East, such as the *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Kathryn A. Bard (2000), and *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Eric M. Meyers (5 vols.; 1997).

Doing justice to the copious information now available on the Ancient Near East in a one-volume work is a heroic task, which the contributors and editors have done well to accomplish. The material is useful even to the specialist as a quick reference resource, but clearly presented in language understandable to the novice. Asterisks before words for which main entries exist facilitate access of information.

It would have been helpful if a small map had been included at the beginning of each entry dealing with a geographical item, to indicate the location of the place under discussion. Many of the sites and rivers discussed cannot be found or are difficult to find on the few maps included in the volume. The well-chosen illustrations are in black and white, undoubtedly keeping the cost of production down.

Due to the fact that specialists from a variety of fields contribute, the quality and coverage of entries are not consistent. Some entries are biased toward one regional area. For instance, the entry for "Economics" covers only Mesopotamian concerns and nothing is said about those of other regions. The rationale for concluding coverage with 539 B.C. is that with the emergence of the Persian Empire, the Ancient Near East was incorporated into a larger empire that had increased interaction with the Greek world. It is true that at this time the center of power shifted eastward from the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers to the Iranian Plateau. However, the Persian period, which extends down to 332 B.C., is a direct continuation of Ancient Near Eastern history. For example, the Persian monarch continued to take the hand of Marduk as "king of Babylon." Persia's links to the ancient cultures of Mesopotamia, particularly that of the Assyrian Empire, are woven into the fabric of its art and achitecture. While selected topics relevant to the Persian Empire are represented in the *Dictionary*, cutting off broad coverage at 539 B.C. limits the usefulness and effectiveness of this volume.

While there are limitations inherent in this work, it is an important reference resource for students and scholars alike. It can be recommended for all who have an interest in the Ancient Near East.

Andrews University   CONSTANCE E. GANE

Evans, Craig A., and Stanley E. Porter, eds. *Dictionary of New Testament Background.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000. 1060 pp. Hardcover, $39.99.

Though this volume stands alone, it is the fourth in a distinguished series of massive one-volume reference works issued by the publisher, including *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (1992), *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (1993), and *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments* (1997). A similar series

for the OT will follow. This last volume in the NT series is the largest of the four, but it is offered for the same reasonable price as its predecessors.

Craig Evans, the editor for Jewish backgrounds, and Stanley Porter, the editor for Græco-Roman backgrounds, head an impressive list of able contributors that largely represents the best evangelical scholarship but is by no means limited to that orientation. The roster is ecumenical and international.

The body of the work consists of some three hundred articles ranging in length from five hundred words to more than ten thousand words. Some of them are updated from articles appearing in the previous volumes, or even duplicate them, so that the value of this volume is not supposed to depend on having access to the others. So current and thorough are the treatments that it is safe to say that this work supersedes all comparable works as of this date and probably for the next several years. You have here the last word on many of the topics covered.

Obviously, three hundred entries do not cover all possible things that the reader may wish to learn about, but there are exhaustive Scripture and subject indices that expand the volume's usefulness. How editors of such works decide what to include and what to omit is often inscrutable, and the present one is no exception.

A case in point is "Crucifixion," about which there is no article, but the subject index lists forty-eight places where it is referred to. A patient searching of all these places turns up nothing substantial about the background of the subject. The index was apparently computer-generated, and most of the references are merely passing ones. One looks in vain, for example, for any mention of the archaeological evidence found at Giv²at ha-Mivtar in 1968. This is all the more remarkable, because a rather good discussion of the topic appeared in the earlier *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, 147-148.

There are no illustrations in any of the volumes of the series, though in some cases they could have been quite helpful. On the other hand, there are some duplications of material. For example, D. A. deSilva has contributed a useful article, more than seven columns long, on "Honor and Shame." But S. C. Barton's excellent treatment of "Social Values and Structures" includes a section more than one and a half columns long on precisely the same topic. Each of these articles contains a cross-reference to the other. All articles include not only cross-references, but choice bibliographies.

This dictionary is especially good in its surveys of the various corpora of literature that illuminate the NT, whether Jewish (e.g., Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Philo, Josephus, Rabbinic literature), or Græco-Roman (e.g., Plutarch, the Plinys, Philostratus), or Christian (e.g., the Apostolic Fathers), or Gnostic as well as articles on individual works. Some of the articles (e.g., Apocalypticism) will become benchmarks.

It may be strange to say of a reference work, but this one is hard to put down. It is a pleasure to browse it. On page after page one finds information conveniently gathered about topics one always intended to research, but never got around to it, and other topics that are completely new to the reader. It will be an enormous boon to every student of the NT, whether graduate student preparing for comprehensive examinations, teacher, pastor, or any motivated reader. It should be in everyone's library, and the low price makes that possible.

Andrews University   ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Longman, Tremper, III. *Daniel*, NIV Application Commentary. Grand Rapids:
    Zondervan, 1999. 312 pp. Hardcover, $21.99.

Tremper Longman III is Professor of Old Testament at Westmont College.
He is a well-known writer, having authored or coauthored several books (e.g.,
Book of Ecclesiastes, NICOT [Zondervan, 1998]; *Reading the Bible with Heart and
Mind* [NavPress, 1997]; and with D. Reid, *God Is a Warrior* [Zondervan, 1995]);
and numerous scholarly articles.

Several preliminary but important features occupy the first forty pages of this
book: a useful "Series Introduction," the "General Editor's Preface," the "Author's
Preface and Acknowledgments," "Abbreviations," "Introduction" to the book of
Daniel, "Outline" of Daniel, and a well-balanced but obviously not exhaustive
"Bibliography."

The signal purpose and aim of the NIV Application Commentary Series is to
enable the reader to understand both what the text *meant* and what it *means*. It
brings the "ancient message into a modern context" (9). To this end, Longman has
been admirably successful.

Longman systematically explores each of the twelve chapters of the book of
Daniel under three rubrics (the format of the commentary series):

"Original Meaning" seeks to explain the meaning of the biblical text as it was
received by its first audience. All the elements of traditional exegesis are employed
here: literary, linguistic, historical, and theological analyses. For example, in
dealing with chapter 1, Longman provides a structural analysis or outline of the
chapter (42), presents a concise discussion of historical background along with its
problems of chronology (43-47), and discusses key words and their significance to
the text. Among consideration for key words, he points to the subtle distinction
and use of *ʾAdonai*, "Lord," rather than *YHWH* (the personal name of Israel's
deity) in 1:2 in order to express the theme of divine control: "The former
emphasizes God's ownership, his control" (46). In this section, Longman
commands the reader's attention with his profound commentary, which is written
in simple language, while maintaining dynamic dialogue with other scholars.

"Bridging Contexts," as the name suggests, builds a bridge between the first
audience and the present audience. This focuses on specific, concrete situations at
the time of writing and how they are universally applicable. For example, in
dealing with chapter 6, Longman indicates that the same violent political threats
and challenges that Daniel faced may be unleashed against God's people today.
Daniel's colleagues became envious of "his meteoric rise in Darius's estimation"
(166) and could find nothing in his character or the discharge of his duty with
which to undermine his reputation, so they resorted to framing him. This
possibility is likely even today.

"Contemporary Significance" deals with the relevance of the biblical message
for today. For example, in commenting on the struggles and their resolutions in
11:2-12:13, the author points out: "While it looks as if life is going to hell, God is
working behind the scenes to bring about good, often more than good—he
accomplishes his people's rescue, their salvation" (298).

Several factors are noteworthy in this volume. Throughout his work,

Longman maintains with incredible balance that the central theological motif of the book of Daniel is the sovereignty of God. He believes that chapter 1 not only introduces us to the main characters, but "also illustrates the overarching theme of the book: In spite of present appearances, God is in control" (42). This theme appears in every chapter. He concludes: "God is in control, and because of that we can have boundless joy and optimism in the midst of our struggles" (299). This emphasis on God, who reveals himself in dynamic relationship with his people, is rather refreshing in a commentary on Daniel.

Subordinate to the theme of God's sovereignty, Longman demonstrates the importance of human characters in the book of Daniel, especially in the first six chapters. After all, the book is set in the play and interplay of divine and human affairs. God is not abstract. He is intimately involved in the lives of human beings.

In discussing the setting and date of composition, Longman is straightforward about the problems inherent in any interpreter's discussion of these matters. While there is no dispute that the setting of Daniel is the sixth century B.C., there are two camps regarding the date of composition: sixth or second century B.C. He cautions the reader to "resist the temptation to turn this issue into a simple litmus test" (23). However, he takes the risk of placing his position in the foreground: "In view of the evidence and in spite of the difficulties, I interpret the book from the conclusion that the prophecies come from the sixth century B.C." (23). In doing so, he departs from a long tradition of scholars who advocate a second-century provenance (L. F. Hartman, A. A. DiLella, J. E. Goldingay, W. S. Towner, J. J. Collins). He is to be respected for his courage.

The commentary evidences thorough research with convenient footnotes referring to some of the finest studies in Daniel; however, I have some misgivings regarding this commentary. In dealing with a book that is distinctively apocalyptic, Longman provides only three pages of discussion regarding this genre. This is inadequate. Basic approaches to apocalyptic literature (e.g., preterist, futurist) should have been discussed, with the author indicating his stance. While he is correct that "apocalyptic celebrates God's victory over the enemies of the godly" (177), he is so driven to keep the central theme in focus that he inadvertently downplays the emphasis placed on the "end" in the book of Daniel (see J. Doukhan, *Daniel: Vision of the End*).

While Longman's discussion on "The Nature of Apocalyptic Literature" (176-179) is useful, it seems out of place, positioned as it is just before the discussion on chapter 7. Since genres apply to whole books, this description would be more appropriately placed in the introduction to the book of Daniel as a whole.

The characteristics of the book of Daniel (e.g., the two-language phenomenon, the sequence of four empires in chaps. 2, 7, 8) should have been put in one section instead of being scattered throughout the work. This would have helped the reader to see the cohesiveness in the unfolding drama of the book. Here Longman falters by not presenting discussion on such crucial issues as the unity of the book, the reversal motif, or concentric parallelism in the structure of Daniel.

Sometimes Longman takes no position regarding a debated issue. For example, while he clearly identifies the first beast of chapter 7 as Babylon, he makes no such specific identification for the second, third, and fourth beasts. He claims that "this is an intentional effect of the imagery of the vision" (185), in

order to make "a theological statement about the conflict between human evil and God" (ibid.). But if one is identified historically, why not the others? Why are they only "theological statements"?

Longman writes with the passion of a pastor and the care of a scholar. While I do not agree with several of his positions (e.g., that the timetables of Dan 8 and 9 "are impossible to penetrate" [178]; or that the prominent horn of chapter 8 refers to Antiochus IV Epiphanes [189]), I think that pastors, teachers, and students can benefit from a careful reading of this commentary.

Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies   KENNETH MULZAC
Silang, Cavite, Philippines

McClendon, James Wm., Jr., with Nancey Murphy. *Witness: Systematic Theology*, vol. 3. Nashville: Abingdon, 2000. 446 pages. $30.00.

Christianity is Christ and the church is the people who follow Christ. As this theme came through in the first and second volumes of the late James Wm. McClendon's astonishing trilogy, it now comes through in the third. Completed just before the author's death, this work applies the Radical Reformation perspective, which has informed his writing from the beginning, to the theology of culture. It is about the church confronting the world through mission; in a simple word, it is about witness.

In his *Ethics*, written first, McClendon introduced the idea of "prophetic," or as he more often says, "baptist" (note the small *b*) vision. Thinking of today's Adventist, Baptist, Brethren, Mennonite and similar church bodies, he argued that for Christians with roots in Anabaptism and the Radical Reformation—what he means by small-*b* "baptist"—the "prophetic vision" is the key to faithful reading of the Bible. In prophetic light, the church today *is* the early or "primitive" church (1:33), much as the Acts 2 church *was* (Acts 2:16) the community Joel envisioned centuries before. The prophetic church looks for and lives out the plain meaning of the whole biblical story that culminates in New Testament Christianity. At the same time, the prophetic church looks for and lives out the plain meaning of the eschaton. Like the story from the past, the Bible's vision of the end—of what lasts and what comes last—shapes prophetic thought and practice in the present. As the author says in his summarizing formula, "this is that" and "then is now." True Christian existence, in other words, reflects today both the past and the future, the first and the final, ideals. And thus true Christian existence—the crucial point—refuses to bend its convictions to the pressures and fashions of the moment.

In his *Doctrines* McClendon turned from how the church may truly *live* to what it may truly *teach*. Again, the story—the whole Bible's record of what has happened and vision of what will happen—is decisive. Because Jesus bestrides both the story and the vision, true Christian doctrine "begins and ends with the confession *Iesous Kyrios*, Jesus is Lord" (2:64). And as before, the point is that the church may live aright. Doctrine is secondary, a means to faithful practice and to the grand goal of a new "corporate humanity" centered in Jesus Christ (2:33). The paradigmatic Christian scholar is the newly sighted Bartemaeus, who in McClendon's reading of Mark 10 unites in one life both reflection on, and

enlistment in, the cause associated with God's Kingdom. The church must teach what truly assists this cause. And when by intent or oversight it falls short, and the ensuing practice violates the cause, true Christian scholarship renovates its own teaching. Authentic doctrinal study is always self-corrective.

Witness asks how followers of Jesus may bear a faithful witness among those who live by other lights. After Christendom, when even the church's "homelands" are "mission fields," this involves "cross-cultural engagements" (3:19, 21) and requires the church to ask always "where and how" to take its stand among the many peoples and perspectives of the wider world (3:34).

Aside from Scripture itself, McClendon draws primarily from church life before Constantine and from the aforementioned Radical Reformation. As for twentieth-century writers, he attends in particular to the "line of direction" that proceeds from Paul Tillich through the often-overlooked Julian Hartt to John Howard Yoder (3:49). Standing on these broad shoulders, as well as those of philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein, McClendon argues that true Christian witness means Christ-shaped dialogue with others. The dialogue allows for believer fallibility, acknowledges the barriers thrown up by cultural diversity, and recognizes the priority of practice over mere profession. Still, it proceeds in the confidence that persuasion across convictional lines is possible, even though difficult. And in the course of the dialogical give-and-take, the church finds reason not only to learn about others but also to learn about itself, and to craft again and again a fresh and more faithful telling of its own story. When the dialogue attracts new members and at the same time betters the existing ones, it fulfills what McClendon calls "(non-imperial) mission aimed at conversion" and so carries out the Gospel Commission (3:301).

In all this the aim is ever-wider embodiment of God's will on earth. When the church bears faithful witness, it supplies vision that is otherwise lacking and helps the surrounding culture grasp its own true destiny. Small gains up to now do not annul the larger goal, but invite its more adept pursuit (3:165). And that means Christian involvement in the vision-shaping dimensions of culture. Volume 3 devotes lengthy chapters, therefore, to religion, to science (where Nancey Murphy's coauthorship comes in), to the various arts and (now over three chapters, with a wider purpose) to philosophy. For each of these fields, he tells some part of its own story, then weighs in with "gospel critique" (3:65), now affirming, now disaffirming, intending always to shed Christian hope and light.

From the gospel standpoint, the issue, as McClendon puts it in his reflections on art, is whether "the Great Story" of God in Christ is "answered in earthly story" (3:162). Does a novel or a work of music, a metaphysic or a worship service, see what is plainly visible, yet reach beyond it? Does it acknowledge failure and even horror in human life, yet move past anger to hope? Does it assert or at least imply a trajectory for human renewal? Under gospel light, such questions guide both criticism and participation in the vision-shaping dimensions of human culture.

The volume, like the entire trilogy, defies the conventional expectation that Anabaptist sensibility comes down to irrelevant withdrawal. McClendon acknowledges, of course, the Christian disagreement about how the church should relate to the wider culture. He even suggests that the ongoing "contest" among

Christian groups can enhance the church's overall achievement in the end. But he is steadfast in arguing that the "master story," the biblical narrative with its resurrection climax, determines truly faithful witness. Disciples are like athletes who "follow" the game—track the goings-on, relate them to the outcome, and play better for their "attentive perception." What disciples follow, though, is the master story; when they track these goings-on and live in their light, they witness best to the grand vision of God's will expressed on earth (3:353, 356, 362).

McClendon's systematic theology is the finest contemporary manual for following the story from the Radical Reformation standpoint. Catholic and Protestant readers will find much to challenge them and much, no doubt, to disagree with. But that goes, too, for Adventists, Baptists and others who inherit the radical standpoint. This trilogy, not least its last volume, crackles with jarring, passionately-defended insight, revealing much that denominations with roots in the Radical Reformation have repressed or denied.

Readers will find here an academic style that is at once elegant and compact. The latter necessitates straight-backed attention, and the preface to each (!) of the three volumes urges readers to proceed slowly. Those who refuse will likely fall by the wayside, but those who persist will find insight and inspiration for both theology and theology's point, the faithful practice of the Christian life.

Kettering College of Medical Arts   CHARLES SCRIVEN
Kettering, Ohio

Moo, Douglas J. *The Letter of James*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000. xvi + 271 pp. Hardcover, $28.00.

Douglas Moo's new commentary *The Letter of James* is an outstanding addition to scholarship on this brief but crucial biblical text. Moo, a Professor of New Testament at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, is one of the best younger conservative evangelical scholars and is known for his commentary on Romans in the New International Commentary series and a number of other books.

Moo's work on James is the sixth volume of The Pillar New Testament Commentary series, which is aimed at pastors and teachers. Like other authors of this series, Moo is familiar with the whole range of scholarly debate on the text, but his aim is exegesis and exposition without too much technical detail. It is not the book for those who are primarily interested in what others have said on a verse in question, nor for those who want a word-by-word exegesis of the Greek. D. A. Carson writes in the Series Preface:

> The rationale for this approach is that the vision of "objective scholarship" (a vain chimera) may actually be profane. God stands over against us; we do not stand in judgment of him. When God speaks to us through his Word, those who profess to know him must respond in an appropriate way, and that is certainly different from a stance in which the scholar projects an image of autonomous distance. . . . If the text is God's Word, it is appropriate that we respond with reverence, a certain fear, a holy joy, a questing obedience. These values should be reflected in the way Christians write (viii).

Those who disagree will not want to read Moo's volume. Those who agree will

find it very useful, both in their knowledge of James and in their walk with God.

James is a controversial biblical book, but few are more important to a well-rounded understanding of the biblical message. Protestant scholars have never forgotten Luther's problems with it. To this day many commentators shy away from the clear meaning of certain verses. Consequently, as each of the many problematic verses came up, I found myself eager to get Moo's viewpoint. Time after time, I found either that our views were essentially identical or his were superior to mine. He is a careful reader, missing little. I never felt he was avoiding textual issues or imposing his doctrinal biases on the text. Furthermore, he bases useful insights on his superb understanding of the cultural setting of James and of extrabiblical writings contemporary with it.

My only disagreement was with Moo's speculation that James would have written differently if he had read Paul and, therefore, his letter must be early. I think it is quite possible that James chose to write according to his own understanding of the gospel after reading Paul, yet without explicitly interacting with him. We find the same approach in the Gospels.

Since my agreement with Moo's exposition is not necessarily sufficient evidence that you should read his book, I will present a few examples of his approach. First, Moo sees the central purpose of James as the pursuit and development of spiritual wholeness. For James, such wholeness includes humbly walking with God, seeking his will, and doing it. It embraces all aspects of life. Moo writes:

> [T]he difference between "perfect" and "complete" is not very large. For the Christian who has attained "completeness" will also be "perfect" in character. James, we must remember, is presenting this as the ultimate goal of faith's testing; he is not claiming that believers will attain the goal. But we should not "lower the bar" on the expectation James sets for us. Nothing less than complete moral integrity will ultimately satisfy the God who is himself holy and righteous, completely set apart from sin (56).

Another example is Moo's treatment of James 1:13—"When tempted, no one should say, 'God is tempting me.' For God cannot be tempted by evil, nor does he tempt anyone"— which has led to a great deal of scholarly speculation. Moo's solution is simple and neat: "But while God may test or prove his servants in order to strengthen their faith, he never seeks to induce sin and destroy their faith. Thus, despite the fact that the same Greek root (*peira-*) is used for both the outer trial and the inner temptation, it is crucial to distinguish them" (73). He then quotes Sir 15:11-20 to clinch his argument with words that James may be paraphrasing.

One reason Moo handles the epistle so fairly is that he seems to be spiritually in tune with James. This speaks well of his theological balance, given his equal ability to be in tune with Paul in his Romans commentary. In response to the call in James 1:22 to not only hear the word but do it, he writes:

> People can think that they are right with God when they really are not. And so it is for those people who "hear" the word—regular church attenders, seminary students, and even seminary professors—but do not "do" it. They are mistaken in thinking that they are truly right with God. For God's word cannot be divided into parts. If one wants the benefits of its saving power, one must also embrace it as a guide for life (90).

Dealing with 1:24, the rather difficult mirror metaphor, Moo writes:

Indeed, the success of James's analogy presumes that both the person who looks in the mirror and the person who looks into God's word are capable of two different responses. The "hearer only" is faulted for not acting on what he sees in the mirror (implying that he could act on it if he chose), while the "doer" of v. 25 is commended for putting into effect what he has seen in God's law (implying that he could ignore it if he chose). The key failure of the "hearer only," then, is forgetting (93).

The verse which has led centuries of Protestant theologians to shy away from James is, of course, 2:24: "You see that a person is justified by what he does and not by faith alone." Many have seen this as a specific denial of Paul's teaching in Rom 3:28. Moo writes:

A more profitable approach is to compare the word "faith" in Paul with the phrase "faith alone" in James. The addition of "alone" shows clearly that James refers to the bogus faith that he has been attacking throughout this paragraph: the faith that a person "claims" to have (v. 14); a faith that is, in fact, "dead" (vv. 17 and 26) and "useless" (v. 20). This faith is by no means what Paul means by faith. He teaches that faith is a dynamic, powerful force, through which the believer is intimately united with Christ, his Lord. And since faith is in a *Lord*, the need for obedience to follow from faith is part of the meaning of the word for Paul. He can therefore speak of "the obedience of faith" (Rom 1:5) and say that it is "faith working through love" that matters in Christ (Gal 5:6). This is exactly the concept of faith that James is propagating in this paragraph. Once we understand "faith alone," then, as a neat summary of the bogus faith that James is criticizing, we can find no reason to expect that Paul would have any quarrel with the claim that "faith alone" does not justify. . . . James and Paul use "justify" to refer to different things. Paul refers to the initial declaration of a sinner's innocence before God; James to the ultimate verdict of innocence pronounced over a person at the last judgment. If a sinner can get into relationship with God only by faith (Paul), the ultimate validation of that relationship takes into account the works that true faith must inevitably produce (James) (141).

Moo sees the sentence "You do not have, because you do not ask God" (4:3) as being far from a prosperity-gospel proof text. He writes:

What is it that James's readers want to have? He nowhere says in these verses, but the context suggests an answer: the kind of wisdom that will enable them to gain recognition as leaders in the community. James has rebuked his readers for wanting to become teachers (3:1) and for priding themselves on being "wise and understanding" (3:13). They apparently want to lead the church, but don't have the right kind of wisdom to do so. Moreover, James's language here reminds us inevitably of his earlier encouragement: "If any of you lack wisdom, he should ask of God" (1:5) (184).

A final difficulty in James is the meaning of his comments on anointing the sick and their healing. Moo analyzes the various viewpoints and presents his own position, which is faithful to the text:

A prayer for healing, then, must usually be qualified by a recognition that God's will in the matter is supreme. And it is clear in the NT that God does *not* always will to heal the believer [he cites 2 Cor 12:7-9 and Tit 3:20]. . . . The faith with which we pray is always faith in the God whose will is supreme and best; only sometimes does this faith include assurance that a particular request is within that

will. This is exactly the qualification that is needed to understand Jesus' own promise: "You may ask me for anything in my name, and I will do it" (John 14:14). To ask "in Jesus' name" means not simply to utter his name, but to take into account his will. Only those requests offered "in that will" are granted (244-245).

Any scholar, student, or pastor who wants to know and do God's will as revealed in James will profit from Moo's *The Letter of James*. It belongs in all seminary libraries. Given the quality of the exposition and the reasonable price of the work at a time when many books its size sell for twice as much, the volume is a bargain.

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Myers, Bryant L. *Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999. 288 pp. Paper, $22.00.

Bryant Myers's book *Walking with the Poor* addresses the core issues of understanding the concept of development and how to minister to the poor by describing "the principles and practice of transformational development from a Christian perspective" (1). He does that by bringing together three areas of thought and action that have shaped the development thinking today, such as the "best of principles and practices [from the secular] international development community," the thoughts and experiences from Christian development and relief agencies (NGOs), as well as a "biblical framework for transformational development" (ibid.).

Myers develops his holistic understanding of poverty by discussing a variety of factors which contribute to poverty, models used to conceptualize poverty, and traditional views of how to intervene in order to change poverty. Traditional development is about material and social change, which are often synonymous with westernization and modernization. Transformational development, he suggests, is about changes in the whole of human life, including the material, social, and spiritual spheres (3). Wrapped in these two concepts is the concept of Christian witness, which Myers sees as a declaration of the gospel through life, words, and deeds.

At the center of Myers's arguments is what he calls the "blind spot" in Western development thinking, where poverty is merely seen as a material condition, having to do with the absence of things, which can be solved by responding with material resources.

Myers sees in our world a "convergence of stories" (20) that are in competition with each other. The Enlightenment, communism, science, technology, and capitalism have all tried to contribute in their own way to our understanding of who we are and what our goal is, but "at the end of the twentieth century the authority of these stories is fraying in the face of broken promises" (21). The Bible is an important source for the understanding and discussion of development because it is the Bible that tells not only the origins but also the ending of humanity. In that sense, it is "the biblical story [which] provides the answer to how the stories of the community and the promoter may reorient themselves to that intended by their Creator" (12). Therefore, true meaning in development comes only from God's story

because it is the source of motivation, values, and mission. This story has a "way out." The central figure (Christ) provides the solution to the world because "the Christ of God was very much the Christ of the powerless and despised" (33).

Transformational development brings back God's plan for this earth. The economic and political systems, which God created and gifted to the entire human society, have been impacted by the fall of man. Wealth has been used by humans to protect their own self-interest, and they act as owners rather than as stewards. Political systems have come to serve the powerful rather than to provide justice and peace. Becoming agents of the political and economic powers has compromised even the religious systems: "The net result of the fall on the economic, political and religious systems is that they become the places where people learn to play god in the lives of the poor and the marginalized" (29).

The point of the biblical story is clear: "God's goal is to restore us to our original identity, as children reflecting God's image, and to our original vocation as productive stewards, living together in just and peaceful relationships" (42).

Three key principles of the biblical story are the incarnation of Christ, the concept of redemption, and the kingdom of God (46-50). The "incarnation is the best evidence we have for how seriously God takes the material world" (46). God came and lived among humanity in the person of Christ. He healed and raised real people. He took on the struggle against oppression, suffering, and man's inhumanity to man. His mission was more than merely spiritual. As God's agents in transformational development, we are his hands and feet (46), working for the redemption of people in his kingdom here on earth.

In the third chapter, Myers analyzes several popular Christian and sociological concepts of poverty, concluding that poverty "is a complicated social issue involving all areas of life—physical, personal, social, cultural and spiritual" (81). He sees many causes of poverty, which "perpetuate injustice and misery" (83). Poverty can also exist within the mind, which he calls "poverty of being" (84). All this shows that poverty is a complex issue, and warns that interventions poorly thought through might cause more harm than bring help. And finally, an often overlooked area of poverty is caused by the "spirit world of shamans, and witchcraft and their not insignificant contribution to making and keeping people poor" (85-86). Because of the complexity of poverty, it will take the integration of many disciplines in doing meaningful development (see chap. 4).

Finally, Myers returns to his concept of transformational development, because for him "the point of greatest transformational leverage is changed people. It is the transformed person who transforms his or her environment" (116). In this way, the world will not be transformed by money and programs, but "at the end of the day, any transformation, justice, and peace will be because God made it so" (121).

Chapters 6 and 7 provide "principles" and "tools" for Christian development "practitioners" (137-203). Practitioners are reminded that in every "community [people have] already a survival strategy" (141). They are reminded that as outsiders they have to acknowledge this fact, and have to understand and learn to respect their hosts (and not act with a godlike mentality), and help to facilitate the people's survival strategies. In allowing people to share their story, it leads directly to a shift of participation and empowerment and reinforces in the mind of the community that

they have valuable skills to offer (they have their own story to tell). This strategy impacts not only the outsiders, but the hosts as well. They become the owners of the process of self-improvement rather than become dependent on the outsider. The "holistic" practitioners (153-57) will become good neighbors—patient, reflecting a Christian character, and exhibiting a commitment to learning. Myers shows here the importance of being transformed before becoming a transformer: "Ultimately, the effectiveness of transformational development comes down, not to theory, principles or tools, but to people. Transformation is about transforming relationships, and relationships are transformed by people" (150).

Without question, Myers provides the best analysis of a Christian's involvement in the work of the poor and needy in this world. He approaches the task of transforming people and communities according to biblical principles. Myers also sees our human limitations of personal biases against the poor, presuppositions, and distorted worldviews. He realizes that our human story will be meaningful only if it corresponds to the story of God as presented in his Word. What a challenge for Christian churches and community-developing organizations to focus their activities through a constant dialogue with biblical principles!

This is an incredible book and an important contribution to evangelical Christian thinking on wholistic ministries.

Andrews University   RUDOLF MAIER

Myers, Bryant L. *Working with the Poor: New Insights and Learnings from Development Practitioners.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1999. 288 pp. Paper, $22.00.

One of the main purposes of the book is to bring together development practitioners who are concerned "to find an authentically holistic practice of transformational development" (xii). The book is a compilation of various essays and reports written by a number of World Vision development practitioners who had a desire to improve the definition of holistic development. Bryant Myers, one of the vice presidents at World Vision International, is the editor. *Working with the Poor* is a practical supplement to Myers's previous book *Walking with the Poor* (Orbis Books, 1999).

Although the writers are all concerned with the central theme of holistic and transformational development, their various backgrounds and expertise provide a variety of solutions to the current situation of poverty and the poor. The book starts with a definition of poverty from a holistic viewpoint (as already developed in *Walking with the Poor*), followed by three essays on how development works. The third part of the book (chaps. 5, 6) deals with practical development experiences. The next two chapters, under the section entitled "Frontiers," have to do with issues of "peace building" and the need to build "bridges to the world of economic corporations." The final chapter sums up the preceding eight.

Due to the format of this book, I will highlight some of the contributions from each of the authors. In the first chapter (forming part 1—"Framework"), Jayakumar Christian clearly describes poverty as caused not only by material needs, but also by a lack of spirituality. He sees poverty as disempowerment. The poor are surrounded by oppressive relationships that push them to the bottom of society. In order to keep

people in oppression, those in society that benefit from this relationship are interested in maintaining this status quo. The solution for the poor is to empower them, by helping them to understand that they are created in the image of God. In this context development must include proclamation regarding God, the Holy Spirit, prayer, and fasting. Our "years of work among the poor has [sic] taught us that limiting our investment among the poor just to money makes the poor beggars, and limiting our investments to programs makes the poor glorified beggars" (23). In the total context, solving the problem of poverty should be viewed as transforming lives, which can be done only through a spiritual process that starts first in our own lives.

Chapters 2-5 form the "Methods" section of the book. Chapters 2-3 discuss Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) and Appreciative Inquiry (AI), two important tools in transformational development. The authors distinguish between three approaches in education and development: the emptiness or banking approach (in which the poor are only objects and are thought to be in total need of help), the weakness or problem-solving approach (in which the poor become weak partners and the community needs assistance), and the strength-based or Appreciative Inquiry approach (in which the poor are partners with capacity and the community builds on what is already successful). Through PLA, communities are allowed to describe what they already know and to analyze what is working and what is not. People are empowered to feel that they are main stakeholders in the development process. In AI, their contributions are valued. The theory behind this approach is: "If people can see where they have succeeded in the past and understand why, and if they can build on this to plan for a better future, they may be able to attain greater success" (41). This is a very humbling approach for the development worker because suddenly he is no longer the manager, but a listener and learner. This testifies to the poor that they have dignity and shows them that they are created in the image of God.

In the fourth chapter, the authors deal with the role of the Bible in holistic transformational development. Because Scripture deals with all spheres of life, reading the Bible should be considered a part of the process of development. Two key aspects incorporate Scripture in development. One called "Scripture Search" has successfully been used in the Philippines. In this methodology, people are taught how to discover passages of Scripture relevant to issues with which they are wrestling (64). The second approach, called "Seven Steps," comes from Latin America and the Carribbean (73). People are invited to read Scripture, think over the text, contemplate their experiences with God, and pray. Both of these tools have been shown to facilitate empowerment by changing attitudes.

The third part of the book (chaps. 5, 6) shifts from methodology to more practical approaches in holistic development. Chapter 5 talks about economic development. The author proposes that churches become involved in microenterprise development programs. The authors explain that a church can use, for example, community banking "as a bridge or channel to the neighborhood" (82). This might be a successful tool in areas where people are hostile to mission work and this could be the only way to introduce the gospel. The sixth chapter provides case studies in community organizations. Youth and literacy groups, which have been used frequently around the world by faith-based organizations,

have contributed to an increased sense of community.

Part 4, "Frontiers," deals with new areas of mission and development work. "Peace-building" is a natural outgrowth of many transformational development programs. Programs of reconciliation and peace-building are designed to bring deliverance from internal wars and conflicts. Such internal conflicts have been multiplying over the last few decades, and so have the number of people suffering as the result of them. If development wants to be holistic, it cannot avoid getting involved in political and economic interactions. The final report in the book (chap. 8) suggests that Nongovernment Organizations (NGOs) need to build bridges and create closer working relationships with business organizations, which can provide not only financial, but also human resources.

This book is a collection of essays, and as such it has a number of inherent advantages and weaknesses. On the positive side, it brings together the experiences of a wide variety of practitioners in the field of holistic development ministries. The variety of approaches and even styles of writing is refreshing. The writers present their topics in an honest fashion. They are willing to admit that many of their theories are still new and have not yet been fully tested and evaluated. Often they offer their own critiques to the approaches and methods within their reports. Understandably, they are cautiously optimistic.

The fact that each individual essay is shaped by the individual personality (and experiences) of the author has contributed to a lack of central focus. Although the contributors have written on a central topic, differences between their emphases and outlooks make the book less than easy to follow. The book would probably be hard for a newcomer to the field of holistic ministry to appreciate, but it is a good complement to Bryant L. Myers's book *Walking with the Poor* (Orbis, 1999).

Andrews University   RUDOLF MAIER

Oestreich, Bernard, Horst Rolly, and Wolfgang Kabus, Hrsg. *Glaube und Zukunftsgestaltung: Festschrift zum hunderjährigen Bestehen der Theologischen Hochschule Friedensau, Aufsätze zu Theologie, Sozialwissenschaften und Musik.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999. 435 pp. Hardcover, $67.95.

This volume served as a Festschrift for the one-hundreth anniversary of the Theologische Hochschule Friedensau. The three editors are on the faculty there. The Festschrift consists of three major parts, as already indicated by the title, namely theology, social sciences, and music. After an introduction dealing with the history of the institution, there are thirteen chapters on theology, seven on social sciences, and four on music. The articles of R. McIver, G. Oosterwal, and R. Pöhler are the only English contributions to the volume. Most of the authors are teaching at Friedensau, some of them as guest lecturers. Six are professors of state universities in Germany.

In spite of the three sections of the book, all the articles more or less relate to religion. Articles of the social scientific section deal with a group of *bene Israel* in India and the preservation of their cultural identity (H. Rolly), the church and its social responsibility (M. Dauenhauer), a model of a social network within a local church (W. Noack), youth and violence (M. Dietrich), therapy and prevention of

substance abuse and other forms of dependence as an important task for Christian social work (L. Schmidt), and singles (B. S. de Boutemard). The article by W. Scherf, an M.D. who specializes in psychosomatic medicine, is an exposition of the parable of the prodigal son in Luke 15, focusing on our image of God.

Scherf's piece is a good example of the overlap that exists between the different sections of the book (the article could also have been appropriately placed in the theology section). On the other hand, one wonders if the contributions by J. Gerhardt and G. Oosterwal, both of which are found under the heading "Theologie," would not also have fitted in the category of social sciences, at least to a certain degree. There is also some overlap in the last section on music. H. Seidel has written on musicians in biblical times; C. Krummacher on music and theology; C. Brunners on the hymn writer Gerhard Tersteegen; and W. Kabus on the contemporary culture, arguing for cautiously accepting the present youth culture, plurality of values, and the program of postmodernism.

The articles of the first section can be grouped as follows: articles on archaeology (U. Worschech on Kedar, an old North Arabian tribe; and R. McIiver on "First-century Nazareth"), exegetical studies (F. J. Stendebach on Jer 29:4-7; and B. Oestreich on Rom 14:1-15:13), theological studies (F. Ninow on the past, the present, and the future as aspects of faith in the OT; T. Domanyi on Paul and slavery; and S. Uhlig on woes in Jewish apocalypses, OT prophetic texts, and NT passages), extrabiblical literature (H. Seibert on apocalyptic thought patterns in the Ezra-Apocalypse), historical studies (K.-M. Beyse on the term "the fifth gospel," which does not refer to the Gospel of Thomas, but to Palestine; and J. Hartlapp on German Adventist history during the era of the Weimar Republic), methodological studies (R. Pöhler on "The Adventist Historian Between Criticism and Faith"), and applied theology (J. Gerhardt on Clinebell's growth dimensions, and G. Oosterwal on "Faith and Mission in a Secularized World").

A general evaluation of this volume is not easy because of the number of different authors and their various backgrounds. Some articles contain confessional portions, in which the authors speak as Christian believers (e.g., Dietrich and Schmidt). Many articles seem to breathe the critical spirit of German Protestantism of the twentieth century (support for the diachronic method, source criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism, late dates for biblical books, evolution theory). A number focus on the German situation, which can be helpful for those interested in German history and culture, but may be not be very useful for an international readership. Some articles present problems without offering solutions (e.g., Pöhler's article). Others lack definitions that may be crucial for support of the author's main argument (e.g., the term "mysticism" in Brunners's study and the food issue in Oestreich's article). Noack's model for a social network of a church is untested in that its effects on church growth cannot yet be determined.

Those who are interested in the situation in Germany and want to get a feeling for the Theologische Hochschule Friedensau will benefit from reading this volume.

Biblical Research Institute   EKKEHARDT MUELLER
Silver Spring, Maryland

Sider, Ronald J. *Good News and Good Works: A Theology for the Whole Gospel.* Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999. 253 pp. Paper, $13.00.

Ronald J. Sider, Professor of Theology and Culture at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, is also the president of Evangelicals for Social Action. In his book *Good News and Good Works* (previously published as *One-Sided Christianity? Uniting the Church to Heal a Lost and Broken World*), he develops a biblical "theology for the whole gospel" that affirms "both personal and social sin, both personal conversion and social salvation, both Jesus as a moral example and Jesus as a victorious substitute, both orthodox theology and ethical obedience" (10).

He argues that a holistic understanding of the Bible is needed to overcome the inadequate and limited concepts that have robbed the church of its potential to be an agent of change and a witness to God in the world.

The book is divided into five parts. The first is entitled "A House Divided," in which the author recounts his own "pilgrimage" and calling to social action (15-25), but then shifts quickly to analyze the current distorted situation in churches today. He suggests that

> most churches today are one-sided disasters. In some suburban churches hundreds of people come to Jesus and praise God in brand-new buildings, but they seldom learn that their new faith has anything to do with wrenching, inner-city poverty just a few miles away. In other churches, the members write their senators and lobby the mayor's office, but they understand little about the daily presence of the Holy Spirit, and they would be stunned if someone asked them personally to invite their neighbors to accept Christ (26).

For Sider, churches are dealing with the question of evangelism and social responsibility in four different categories. The first he calls "The Individualistic Evangelical Model" (33-36). In this model, "evangelism is the primary mission of the church" (33). Some believe that the church must challenge racism and work to improve society, but the primary focus of the church is on the salvation of individuals and not social justice (33). Sider contends that this model finds "exclusive attention to inner conversion [as] adequate" (36). Biblical passages concerning social justice are neglected.

The second, the "Radical Anabaptist Model," is where "the primary mission of the church is simply to be the corporate body of believers" (36). This model emphasizes "living as converted individuals and thereby offering society the church as the [only] way to change the world" (37). Evangelism is important, but there is little if any place for political engagement or social expression.

The *Dominant* "Ecumenical Model" (38-44) claims that conversion of individuals and the political structuring of society are both central parts of evangelism and salvation (38). Sider warns that there are groups in this category of churches that would deemphasize sin and salvation, while others would support that "all political action is evangelism" (40).

Finally, Sider analyzes the "Secular Christian Model" (44-45). He contends that in this model "evangelism is merely political and salvation is only social justice" (44). In this model sins are merely offenses between people and within societal structures, but not against God. Conversion, therefore, and evangelism,

are not necessary. The objects of evangelism are social structures, and the "gospel" is shared through social and political "progress." Thanks to the Age of Enlightenment, this model is still with us and abounds in Western secularism.

After analyzing these four models, Sider develops (chaps. 3-8) his fifth model, which he labels the "Incarnational Kingdom Model." He says that this "is the kind of wholistic mission that is both biblical and effective . . . [because it] is fully grounded in . . . biblical study. It also combines the strengths and avoids the weaknesses of the other four models" (158).

To understand Sider's "Incarnational Kingdom Model," we have to review some of his definitions in chapters 3-8. The "kingdom" concept is central here. In the book of Exodus, Moses shows us how God established a kingdom by showing how to worship him, how to do justice, enact fair laws, and maintain strong families. The prophets looked beyond the mere restoration of living in right relationship with God to God's concern for the poor, weak, and marginalized (53).

The kingdom of God was also central in the life of Jesus. For him, it is not only present in his person; it is also a future reality. The Pharisees hoped for a kingdom brought forth by obedience to rules and laws. Revolutionaries during the time of Jesus expected to bring about the kingdom through political revolution and social action. For Jesus, the reality of the kingdom was experienced as a gift by accepting God's forgiveness, which would lead to a restoration of all relationships. The kingdom that Jesus introduced must be a forgiving community, grounded firmly in Jesus' forgiveness at the cross. This kingdom reality becomes visible in the church (57-59) when it is living according to Jesus' preaching. As the church is waiting for God's new world to come, it is not to wait passively, but is to be filled with Christian care for the concerns of this world. This relationship between social action and evangelism was demonstrated by Christ himself when he commissioned his followers to proclaim his kingdom message to the whole world, but also to remind them to care for the poor (chap. 4). However, at the same time Jesus made it clear that the wholeness of the kingdom will become visible only when he returns.

Sider is clear that the world needs the new kingdom community of Jesus and the complete message of forgiveness. But it also needs to hear about the reconciled and reconciling community in which people can find love and nurture. For Sider, "the proper way to distinguish evangelism and social action is in terms of intention. Evangelism is that set of activities whose primary intention is inviting non-Christians to embrace the gospel of the kingdom, to believe in Jesus Christ as personal Savior and Lord, and to join his new redeemed community" (163). On the other hand, "social action is that set of activities whose primary goal is improving the physical, socioeconomic, and political well-being of people through relief, development and structural change" (ibid.). But the question for him is, how "can you have Christian social responsibility without having Christians" (165)? The answer is that "biblical evangelism calls on people to repent of sin—all sin, not just some privatized list of personal sins. A biblically faithful evangelist will call on people to repent of involvement in unjust social structures" (173). In this way, wholistic preaching of "the gospel creates new persons whose transformed character and action [will] change the world" (174). A group of such genuinely

converted people will "break through sinful barriers of racism, class prejudice, and oppression [, and] its very existence has a powerful influence on society" (175).

For Sider, the separation between social action and evangelism is not only unbiblical, but also ineffective. Evangelism without social action is empty and implausible; social action without evangelism is shallow because it does not cause true transformation. In essence, "church people think about how to get people into the church, while kingdom people think about how to get the church into the world. Church people think about how the world might change the church; while kingdom people work to see that the church changes the world" (75). In the final analysis, Sider's *Incarnational Kingdom Model* suggests that "evangelism and social action are inseparably interrelated. Each leads to the other. They mutually support each other" (180).

Although Sider's suggested model might appear new to some, it is actually an old biblical model. The challenge is not so much for Christians to understand it as to practice it. A "right relationship with God, neighbor and earth" (190) is essential for the success of Sider's model. But what happens if there is no healthy relationship with oneself? This problem is most prevalent among those who have been lied to, marginalized, and kept in systems of poverty. What about those who are living in affluent societies and have material wealth, but who are lonely and "poor"?

Sider's book is an excellent wake-up call for (evangelical) Christians to start living the gospel in their daily lives.

Andrews University   RUDOLF MAIER

Van der Toorn, Karel, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst, eds. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d rev. ed.   Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, and Boston: Brill, 1999. 998 pp. Hardcover, $120.00.

Eerdmans presents the revised edition of *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* as "the only major work describing the gods, angels, demons, spirits, and semi-divine heroes whose names occur throughout Scripture." First published in 1995, the present work has been expanded to include thirty new articles, while more than 100 articles from the first edition have been updated to reflect current research.

The impressive list of 100 contributors include such international scholars as Hans Dieter Betz (Chicago); Paolo Xella (Rome), Klaas Spronk (Amsterdam), and Wolfgang Röllig, (Tübingen) to name a few. The original impetus for such a work came from Michael Stone (Jerusalem), who desired to create a dictionary that would include all deities and demons of the ANE religions. However, this "ambitious project" was eventually limited to include only those gods and demons specifically mentioned in the Bible (xviii). As a result, major ANE gods are described along with lesser characters. For instance, although the god Euphrates plays a lesser role in ANE culture than does the Babylonian Marduk, both are presented because of their presence in Scripture. Other gods, despite their importance to ANE religions, are not separately listed. However, this imbalance is often corrected through cross-referencing, such as when Anu, the Mesopotamian god of heaven, is discussed under the subtitle "heaven" (xv).

Each article discusses the meaning of the deity's name, its religio-historical background, provides relevant biblical passages, and presents informative

bibliographical information. Cross referencing increases the value of this work.

Although the characters are presented in alphabetical order, the gods and demons are characterized by five separate categories: those mentioned by name in the Bible (i.e., Asherah, Baal, Hermes, Zeus), those mentioned as part of the composition of a personal or place name (i.e., Anat in Anathoth, or Shemesh in Beth-shemesh), gods mentioned in the Bible but who are not acknowledged as gods (i.e., the so-called "demytholozied deities" [xvi], who are mentioned in connection with usages such as the word *yārēaḥ* derived from the name "Yarikh" the moon-god), gods whose "presence and/or divinity is often questionable" (xvi) (i.e., "by slightly revocalizing Isa 10:4, and altering the division of the words, Paul de Lagarde obtained a reference to Belti and Osiris where generations of scholars before had read a negation [*biltî*] and the collective designation of prisons [*'assîr*]" [xvi]), and human figures who allegedly arose to divine or semidivine status in later tradition (i.e., Jesus, Mary, Enoch, Moses, Elijah).

The *Dictionary* is a useful (and interesting) tool not only for biblical theologians, but as one who comes from a systematic background, I found that the book helped to indirectly explain certain relationships between the development of modern hermeneutics and its original Greek sources by providing dialogue about Greek gods and their traditions. Such is the case with the god Hermes, from whom the term "hermeneutics" is derived. In addition, the god Dionysus is the basis for the Greek cultic festival of ecstasy that Aristotle described in his *Poetics* and for which he described the process by which to reach the state of catharsis that brought the festival to its climax. The *Poetics* serves as the basis for modern literary methods of interpretation.

The work provides a valuable starting point for further indepth studies of ANE gods and demons. However, one criticism lies in the designation of the *Dictionary's* fifth category of gods and demons: that of attributing a divine or semidivine status to human figures such as Enoch, Moses, and Elijah. While some ancient traditions do appear to apply a mythological character to figures such as Elijah (i.e., in Jewish folklore he is presented as one who combats social injustice; in Jewish mysticism he is a supernatural being "not born of a woman" [284]), Scripture itself presents these individuals as historical figures. Their qualification as divine or semidivine in the *Dictionary* lies in their purported supernatural deeds or encounters. However, in spite of my reluctance to include human figures as deities, I found the documentation valuable as a launching point for further studies.

The more than 400 articles contained in this work are a tremendous contribution to understanding the *Sitz im Leben* of Scripture. I would recommend the *Dictionary* as a useful resource tool.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   KAREN K. ABRAHAMSON

Walton, John H., Victor H. Matthews, and Mark W. Chavalas. *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: Old Testament.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000. 800 pp. Hardcover, $29.99.

There are several different ways in which to relate extrabiblical texts from the Ancient Near East to the biblical text. Each of these has its strengths and weaknesses. A standard reference work is *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating*

to the Old Testament, edited by J. B. Pritchard, which has been in use for half a century. In that work, the Ancient Near Eastern texts are presented simply in translations arranged geographically and chronologically.

The present work by Walton and his cowriters takes a different approach. It is basically a biblical commentary with as much discussion of extrabiblical texts incorporated into the commentary as is feasible within the limits of space. This 800-page commentary covers the whole of the OT, so there is not a lot of space for each book, chapter, and verse. To strike a balance between the biblical and extrabiblical material, the commentary does not provide verse-by-verse coverage. The Psalms, for example, are divided up by the five books of the Psalms, within which selected Psalms and their ideas are treated. In book 1, the order goes from Pss 1 to 2 and then 4 to 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16. Especially significant verses are singled out for comment.

This work is more a biblical commentary with additional illumination from extrabiblical texts than it is a collection of extrabiblical texts relevant to the Bible. Special topics from the ANE are treated, however, in about two dozen sidebars, which usually cover the bottom half of a page. The subjects of these sidebars are listed in the Table of Contents. As is to be expected, one of these covers the ANE flood stories (37). An especially useful one relates the structure of the book of Deuteronomy to ANE treaty formulation (172). The sidebar on the date of the Exodus considers both the fifteenth-century B.C. date and the thirteenth-century date, without coming to a final conclusion (86).

Compared with the sidebars, a far greater amount of extrabiblical material is discussed in the body of the commentary. Much of this is current with recent archaeological information, i.e., the Balaam Inscriptions from Deir Alla are discussed with the passage on the Balaam oracles in Num 22-24 (159). Interesting parallels and contrasts are found in the discussions of clean and unclean meats (Lev 11[128]) and the scapegoat of Lev 16, which the authors interpret as a demonic figure (181).

In the discussion of the Conquest by Joshua, the treatment of the archaeology of Jericho is brief and weak (217). Treatment of the conquest of Ai could have taken into account the recent excavations at Khirbet el-Maqatir, where Late Bronze pottery has been found in a small settlement near Bethel.

In the historical books, the authors appear to favor two Assyrian campaigns against Hezekiah, one in the time of Sargon, with Sennacherib accompanying as a prince, and the other during the reign of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (451-456). This yields a high chronology for the reign of Hezekiah, which would begin in 727 B.C. (451).

The introduction to the Psalms is excellent. Of special interest here is a glossary of musical terms (516-518).

In the prophets, the discussion of Isa 7 covers the historical background, the use of signs inside and outside the Bible, and the use of throne names paralleling the titles for the Messiah, but the Hebrew word for "young woman" in v. 14 is not investigated.

The Lachish letters are brought into the discussion of Jer 34 (668), and with Jeremiah there is a nice sidebar on biblical seals (666). This discussion could have been extended into the commentary on Jer 36, where we now have seals of three of the individuals known from this chapter: Baruch the scribe, Gemariah the son of Shapan, and Jerahmeel the son of the king.

Much of the interpretation of Daniel revolves around Antiochus IV

Epiphanes, but the Babylonian background is brought out well and the Akkadian Apocalypses are discussed in a sidebar (747). On a still unsettled question, the author favors the view of Darius the Mede as Cyrus.

At the back of the volume, the glossary, tables, and maps are very useful. However, some Median cities could have been included in the map of the Median Empire (826).

Any attempt to cover all of the books of the OT with relevant ANE material in 800 pages is bound to involve many decisions on what to include and what to leave out, so it would be easy to list some omissions. To dwell on that side of the commentary would be majoring in minors. The bigger picture here is that the three authors have produced a really excellent volume that incorporates into a discussion of the biblical text much material that has not previously been utilized in this fashion or was left only in less accessible journal articles. The authors are to be congratulated on the production of this superb volume, which should be valuable for scholars, pastors, and lay persons who are interested in understanding the Bible within its wider ANE context.

Red Bluff, California   WILLIAM H. SHEA

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ARTICLES

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

BOOK REVIEWS

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	=	'	ה	=	h	ט	=	ṭ	מ	=	m	פ	=	p	שׁ	=	š
ב	=	b	ו	=	w	י	=	y	נ	=	n	צ	=	ṣ	שׂ	=	ś
ג	=	g	ז	=	z	כ	=	k	ס	=	s	ק	=	q	ת	=	t
ד	=	d	ח	=	ḥ	ל	=	l	ע	=	'	ר	=	r			

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	= a		ֵ	= e		ֱ	= ê		ֹ	= ō	וֹ	= ô
ָ	= ā		ֵ	= ē		ִ	= i		ֳ	= o	וּ	= û
ֲ	= ᵃ	(vocal shewa) = ᵉ		ִ	= î		ֻ	= o		ַ	= u

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.	CHR	Catholic Historical Review
AB	Anchor Bible	CIG	Corpus inscriptionum græcarum
AcOr	Acta orientalia	CIJ	Corpus inscriptionum indaicarum
ADAJ	Annual Dept. Ant. Jordan	CIL	Corpus inscriptionum latinarum
AHR	American Historical Review	CIS	Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	CJT	Canadian Journal of Theology
AJT	American Journal of Theology	CQ	Church Quarterly
ANEP	Anc. Near East in Pictures	CQR	Church Quarterly Review
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts	CT	Christianity Today
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers	CTJ	Calvin Theological Journal
AnOr	Analecta orientalia	CTM	Concordia Theological Monthly
ANRW	Auf. und Nieder. der römischen Welt	CurTM	Currents in Theol. and Mission
ARG	Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte	DOTT	Doc. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.
ATR	Anglican Theological Review	EDNT	Exegetical Dict. of the NT
AusBR	Australian Biblical Review	EKL	Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon
AUSS	Andrews Seminary Studies	EncIS	Encyclopedia of Islam
BA	Biblical Archaeologist	EncJud	Encyclopedia Judaica
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review	ER	Ecumenical Review
BASOR	Bulletin Amer. Sch. Oriental Research	EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
BCSR	Bull. Council on the Study of Religion	EvT	Evangelische Theologie
BHS	Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia	ExpTim	Expository Times
Bib	Biblica	GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies
BibB	Biblische Beiträge	GTJ	Grace Theological Journal
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Expl. Society	HeyJ	Heythrop Journal
BJRL	Bulletin, John Rylands University	HR	History of Religions
BK	Bibel und Kirche	HTR	Harvard Theological Review
BKAT	Bibl. Kommentar: Altes Testament	HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
BR	Biblical Research	IB	Interpreter's Bible
BSac	Bibliotheca Sacra	ICC	International Critical Commentary
BT	The Bible Translator	IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin	IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift	Int	Interpretation
BZAW	Biehefte zur ZAW	ISBE	International Standard Bible Ency.
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW	JAAR	Journ. American Academy of Religion
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary	JAOS	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Society
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly	JAS	Journ. of Asian Studies
CH	Church History	JATS	Journ. of the Adventist Theol. Soc.

Abbreviations (continued)

JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature	RevSém	Revue sémitique
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion •	RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	RHPR	Revue d'hist. et de phil. religieuses
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology	RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
JETS	Journal of the Evangel. Theol. Soc.	RL	Religion in Life
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History	RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
JES	Journal of Ecumenical Studies	RR	Review of Religion
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies	RRR	Review of Religious Research
JMeH	Journal of Medieval History	RSPT	Revue des sc. phil. et théol.
JMES	Journal of Middle Eastern Studies	RTP	Revue de théol. et de phil.
JMH	Journal of Modern History	SA	Sociological Analysis
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	SB	Sources bibliques
JPOS	Journal of Palest. Orient. Soc.	SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review	SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
JR	Journal of Religion	SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society	SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
JRE	Journal of Religious Ethics	SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
JRelS	Journal of Religious Studies	SCJ	Sixteenth Century Journal
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the NT	SCR	Studies in Comparative Religion
JRH	Journal of Religious History	Sem	Semitica
JRT	Journal of Religious Thought	SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism	SMRT	Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the OT	SOr	Studia Orientalia
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies	SPB	Studia Postbiblica
JSSR	Journal for the Scien. Study of Religion	SSS	Semitic Studies Series
JTC	Journal for Theol. and Church	ST	Studia Theologica
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies	TD	Theology Digest
LCL	Loeb Classical Library	TDNT	Theol. Dict. of the NT
LW	Luther's Works, American Ed.	TDOT	Theol. Dict. of the OT
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly	TEH	Theologische Existenz Heute
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review	TGI	Theologie und Glaube
Neot	Neotestamentica	TJ	Trinity Journal
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies	TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
NICNT	New Internl. Commentary, NT	TP	Theologie und Philosophie
NICOT	New Inter. Commentary, OT	TQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
NIDNTT	New Inter. Dict. of NT Theol.	TRev	Theologische Revue
NIGTC	New Internl. Greek Test. Comm.	TRu	Theologische Rundschau
NKZ	Neu Kirchliche Zeitschrift	TS	Theological Studies
NovT	Novum Testamentum	TT	Teologisk Tidsskrift
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers	TToday	Theology Today
NRT	La nouvelle revue théologique	TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
NTA	New Testament Abstracts	TWAT	Theo. Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
NTAp	NT Apocrypha, Schneemelcher	TWOT	Theological Wordbook of the OT
NTS	New Testament Studies	TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
ODCC	Oxford Dict. of Christian Church	UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung	USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
Or	Orientalia (Rome)	VC	Vigiliae christianae
OrChr	Oriens christianus	VT	Vetus Testamentum
OTP	OT Pseudepigrapha, Charlesworth	VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien	WA	Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly	WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
PG	Patrologia Græca, Migne	WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
PL	Patrologia Latina, Migne	ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie	ZAW	Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wissen.
QDAP	Quart. Dept. of Ant. in Palestine	ZDMG	Zeitsch. des deutsch. morgen. Gesll.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'arch.	ZDPV	Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Vereins
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.	ZEE	Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik
RB	Revue biblique	ZHT	Zeitsch. für historische Theologie
RechSR	Recherches de science religieuse	ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
REg	Revue d'égyptologie	ZKT	Zeitsch. für katholische Theologie
RelS	Religious Studies	ZMR	Zeitsch. für Mission. und Religion.
RelSoc	Religion and Society	ZNW	Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wissen.
RelSRev	Religious Studies Review	ZRGG	Zeitsch. für Rel. und Geistegeschichte
RevExp	Review and Expositor	ZST	Zeitsch. für systematische Theologie
RevQ	Revue de Qumran	ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
RevScRel	Revue des sciences religieuses	ZWT	Zeitschrift für wissen. Theologie