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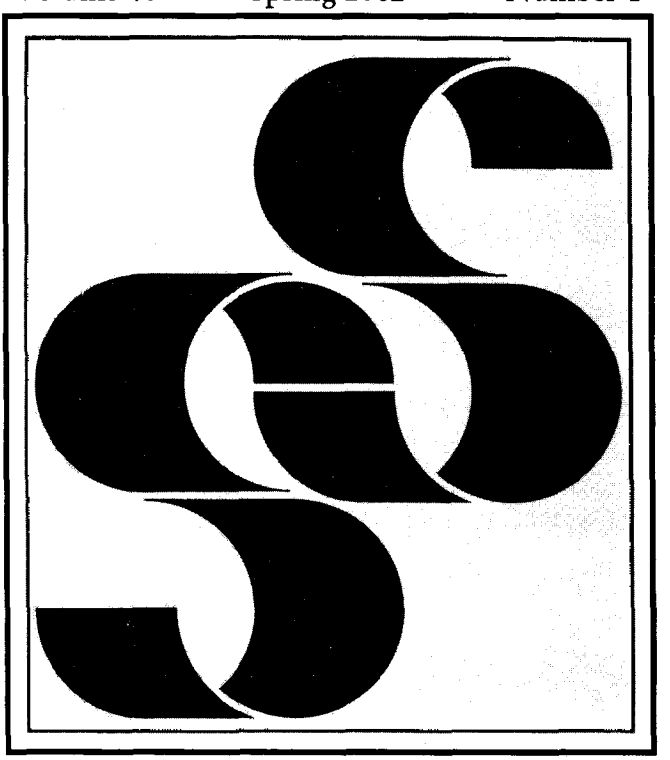

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DOES THE AUTHOR OF REVELATION MISAPPROPRIATE THE SCRIPTURES?

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Introduction

Though the language of John's allusions was the subject of a number of dissertations[1] in the 1960s, Schlatter's work of 1912[2] remained the only scholarly book-length treatment of John's use of Scripture until 1984.[3] This is surprising in that the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1948-1953) prompted a whole series of studies on the use of the OT in the NT.[4] The reason for this neglect is probably due to the fact that such studies generally focused on explicit quotations, whereas John's use of the OT is by allusion and echo. Lists of allusions appeared in the large commentaries[5] but with no hint as to the criteria used to produce them. R. H. Charles sought to categorize them according to their textual affinity, but as I have shown elsewhere, this was in the service of a particular theory and used questionable methodology.[6]

G. K. Beale's study of 1984 was a landmark. It was followed by a succession of studies, of which the most important are J. Paulien's[7]

[1]L. P. Trudinger, "The Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation" (Th.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1963); C. G. Ozanne, "The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament on the Book of Revelation" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Manchester, 1964).

[2]A. Schlatter, *Das alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse*, Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie 16.6 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1912).

[3]G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St John* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984).

[4]E.g., K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Uppsala: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1954); E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1957); E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John* (Leiden: Brill, 1965).

[5]E.g., H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 3d ed. (London: Macmillan, 1911), cxl-clviii; R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), 1:lxviii-lxxxiii.

[6]S. Moyise, "The Language of the Old Testament in the Apocalypse," *JSNT* 76 (1999): 97-113.

[7]J. Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Allusions and the Interpretation of Rev 8:7-12* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1988).

work on establishing criteria for allusions, J. M. Vogelgesang[8] and J.-P. Ruiz[9] on John's use of Ezekiel, J. Fekkes[10] on John's use of Isaiah, S. Moyise[11] on allusion and intertextuality, and R. Bauckham[12] on Revelation as the "climax of prophecy." The century ended with a further book by Beale, a supplement to his already large commentary in the NIGTC series.[13]

According to Beale, this scholarly work can be divided into two categories. Bauckham, Fekkes, and Beale think that John paid careful respect to the original context of the allusions. Vogelgesang, Ruiz, and I believe that he used texts for his own rhetorical ends and largely disregarded their original context. This called forth a "Reply"[14] from me, where it was argued that while John certainly shows "awareness" of original context, he is not bound by it, and so the word "respect" is misleading. For example, John has no qualms about utilizing much of Ezek 40 through 48 in his description of the New Jerusalem, and then denying the existence of the very thing that these chapters are all about, namely, a restored temple.

Beale, in turn, has written a "Rejoinder"[15] to my "Reply," where he argues that while John's use of Scripture might sometimes appear novel or surprising to us, it is fully understandable given John's presuppositions. John sometimes gives new *significance* to ancient texts by applying them to new situations, but this never constitutes giving them new *meaning*. If the ancient prophets had been brought back to life, they would have agreed (in the light of Christ) that John has given the true meaning of their utterances.

[8] J. M. Vogelgesang, "The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1985).

[9] J.-P. Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16:17-19:10* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989).

[10] J. Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development*, JSNTSup 93 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994).

[11] S. Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, JSNTSup 115 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

[12] R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993).

[13] G. K. Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); idem, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999).

[14] S. Moyise, "The Old Testament in the New: A Reply to Greg Beale," *Irish Biblical Studies* 21 (1999): 54-58.

[15] G. K. Beale, "Questions of Authorial Intent, Epistemology, and Presuppositions and Their Bearing on the Study of the Old Testament in the New: A Rejoinder to Steve Moyise," *Irish Biblical Studies* 21 (1999): 152-180.

Beale's "Rejoinder" draws heavily on the hermeneutical theories of E. D. Hirsch[16] and K. Vanhoozer,[17] who argue, against all forms of text-centered and reader-centered interpretation, that the only legitimate goal of interpretation is the recovery of what the original author intended. Vanhoozer states: "To impute meaning to a text that an author could not have intended is to be guilty of the same lack of respect for the reality of the past that characterizes revisionist history. To read our ideas back into the biblical text may be the hermeneutical equivalent of denying that the Holocaust ever happened."[18]

In this article, I want to evaluate three positions. The first agrees with Vanhoozer that authorial intention is the only valid goal for interpretation and seeks to show that this is John's aim in the book of Revelation. The second position also agrees with Vanhoozer but seeks to show that John does not live up to this ideal. He reads texts in the light of his current beliefs and uses them for his own rhetorical ends. Thus in Vanhoozer's terms, he offers a misappropriation of Scripture. The third denies the validity of Vanhoozer's claim. Ancient interpreters, whether rabbis, Christians, or Essenes, read texts in the light of their presuppositions. They were not interested in an archaic pursuit of what Ezekiel or Isaiah might have meant *prior* to the establishment of their various communities. It is only modern historical criticism that puts this at the forefront of interpretation. John offers an appropriation of Scripture that is quite proper in its first-century context.[19]

It is a weakness of Vanhoozer's book that he cites only texts that illustrate continuity between the OT and the NT. Similarly, it would be a weakness of this study if I were to cite simply those texts where dissonance is at a maximum. Instead, I will summarize in the first section of this article what I consider to be the most important results from the studies listed above. In the second part, I will use these to evaluate the strengths and weakness of the three positions.

I

The studies mentioned above have established to my satisfaction six important conclusions concerning John's use of Scripture. The first is the use of key sections of Ezekiel (chaps. 1, 9-10, 16/23, 26-27, 37-48) in the same

[16]E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

[17]K. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998).

[18]Ibid., 218-219.

[19]The debate between Beale and myself has been summarized by J. Paulien, "Dreading the Whirlwind: Intertextuality and the Use of the Old Testament in Revelation," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 5-22, with responses from both of us.

order in the book of Revelation (chaps. 4, 7-8, 17, 18, 20-22). The second is the importance of Daniel, particularly chapter 7, for the visionary descriptions of Christ (Rev 1, 5), the beast from the sea (Rev 13), and the final judgment scene (Rev 20). The third is the extensive use of Isaiah throughout the book, though usually in conjunction with other texts. The fourth follows on from this, the way that allusions from a number of sources are often combined to produce richly textured visionary descriptions. The fifth is the sheer variety of ways that Scripture is appropriated in Revelation. The sixth is the way that some texts are combined to produce sharp juxtapositions, such as Jesus being described as the "Lion of Judah" and a slaughtered lamb (Rev 5:5-6).

John's Use of Ezekiel

Over half of the allusions to Ezekiel in the NT come from the book of Revelation.[20] It is the only NT writing that shows a significant interest in this great prophet. What is of particular interest, however, is that John alludes to five major sections of Ezekiel and these occur in the same order in Revelation, raising the question of whether John is in some way modeling his book on Ezekiel.

God on his throne, multifaced creatures (Rev 4)	Ezek 1
Marking/sealing of the saints, coals (Rev 7-8)	Ezek 9-10
Punishment of the harlot city (Rev 17)	Ezek 16, 23
Lament over fallen city, trading list (Rev 18)	Ezek 26-27
Establishment of the New Jerusalem (Rev 20-22)	Ezek 37-48

God on His Throne, Multi-faced Creatures

John's vision draws on various throne visions in the OT (1 Kgs 22; Isa 6; Ezek. 1; Dan 7), but it is the parallels to Ezekiel that are most striking.[21] As well as the imagery of precious stones, a rainbow, and a crystal sea, both John and Ezekiel surround the throne with creatures exhibiting the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, and use the curious expression "full of eyes."

> As I looked . . . a great cloud with brightness around it . . . and in the middle

[20]The tables in *UBS*3 count 84 of 138.

[21]Beale disputes this, arguing that Dan 7 is the dominant influence on Rev 4-5, but the majority of scholars think it is Ezekiel (*John's Use of the Old Testament*, 79-93).

> of the fire, something like gleaming amber. In the middle of it was something like four living creatures. This was their appearance: they were of human form. Each had four faces, and each of them had four wings . . .[,] they sparkled like burnished bronze. . . . As for the appearance of their faces: the four had the face of a human being, the face of a lion on the right side, the face of an ox on the left side, and the face of an eagle . . . I saw a wheel on the earth beside the living creatures. . . . Their rims were tall and awesome, for the rims of all four were full of eyes all round. . . . Like the bow in a cloud on a rainy day, such was the appearance of the splendour all round (Ezek 1:4-28, abbreviated).
>
> And the one seated there looks like jasper and cornelian, and around the throne is a rainbow that looks like an emerald. . . . Coming from the throne are flashes of lightning . . . and in front of the throne there is something like a sea of glass, like crystal. Around the throne, and on each side of the throne, are four living creatures, full of eyes in front and behind: the first living creature like a lion, the second living creature like an ox, the third living creature with a face like a human face, and the fourth living creature like a flying eagle. And the four living creatures, each of them with six wings, are full of eyes all around and inside (Rev 4:2-8).

However, along with these many similarities come some notable changes. For example, Ezekiel speaks of "wheels" and so appears to be describing a chariot-throne moving through the heavens. This was subject of much speculation at Qumran (e.g., the Sabbath songs) and was important for the development of *merkabah* mysticism. John appears to have eliminated this aspect of the vision. He has also changed Ezekiel's four-faced creatures to four separate creatures, each having a different face. And the mention of six wings prepares for an allusion to the seraphim of Isa 6 in Rev 4:8. Thus John's dependence on Ezekiel is not slavish; he exercises freedom to change what does not suit his purposes.

Marking/Sealing of the Saints/Coals

Before the demonic beasts are allowed to deceive the world into false worship (Rev 13), the 144,000 (12 x 12 x 1000, probably a symbol for the whole church) receive a seal on their foreheads (Rev 7:3). This is reminiscent of the blood on the doorposts on the night of the Passover; but as it is followed by the hurling of fire onto the earth (Rev 8.5), Ezek 9 through 10 is the more likely influence, since it has the same sequence. Because the "land is full of bloodshed and the city full of perversity" (Ezek 9:9), God will send judgment in the form of six agents of destruction, but not before he has given the command: "Go through the city, through Jerusalem, and put a mark on the foreheads of those who sigh and groan over all the abominations that are committed in it" (Ezek 9:4). There then follows another vision where the

command is given, "fill your hands with burning coals from among the cherubim, and scatter them over the city" (Ezek 10:2). John says:

> I saw another angel ascending from the rising of the sun, having the seal of the living God, and he called with a loud voice . . . [,] "Do not damage the earth or the sea or the trees, until we have marked the servants of our God with a seal on their foreheads." . . . When the Lamb opened the seventh seal . . . the angel took the censer and filled it with fire from the altar and threw it on the earth; and there were peals of thunder, rumblings, flashes of lightning, and an earthquake (Rev 7:2-3; 8:5).

Punishment of the Harlot City

One of the more disagreeable features of the book of Revelation is its use of feminine imagery to characterize evil as a harlot, stripped, naked, and burned alive (Rev 17:16). However, the imagery did not originate with John. He found it in Ezekiel's description of apostate Jerusalem in chapters 16 and 23. Both the harlot and the city are decked in costly jewels and fine linen (Ezek 16:13/Rev 17:4), both are guilty of shedding blood (Ezek 16:38/Rev 17:6), and both use the image of drinking a cup of abominations (Ezek 23:33/Rev 17:4). As for their destruction: "[A]nd your survivors shall be devoured by fire. They shall also strip you of your clothes and take away your fine jewels . . . and they shall deal with you in hatred . . . and leave you naked and bare, and the nakedness of your whorings shall be exposed (Ezek 23:25-29, abbreviated). "And the ten horns that you saw, they and the beast will hate the whore; they will make her desolate and naked; they will devour her flesh and burn her up with fire" (Rev 17:16).

Lament over the Fallen City, Trading List

Moving from evil as harlot to evil as city, John describes the destruction of Babylon (probably a cypher for Rome), followed by a series of laments from those who once prospered. This is similar to Ezekiel's description of the fall of Tyre. Verbal parallels include people weeping and throwing dust on their heads (Ezek 27:30/Rev 18:19), the end of music and dancing (Ezek 26:13/Rev 18:22), and the cry of amazement: "Who was ever destroyed like Tyre?" (Ezek 27:32)/"What city was like the great city?" (Rev 18:18). The major parallel, however, is the trading list. Among the goods mentioned (i.e., gold, silver, jewels, pearls), both speak of ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων, presumably slaves. The interpretation of this passage has been important for determining the purpose of Revelation.[22]

[22]See Bauckham, 338-383.

Establishment of the New Jerusalem

The account of the New Jerusalem involves a complex network of allusions (particularly from Isaiah; see below), but many commentators have been impressed by the way it corresponds to the broad sequence of Ezek 37 through 48.

Ezekiel	Revelation
Revival of dry bones (37:10)	First resurrection (20:5)
Reunited kingdom (37:21)	Saints rule for 1,000 years (20:4)
Gog of Magog battle (38:2)	Gog and Magog battle (20:8)
Gorging of the birds (39:4)	Gorging of the birds (19:21)
Taken to high mountain (40:2)	Taken to high mountain (21:10)
Temple is measured (40:5)	City is measured (21:15)
Temple full of God's glory (43:2)	City full of God's glory (21:23)
River of life (47:12)	River of life (22:2)

As well as these parallels, one of the main arguments for John's use of Ezekiel here is that it might explain why he envisages a resurgence of evil after the millennial kingdom. Other NT writers expect a final battle with evil (Mark 13; 2 Thess 2) but not the defeat of evil, followed by a resurgence and then a further battle. This has been a controversial feature of Revelation right from the start. Justin Martyr (ca. 150 C.E.) was one of many who took it literally: "I and others, who are right-minded Christians at all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built and adorned and enlarged as the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare."[23]

However, what is even more surprising is that having borrowed so much from Ezek 37 through 48, John denies the very thing that these chapters are all about: "I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (Rev 21:22). As Vogelgesang says: "A greater contrast with that vision, where seven of nine chapters describes this temple,

[23]Dial. Trypho, 80, quoted in W. Barclay, *The Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1976), 2:189.

its ordinances and its priests, and the glory of God dwelling therein, cannot be imagined."[24] But John does not simply omit such material; he transfers it to his description of the New Jerusalem. Thus while Ezekiel speaks of measuring the temple (40:5), John speaks of measuring the city (21:23); while Ezekiel speaks of the glory of God filling the temple (43:2), John speaks of God's glory filling the city (21:23). This is further evidence of John's creative freedom when appropriating Ezekiel.

John's Use of Daniel

Beale makes the point that relative to its size, there are more allusions to Daniel in Revelation than in any other portion of Scripture. Since nearly half of the allusions come from its seventh chapter, a good case can be made for regarding this as one of John's most important influences. This is signaled at the beginning of the book where John says: "Look! He is coming with the clouds" (Rev 1:7/Dan 7:13). He then describes a vision of "one like the Son of Man," whose hair was "as white wool, white as snow" (a description of God in Dan 7:9). Daniel 7 has also contributed to John's description of the throne scene, particularly in Rev 5, with its mention of the scroll, the saints reigning in an everlasting kingdom, and the myriads of worshiping angels. Correspondingly, the throne scene at the end of Revelation has books being opened and judgment pronounced in favor of the saints (Rev 20:12).

As well as the use of the throne imagery, John models his description of the beast from the sea on Daniel's four beasts. Verbal parallels include their rising from the sea (ἀναβαίνω, θάλασσα) their appearance (πάρδαλις, ἄρκος, λέων), making war with the saints (ποιέω, πόλεμος, ἅγιος), speaking haughty words (στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα) and the time of their reign (variously given as 3½ years, 42 months, or 1260 days). The major difference is that instead of having a succession of beasts coming from the sea (lion, bear, leopard, beast with ten horns) which represent a succession of empires, John combines these features into a single beast. It is interesting that this is the opposite of what he did with Ezekiel's four-faced creatures, which he turned into four separate creatures.

> and four great beasts came up out of the sea. . . . The first was like a lion and had eagle's wings . . . [,] a second one, that looked like a bear . . . [,] another appeared, like a leopard . . . and dominion was given to it. After this . . . a fourth beast . . . [, which] had ten horns. . . . Then I desired to know the truth . . . concerning the ten horns . . . and concerning the other horn . . . that had eyes and a mouth that spoke arrogantly. . . . As I looked, this horn made war with the holy ones and was prevailing over them. . . . As for the ten horns, out of this kingdom ten kings shall arise, and another shall arise after them. . . . He shall speak words against the

[24]Vogelgesang, 77.

> Most High, shall wear out the holy ones [,] . . . and they shall be given into his power for a time, two times, and half a time (Dan 7:3-7, 19-21, 24-25, abbreviated).
>
> And I saw a beast rising out of the sea, having ten horns and seven heads; and on its horns were ten diadems, and on its heads were blasphemous names. And the beast that I saw was like a leopard, its feet were like a bear's, and its mouth was like a lion's mouth. And the dragon gave it his power and his throne and great authority. . . . The beast was given a mouth uttering haughty and blasphemous words, and it was allowed to exercise authority for forty-two months. . . . [I]t was allowed to make war on the saints and to conquer them. It was given authority over every tribe and people and language and nation (Rev 13:2-7, abbreviated).

Also important to John is the Nebuchadnezzar material in Dan 2 through 4. In Dan 2, the king has a dream which no one can interpret. Daniel is brought in and tells Nebuchadnezzar that God has revealed "what will happen at the end of days." The Greek translation of the first part of this phrase (ἅ δει γενέσθαι) is used in John's opening sentence and is repeated in 1:19 (ἅ μέλλει γενέσθαι), 4:1, and 22:6. Beale argues that this divides the book into four sections and that John's replacement of "end of days" with "soon" means that "what Daniel expected to occur in the distant future, the defeat of cosmic evil and ushering in of the kingdom, John expects to begin in his own generation, and perhaps has already been inaugurated."[25]

John's Use of Isaiah

The highest number of allusions in total come from Isaiah, though they have attracted less attention than John's use of Ezekiel and Daniel. This is probably because they are often combined with other texts. For example, in the visionary descriptions of Christ in Rev 1 and 19, the sword that comes from his mouth is almost certainly an allusion to Isa 11:4, but there is no suggestion that John has modeled his vision on that passage. Similarly, the four living creatures in Rev 4 have six wings and sing, "Holy, holy, holy," undoubtedly a reference to Isa 6:3. But the more significant parallels come from Ezekiel and Daniel. Fekkes[26] summarizes John's use of Isaiah under four headings:

(1) *Visionary experience and language:* Isa 6:1-4

(2) *Christological titles and descriptions:* Isa 11:4,10; 22.22; 44:6; 65:15

(3) *Eschatological judgment:*

a) Holy war and Day of the Lord: Isa 2:19; 34:4; 63:1-3

b) Oracles against the nations: Isa 13:21; 21:9; 23:8,17; 34:9-14; 47:7-9

[25]Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament*, 115.

[26]Fekkes, 282.

(4) *Eschatological salvation:*

a) Salvation oracles in anticipation: Isa 65:15/62:2; 61:10; 60:14/49:23; 43:4; 49:10; 25:8b

b) Oracles of renewal: Isa 65:15-20a; 25:8ab; 43:18,19; 55:1

c) New Jerusalem oracles: Isa 52:1; 54:11-12; 60:1-3, 5, 11, 19

One passage where the influence of Isaiah is dominant is John's description of the New Jerusalem. The passage opens with the statement, "I saw a new heaven and a new earth," a reference to Isa 65:17. It is described as "the holy city" (Isa 52:1). It is a place where there will be no more tears (Isa 25:8). The thirsty will be invited to drink from the water of life (Isa 55:1). It is adorned with every precious jewel (Isa 54:11-12) and the nations will bring their glory into it (Isa 60:3, 5). Its gates are left open (Isa 60:11). Indeed, the one who sits on the throne says, "See, I am making all things new," a parallel to Isa 49:19 ("I am about to do a new thing"). Despite the "gloom and doom" that pervades much of Revelation, it is Isaiah's universal vision that shines through John's description of the New Jerusalem.

Interweaving Sources

Matthew, Luke, and John all record appearances of the risen Christ, but they bear little resemblance to Rev 1:12-16. Whatever it was that John saw, what he has written down is an amalgam of OT phrases, taken from descriptions of angels (Dan 10:5-6), the one like a son of man (Dan 7:13), the branch of Jesse (Isa 11:4), the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:9), and the brilliance of the rising sun (Judg 5:31).

> Then I turned to see whose voice it was that spoke to me, and on turning I saw seven golden lampstands, and in the midst of the lampstands I saw one like the Son of Man, clothed with a long robe and with a golden sash across his chest. His head and his hair were white as white wool, white as snow; his eyes were like a flame of fire, his feet were like burnished bronze, refined as in a furnace, and his voice was like the sound of many waters. In his right hand he held seven stars, and from his mouth came a sharp, two-edged sword, and his face was like the sun shining with full force (Rev 1:12-16).

Some of this imagery reappears in the description of the rider in Rev 19:11-16, but it is now interwoven with Ps 2:9 ("he will rule them with a rod of iron"), Isa 63:3 ("tread the winepress of the fury of the wrath of God"), and Dan 4:34, LXX ("King of kings and Lord of lords").

> His eyes are like a flame of fire, and on his head are many diadems; and he has a name inscribed that no one knows but himself. He is clothed in a robe dipped in blood, and his name is called The Word of God. . . . From his mouth comes a sharp sword with which to strike down the nations, and he

> will rule them with a rod of iron; he will tread the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty. On his robe and on his thigh he has a name inscribed, "King of kings and Lord of lords." (Rev 19:12-13, 15-16).

Variety of Ways That John Appropriates Scripture

Beale[27] has usefully summarized the various ways that John uses the OT. He speaks of

(1) Using the OT as a literary prototype, such as the influence of Dan 7 on key chapters of Revelation (chaps. 1, 4-5, 13, 17).

(2) Using OT themes, such as "divine warrior," "earthquake," and the notion of "sealed books."

(3) Analogical uses of the OT, as in the command not to add to or subtract from John's work (22:18-19), which borrows from similar commands about the Torah (e.g., Deut 4:1-2).

(4) Universalization of the OT, as when statements made to Israel are applied to the church or to the world.

(5) Informal direct fulfillment of the OT, as when the victors of Rev 2:17 are promised a new name (cf. Isa 62:2/65:15).

(6) Informal, indirect (typological) fulfillment of the OT, as with the use of Isa 22:22 (concerning Eliakim) and Christ's possession of the key of David in the message to Philadelphia (Rev 3:7).

(7) Inverted uses of the OT, as when Isaiah's promise (45:14; 49:23; 60:14) that Gentiles would one day bow before Israel is used for persecuting Jews bowing before the church (Rev 3:9).

(8) Stylistic borrowing of the language of the OT, as when the nominative ὁ ὢν is used in Rev 1:4 to point to the LXX of Exod 3:14.

Juxtaposition of Scriptures

Revelation 5:5-6 has been a key passage for the interpretation of Revelation. In Rev 4, John has a vision of God on his throne, which he describes in language drawn from Ezek 1, Dan 7, and Isa 6. In Rev 5, he sees a scroll and the question is asked, "Who is worthy to open the scroll and break its seals?" (5:2). He then hears that only Jesus can open the scroll: "'See, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals.' Then I saw between the throne and the four living creatures and among the elders a Lamb standing as if it had been slaughtered, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth" (Rev 5:5-6).

[27]Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament*, 75-128.

The significance of this passage is that we have the juxtaposition of two quite different images of Jesus, one violent (lion) and one gentle (lamb). The first is drawn from Gen 49:9 and Isa 11:1 and represents the Messiah as a powerful military figure (as in the Targums and 1QSb 5:21-29). The lamb is probably the Passover lamb or perhaps the lamb of Isa 53:10 (or both) and seems to represent gentleness and self-sacrifice. Thus according to J.P.M. Sweet, the "Lion of Judah, the traditional messianic expectation, is reinterpreted by the slain Lamb: God's power and victory lie in self-sacrifice."[28] This is an attractive position, as it allows the violence of Revelation to be reinterpreted as symbolic of Christ's self-sacrifice. However, it may be more complicated than that. The lamb of Revelation is not a gentle figure. Even in this passage, the lamb has seven horns, a symbol of power, and seven eyes, a symbol of omniscience. In the following chapter, the destruction brought about by opening the seals causes the people to seek death rather than face the "wrath of the Lamb" (6:16). In 17:14, the kings of the earth make war on the lamb, but he conquers them, for he is "Lord of lords and King of kings." It would appear that, as well as the lion undergoing reinterpretation by being juxtaposed with a lamb, the lamb has also picked up characteristics of the powerful lion. As J. L. Resseguie says: "The Lion of the tribe of Judah interprets what John sees: death on the cross (the Lamb) is not defeat but is the way to power and victory (the Lion). . . . [T]he Lamb, though not in nature a strong animal, is a being of incontrovertible might in this book."[29]

II

The Original Intention of the Ancient Authors?

There can be little doubt that John believed his visions were the fulfillment of the prophecies of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Isaiah. The deliberate modeling of parts of his book on Ezekiel, particularly the end-time sequence, makes this clear. His vision of a New Jerusalem without a temple is, of course, different from what Ezekiel had in mind, but it could be argued that John is here preferring the more universal vision of Isaiah. The final victory of God's kingdom over the beastly kingdoms is a fulfillment of Daniel's prophecy to Nebuchadnezzar (2:35), his vision of "one like a human being" receiving universal worship (7:14) and the resurrection of "those who sleep in the dust" (12:2). By combining features of these three great prophets, John has produced a synthesis

[28]J.P.M. Sweet, *Revelation* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990), 120.

[29]J. L. Resseguie, *Revelation Unsealed: A Narrative Critical Approach to John's Apocalypse* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 34, 129. See further, S. Moyise, "Does the Lion Lie down with the Lamb?" in *Studies in the Book of Revelation*, ed. S. Moyise (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2001), 181-194.

which Bauckham appropriately calls "The Climax of Prophecy."[30]

Furthermore, John takes over many of the themes of the OT which are not in themselves prophecies but can be seen as "fulfilled" in the sense of ultimacy. For example, the theme of God as divine warrior is present in many of the battle scenes in the OT but comes to completion when God wins the ultimate victory over evil in Revelation. Visions of a return from exile are fulfilled in the New Jerusalem, where "mourning and crying and pain will be no more" (21:4). The command not to add to or subtract from the law is "fulfilled" in the even more important command not to add to or subtract from the "revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him" (22:18-9).[31]

However, if this view is to be sustained, there are two other types of material which require explanation. The first is those texts that seem to be taken out of context and applied to quite different subjects. For example, the specific promise to Eliakim in Isa 22:22 to "place on his shoulder the key of the house of David; he shall open, and no one shall shut; he shall shut, and no one shall open," is applied to Christ because he "holds the power over salvation and judgment."[32] Beale denies that John has taken this verse out of context, since "John apparently understands Isa. 22.22, not originally as a verbal prophecy, but retrospectively as a historical narration about Eliakim which contained a pattern foreshadowing what the Messiah would do on a grander scale."[33] He then lists six parallels to support such a view.

The second type of material consists of those texts where there appears to be dissonance between old and new contexts. For example, Isaiah's promise that Gentiles would come and bow down before Israel (45:14; 49:23; 60:14) is applied to persecuting Jews bowing down before the church. Beale calls this an "inverted" use of Scripture but denies that it is a misappropriation. Isaiah envisaged a time when the enemies of God would be forced to acknowledge his presence among a particular people, namely, the Jews. In John's understanding, that people is now the church, while God's enemies are those Jews who are persecuting the church. It is thus in line with what Isaiah meant, though it is being applied to a different situation.

Beale concludes that what may appear to be "John's novel interpretations of the Old Testament are the result of his new presuppositional lenses through which he perceives the Old Testament."[34] He

[30]See n. 12.

[31]See Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament*, 95-98.

[32]Ibid., 117.

[33]Ibid., 118.

[34]Ibid., 127.

lists these four as being the most significant: (1) Christ corporately represents true Israel of the OT and NT; (2) history is unified by a wise and sovereign plan, so that the earlier parts of canonical history are designed to correspond typologically and point to later parts of inscripturated history; (3) the age of end-time fulfillment has been inaugurated with Christ's first coming; (4) in the light of points 2 and 3, the later parts of biblical history interpret earlier parts, so that Christ as the center of history is the key to interpreting the earlier portions of the OT.[35]

Beale acknowledges that if these presuppositions are regarded as false, then John's interpretations will appear novel or arbitrary. But if they are regarded as true, then John has given us the true meaning of the ancient texts, the meaning intended by the original author.

Misappropriation of the Ancient Authors?

What is difficult about Beale's position is not so much the presuppositions listed above but the fact that he relies on Hirsch and Vanhoozer to claim that John preserves the original meaning of the ancient texts. He himself says that "John is offering new understandings of Old Testament texts and fulfilments of them which may have been surprising to an Old Testament audience."[36] But the key for Beale is that these would not have been surprising to a "New Testament audience which retrospectively looks at the Old Testament in the light of the above presuppositions."[37] The thrust of my "Reply" was to suggest that Beale cannot have it both ways. If he thinks that John viewed the OT through a set of presuppositional lenses and thus offered new understandings of old texts (which the original authors would have found surprising!), how can he maintain that John has preserved the original authorial meaning of these texts?

The thrust of his "Rejoinder" and his response[38] to Paulien's article is to argue, based on Hirsch and Vanhoozer, for a broader definition of "authorial intention." If John is offering the true meaning of the ancient texts by viewing them through his new presuppositional lenses, this is clearly not identical with the thought processes of the original authors. But need we confine "authorial intention" to the immediate thought processes of the author? Beale cites Hirsch's notion of "transhistorical intentions."

Authors using some genres will extend meaning to analogous and

[35]Ibid., 127-128.

[36]Ibid., 128.

[37]Ibid.

[38]G. K. Beale, "A Response to Jon Paulien on the Use of the Old Testament in Revelation," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 23-34.

even unforeseeable situations so that their meaning is intended to have presently unknowable, future implications. In this respect, one can "speak of open-ended authorial intentions" and "extended meaning" in which an original meaning can tolerate some revision in cognitive content and yet not be essentially altered. . . . Interpretation should go beyond the author's letter, but it must never exceed the author's spirit."[39]

Beale illustrates this by borrowing Hirsch's example of a traffic regulation that says that it is against the law for a wheeled vehicle to pass through a red light. In the future, a vehicle might be invented that does not have wheels but runs on compressed air and this might require a change in the wording of the law (omitting the word "wheeled," for example). But it would be wrong to claim that this constitutes a change in meaning. The original intention of laws like this is to be applied to analogous situations, even if they cannot at the moment be envisaged. Thus Beale challenges those that speak of John's misappropriation of Scripture by asking, "Can we say with confidence that John's interpretations do *not* fall in line with legitimate extensions and applications of the meaning of Old Testament texts?"[40] He then asserts: "Surely it is possible that someone like Isaiah, if he were living in the first century, might well think the extended application of his prophecies to Jesus would fall within the parameters of his understanding of what he wrote."[41]

Perhaps he would. But I believe that we have now moved a long way from what most people would understand as preserving original authorial intention. Vanhoozer's quotation against revisionist history states that it is wrong to "impute meaning to a text that an author could not have intended." To have any force, this surely must mean "in their own situation and context." If it is to be glossed with "or could have intended had they been living in our time and shared our beliefs," it points to something quite different. Thus I agree with Beale that there is enough continuity between Revelation and the OT to deny the accusation of misappropriation. But I think his need to speak of "willed types" and "extended meaning" also demonstrates the inadequacy of our first category. What is needed is a model that speaks of "trajectories" of interpretation and can do justice to both continuity and discontinuity (or, as Beale would put it, varying degrees of contextual awareness).

[39]Beale, "Questions of Authorial Intent," 160.

[40]Ibid., 173.

[41]Ibid.

Interpretation as Trajectory?

The attempt of Hirsch and Vanhoozer to broaden the meaning of "authorial intention" is important but misdirected. The reality to which they are pointing is that interpretation takes place in the flux of history. The NT authors were not seeking to ascertain the meaning of Isaiah in some isolated historical moment. They were conscious of being part of an ongoing tradition. Beale would appear to agree with this, for he says: "In my commentary on Revelation, I often found that a number of subsequent exegetical reflections on the Old Testament text (by later Old Testament authors, Jewish writers, and other New Testament writers) together with that text had influence on John and that he himself in good prophetic fashion further expanded on the Old Testament text's meaning."[42]

Where I differ from Beale is that I believe this represents a significant shift from a purely author-centered account of meaning. That is why in my monograph, after five chapters of predominantly historical investigation, I ended with a chapter on intertextuality. The purpose of that chapter was to show how insights from reader-centered approaches to interpretation need to be combined with traditional historical approaches to do justice to John's complex use of Scripture. In particular, I wanted to find a way of explaining John's "surprising" interpretations, such as a New Jerusalem without a temple and the juxtaposition of lion and lamb. I asked myself: "What is the most important factor in these interpretations, the original author, the text itself or John's presuppositions?" And since the Qumran community thought Ezekiel was referring to a restored temple, it seemed inescapable that the decisive factor in this instance was John himself. And if that is the case, then reader-centered interpretation might well have insights to offer. I found this in the work of Thomas Greene, who offers a typology of "imitation" in Renaissance poetry. He says that "each literary work contains by definition what might be called a revivalist initiative, a gesture that signals the intent of reanimating an earlier text or texts situated on the far side of a rupture. . . . [I]t would seem useful to distinguish four types of strategies of humanist imitation, each of which involves a distinct response to anachronism and each an implicit perspective on history."[43]

His four forms of imitation are reproductive, eclectic, heuristic, and dialectic. The first is when the author perceives the subtext as coming from a golden age which is now over. All that can be done is to rewrite

[42]Ibid., 169.

[43]T. M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 37-38.

the subtext "as though no other form of celebration could be worthy of its dignity."[44] Though much of Revelation is modeled on the OT, John's Christian presuppositions prevent him from adopting such a reverence for the past. Put another way, there is not much that John is unwilling to change or adapt.

Eclectic imitation is where the author draws on a wide range of sources, seemingly at random, without laying special emphasis on any one of them. The key is that the "art of poetry finds its materials everywhere, materials bearing with them the aura of their original contexts, charged with an evocative power implanted by the poet or the convention from which they are taken."[45] Though few scholars would agree that John's choice of Scriptures was random, the visionary nature of the material might well suggest that some of the texts came to John because of their "evocative power" rather than theological or doctrinal content. In particular, this form of imitation emphasizes that an author cannot make a text mean whatever he or she likes. It might be difficult to pin down the exact meaning of "Babylon" for John, but it certainly does not refer to a city of justice and righteousness. Like language itself, interpretation is *constrained* by past usage but not *confined* to it.

Heuristic imitation is when the new work seeks to *define* itself through the rewriting or modernizing of a past text. It advertises itself not simply as an imitation of the old but its true successor. This comes about "only through a double process of discovery: on the one hand through a tentative and experimental groping for the subtext in its specificity and otherness, and on the other hand through a groping for the modern poet's own appropriate voice and idiom."[46] John almost certainly sees his work as the true fulfillment of the OT, but that is not a simple or linear process. He has swallowed the scroll (Rev 10:10) and now has to find his own voice and idiom. He must discern what the Spirit is saying to the churches of Asia.

Lastly, dialectical imitation is when the poem engages the precursor in such a way that neither is able to absorb or master the other. The effect is to create "a kind of struggle between texts and between eras which cannot easily be resolved."[47] John's juxtaposition of lion and lamb is a good example of this. On the one hand, it would appear that John has alluded to Gen 49:9 in order to reinterpret its militancy by the slaughtered lamb. But as we continue reading the book of Revelation, we find that the

[44]Ibid., 38.

[45]Ibid., 39.

[46]Ibid., 40.

[47]Ibid., 45.

lamb seems to have picked up many of the connotations of the lion. As Davidson says of T. S. Eliot's "The Waste Land," "The work alluded to reflects upon the present context even as the present context absorbs and changes the allusion."[48] In other words, it creates "a kind of struggle between texts and between eras which cannot easily be resolved."

John was not seeking the original authorial meaning of the OT authors, but seeking to discern the *trajectory* of interpretation that makes most sense of his present. This meets Beale's concern that the "New Testament authors creatively develop 'new interpretations' of Old Testament texts but not 'new meanings,' since that *could* be understood to indicate that what they develop is not organically related in some way to the earlier source text."[49] The idea of trajectory safeguards Beale's concern that John does not *arbitrarily* impose new meaning on ancient texts, for the trajectory does have a starting point. But it also meets the other requirement, that some of John's appropriations would have been surprising to an OT audience because he knows and believes things that they did not. I do not think Beale does justice to this end of the trajectory when he claims that Ezekiel's restored temple or Isaiah's promise to Eliakim have received new significance in Revelation, but not a new meaning. How is exegesis served by claiming that an absent temple is what Ezekiel *really* meant when he prophesied a restored temple?

The idea of trajectory also explains why other communities, such as that at Qumran, interpreted these texts differently. It is not simply that they viewed the texts through a different set of lenses, as if belief/experience mechanistically determines interpretation. It is more that they were seeking to discern meaning along a different set of trajectories. For them, the trajectories move from the ancient texts to the establishment of the Qumran community. But they do not stop there. A process of discernment is required to determine how the trajectory got there and where it goes next (i.e., what is still to happen). In other words, interpretation is not simply the inevitable consequence of presuppositions. There is still the matter of personal (or corporate) choice.[50]

Beale objects to my use of the word "choice," for it suggests to him something that is arbitrary. But as I have explained above, the trajectory model has a starting point and so is not arbitrary. But there is nevertheless an aspect to interpretation that involves choice. Paul also held to the four

[48]H. Davidson, *T. S. Eliot and Hermeneutics: Absence and Interpretation in the Waste Land* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 117.

[49]Beale, "Questions of Authorial Intent," 161-162.

[50]See my article, "Seeing the Old Testament through a Lens," *Irish Biblical Studies* 23 (2001): 36-42.

presuppositions mentioned by Beale, but this did not lead him to describe the authorities as Beast/Babylon or indeed make much use of Ezekiel and Daniel. To say that Paul and John looked at the Scriptures through their presuppositional lenses is only half the story. They also made choices which were no doubt obvious to them but were not necessarily obvious to others.

Conclusion

If Vanhoozer is correct that the only valid form of interpretation is that which seeks to determine what the original author intended, then John has misappropriated the Scriptures. He gives meanings to texts that could not possibly have been in the mind of the original authors. Beale's attempt to show that they are quite understandable given John's presuppositions is beside the point. The ancient authors did not share these presuppositions and so could not have had these meanings in mind. This leaves two options. The first is to acknowledge that John was a man of his time and used modes of interpretation that were considered valid then.[51] Some would wish to call this misappropriation, but that seems anachronistic to me. He was simply doing what all first-century interpreters did. Or secondly, Vanhoozer is wrong. The meaning of a text is not solely what the original author intended. That is a post-Enlightenment perspective that was not shared by the authors of Scripture and is increasingly challenged today. In order to assert its truth, Vanhoozer spends several hundred pages broadening the understanding of authorial intention to something that will reach out into the future. Indeed for him, authorial intention finds its maximal expression in the divine intention which supervenes it: "The problem of the 'fuller meaning' of Scripture and of determining the divine author's intent is precisely the problem of choosing the intentional context that best enables one maximally to describe the communicative action embodied in Scripture."[52]

I wish to add only that this is not what most people would regard as seeking original authorial intention. Indeed, it seems closer to what I am advocating, a discernment of trajectories. Like language users, interpreters would be foolish to ignore what has gone before them. But meaning is not dictated by past usage. It involves a process of discernment.

John is serious about the original context of his allusions, in so far as the trajectories have a starting point. But his focus is not on that starting point. It is on what has happened since, as a clue to what is still to come. John is a seer not a scholar.

[51]This issue is debated in a number of the contributions to G. K. Beale, ed., *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994).

[52]Vanhoozer, 265.

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THE SABBATH IN MATTHEW 24:20

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Introduction

A cursory reading of Matt 24:20 indicates that Jesus counseled those of his believers who would be caught in the Roman war in Judea to flee at that time, but to pray that their flight did not have to occur in winter or on the Sabbath. Given the fulfillment of these circumstances during the Jewish war of A.D. 66-73, it appears that Jesus was giving his believers advice that they were to pray that they would still be able to keep the Sabbath even in those coming times of war. This in turn suggests that Jesus considered the Sabbath to be binding upon Christians of that future time. Does, then, a more detailed examination of the text and the historical circumstances support or run contrary to such a cursory reading? A number of explanations of this passage have been published in the literature.

Commentary Literature

Y.-E. Yang

Y.-E. Yang, who has identified nine different approaches to the reference to the Sabbath in Matt 24:20,[1] provides a convenient starting point. In addition, these points may be subdivided according to their Jewish or Christian orientation.

Jewish Solutions

A. Christians would not travel on Sabbath in Judea for fear of persecution by the Jews. This view is held by A. Schlatter[2] and E. Hirsch.[3]

B. Christians would not travel on Sabbath in a location outside of Judea for fear of persecution by the Jews. This is

[1]Yong-Eui Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath in Matthew's Gospel*, *JSNT Sup* 139 (Sheffield, 1997), 230-241.

[2]A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1959), 706.

[3]E. Hirsch, *Die Frühgeschichte des Evangeliums*, II (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1941), 313.

held by G. N. Stanton,[4] criticized by Wong.[5]

C. Not fleeing on the Sabbath would have been a conciliatory move by Christians toward Judaism. This view is held by G. Barth,[6] criticized by Stanton.[7]

D. The passage is a fragment of apocalyptic taken over from a Jewish source but not necessarily endorsed by Matthew or his redactor. This view is held by G. Strecker[8] and W. Rordorf,[9] criticized by Yang.[10]

Christian Solutions

A. This passage is a reference to a Judaizing practice among Christians who kept the Sabbath strictly. This view is held by E. Klostermann,[11] criticized by Yang.[12]

B. This reference has been connected eschatologically with the end time. This view is held by E. Lohse,[13] criticized by Stanton[14] and Yang.[15]

C. This passage is an irrelevant anachronism for a practice no longer observed in Matthew's day. This view is held by R.

[4]G. N. Stanton, "'Pray that Your Flight may not be in Winter or on a Sabbath': Matthew 24.20," in *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew*, ed. G. N. Stanton (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992), 192-206. This study was previously published in *JSNT* 37 (1989):17-30. Yang's list of theories basically comes from Stanton.

[5]E. K. -C.Wong, "The Matthean Understanding of the Sabbath: A Response to G. N. Stanton," *JSNT* 44 (1991):3-18.

[6]G. Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, eds., G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, and H. J. Held, trans. P. Scott (London: SCM Press, 1963), 92.

[7]Stanton, 196.

[8]G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, FRLANT 82 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 18.

[9]W. Rordorf, *Sunday*, trans. A.A.K. Graham (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), 68, 120.

[10]Yang, 231.

[11]E. von Klostermann, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, HNT 3 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1927), 194.

[12]Yang, 239.

[13]E. Lohse, "Sabbaton," *TDNT*, VII, 29-30.

[14]Stanton, 196-197.

[15]Yang, 232.

Walker,[16] criticized by Stanton,[17] Yang,[18] and U. Luz.[19]

D. This reference was a concession to weak members. This view is held by Wong,[20] criticized by Yang.[21]

Physical Obstacles to Sabbath Flight

Physical obstacles to Sabbath flight included shutting the gates of the city, difficulty in obtaining provisions, and suspension of services to travelers. This view was proposed by R. Banks[22] and adopted by Yang after his review of the evidence.[23]

The Continuing Sabbath Commandment Obligation

A number of commentators see the Matthew passage as a genuine reflection of Sabbathkeeping at the time of the Roman war. R.V.G. Tasker wrote: "Because wintry conditions and a strict observance of the law of sabbath-observance would greatly impede such a flight, the disciples were to pray that climatic conditions would be favourable and that it would not have to be made on a sabbath."[24] D. A. Hagner observes: "While the point of the reference to the sabbath is hardly clear, probably what is meant is that an urgent flight on the sabbath would make any sabbath observance impossible. . . . This apparently would still have been a serious matter for the Jewish-Christian membership of Matthew's church."[25] Floyd Filson noted that only Matthew "reflects Jewish-Christian faithfulness in keeping the Sabbath and dread at having to break it, but implies that even if the crisis comes on a

[16]R. Walker, *Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium*, FRLANT 91 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 86.

[17]Stanton, 197.

[18]Yang, 233.

[19]U. Luz, "The Disciples in the Gospel according to Matthew," *Int* 46 (1992): 98-128.

[20]Wong, 3-18.

[21]Yang, 234, 239, including n. 54.

[22]R. Banks, *Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition*, SNTSMS 28 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 102.

[23]Yang, 238-241. Yang, 245, n. 28, also cites other scholars who have held this view; Meier (1980), Gundry (1982), and Blomberg (1992).

[24]R.V.G. Tasker, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, Tyndale New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), 224.

[25]D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 14-28*, WBC, vol. 33B (Dallas: Word, 1995), 701-702.

Sabbath, instant flight is necessary."[26] In a similar vein, D. J. Harrington observed that "it indicates that for Matthew and his community Sabbath observance remained a live issue. In winter travel in Palestine was difficult because of the rain and its filling of the wadis. On the Sabbath a Jew was not allowed to take long journeys, and so would face a 'crisis of conscience' if this were to happen on the Sabbath."[27]

The Text of Matthew

Yang summarizes:

> First of all, the speaker obviously is Jesus himself, even though the source of the saying is not definitely identifiable. The audience are the disciples in front of Jesus who are in Judea (cf. vv. 1-4, 15, 20), though the readers of the Gospel may be the community either within or outside Judaea who had lived in either the pre- or post-70 period. Those who are exhorted to pray are once again the disciples; and the flight referred to in v. 20 is the prospective flight by the same disciples, which the readers may either anticipate that they will participate in like the disciples (if the Gospel was written before 70 C.E.), or simply look back on as past history (if written after 70 C.E.). . . . Those who bring the persecution seem to be Gentiles, since the (non-Christian) Jews as well as the disciples are expected to flee (vv. 16-19).[28]

On the matter of the date of Matthew's Gospel and the Sabbath passage in 24:20 Yang concludes: "Furthermore, I have shown that a pre-70 Palestine setting provides a best explanation for Matthew's inclusion of the additional phrase."[29] These conclusions provide a reasonable basis from which to pursue the reason for the inclusion of this phrase about the Sabbath.

Options

Most of the reasons cited above for the inclusion of the Sabbath phrase have been aptly criticized in previous studies. Of the interpretations cited above only three remain as distinct possibilities: (1) that the disciples were not to flee on the Sabbath because of fear of the Jews (Schlatter and Hirsch), (2) that they were not to flee on the Sabbath because of physical difficulties that they would encounter (Banks and Yang), or (3) that they should pray that they would not have to flee on

[26]F. V. Filson, *The Gospel according to St Matthew*, Black's New Testament Commentary, 2d ed. (London: Black, 1971), 255.

[27]D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew*, Sacra Pagina Series, vol. 1 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 337.

[28]Yang, 238.

[29]Ibid., 241.

the Sabbath in honor of the Sabbath commandment (Tasker, Hagner, Filson, and Harrington).

Option I

Of these three remaining solutions, the first can be disposed of readily. There are two basic reasons why the Christians in Jerusalem and Judea would not have needed to be afraid of persecution by the Jews for fleeing on the Sabbath under a wartime threat. First, the rabbis taught that such flight was permissible and, second, available evidence of the way in which the Jews kept the Sabbath during the Roman war confirms this.

First, Yang has reviewed the evidence from Jewish sources of the intertestamental period that provides an understanding of Sabbath observance in the first century.[30] In this survey, he has canvassed the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (*Jubilees*, I and II Maccabees and Aristobulus), the Dead Sea Scrolls, Josephus, Philo, Græco-Roman references to the Sabbath and rabbinic literature, the latter category being subdivided between earlier (pre-70) materials and later (70-100) materials. When Yang applied this information to the question of Sabbath flight for the purpose of preserving life, he concluded that "most rabbis . . . allowed someone to save his or her life on the sabbath from immediate life-threatening danger, and, therefore, would have been ready to allow one to flee even on the sabbath. . . . If, as I have suggested, the persecution (in Matt 24:15-20) came from Gentiles, most Jews as well as Christians would have fled even on the sabbath, and there is no possibility that the fleeing Christians could be 'as recognizable as a spotted dog.'"[31]

The second point to be made about fleeing on the Sabbath during the Roman war comes from Josephus, where he illustrates how the Jews used the Sabbath to their advantage in fighting the Romans.

The Sabbath attack by the Jews during the first Roman assault upon Jerusalem. In the early fall of A.D. 66, Cestius Gallus led his troops up into the central hill country of Judea by way of the Beth Horon pass. Arriving at Gibeon, he established his camp there, approximately five or six miles from Jerusalem.

The Roman troops arrived at Gibeon while the Jews were celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles or Booths (Heb. *sukkot*). Alarmed by the arrival

[30]Yang, 53-99.

[31]Ibid., 239. For illustrations of this principle, see Yang's summary on p. 98, esp. n. 178. The reference to "a spotted dog" comes from Hirsch's study, cited above in n. 3. For further discussion on permission to travel in view of a Sabbath threat, see E. Lohse's article *Sabbaton* in *TDNT*, VII, 14, where he cites the homilies of R. Tanchuma with attendant modern literature on this source and subject.

of Roman troops so close to Jerusalem, the celebrants broke off their services and attacked the Romans. Not only did they do so during the festival, but their attack came on the seventh-day Sabbath that fell in the middle of the festival. In order to attack the Romans, the Jews had to travel more than a Sabbath day's journey. Josephus writes of this attack upon the Romans:

> The Jews, seeing the war now approaching the capital, abandoned the feast, and rushed to arms; and with great confidence in their numbers, sprang in disorder and with loud cries into the fray, with no thought for the seventh day of rest, for it was the very sabbath which they regarded with such special reverence. But the same passion which shook them out of their piety brought them victory in battle.[32]

The only thing that saved the day for the Romans was the counterattack of their cavalry.

There is a long history about the problem of military activity by and against the Jews on Sabbath. For instance, using the Julian day-number tables, A. H. Johns calculated that 2 Adar, the day Nebuchadnezzar's Chronicle records that Jerusalem fell to Nebuchadnezzar, was a Sabbath.[33] A new development, however, took place in this matter during Maccabean times. E. Lohse states that

> in the older Halachah fighting was brought under the prohibition of work, *Jub* 50:12. In obedience to this, some pious Jews at the beginning of the Maccabean revolt were killed without offering any resistance on the Sabbath, 1 Macc. 2:32-38. Due to this terrible event, however, it was decided that in the future weapons might be lifted in self-defense even on the Sabbath, 1 Macc 2:39-41. Attack, however, was still forbidden.[34]

Using the Sabbath for offensive military attack was a new stratagem for the Jews. The Romans would not have expected this attack for two reasons: the Jews were celebrating their Feast of Booths, and it was a Sabbath on which they were not supposed to do any work, certainly not offensive military activity. Apparently expecting that the Jews were keeping their Sabbath, the Romans were thrown off-guard. The Jews' decision to use the Sabbath for an offensive attack was largely successful. They won a major, but not quite complete, victory.

Sabbath flight by the Jews during the Galilee campaign. Once again the Sabbath played a part in the second Roman assault upon Judea that began in A.D. 67. As the campaign in Galilee was drawing to a close, word came

[32]Josephus, *Jewish War*, Bk. II, par. 517.

[33]A. H. Johns, "The Military Strategy of Sabbath Attacks on the Jews," *VT* 13 (1963): 482-486.

[34]E. Lohse, 8; cf. Yang, 57-59.

to Vespasian that the Jewish town of Gischala was still holding out. Vespasian dispatched Titus to Gischala with a thousand cavalry. The leader of the rebels there was a man named John. After his escape, he became one of the leaders of the rebellion in Jerusalem. When Titus arrived at Gischala, John negotiated with him. Titus appealed to the garrison of Gischala to surrender in order to avoid a massacre. John agreed, but proposed that the surrender be delayed until after the Sabbath that was drawing on. Josephus reported John's appeal to Titus:

> It was John who replied, saying that for his part he acquiesced in the proposals and would either persuade or coerce refractory opponents. Titus must, however, (he said) in deference to Jewish law, allow them that day, being the seventh, one which they were forbidden alike to have resort to arms and to conclude a treaty of peace. Even the Romans must be aware that the recurrence of the seventh day brought them repose from all labour; and the one who compelled them to transgress that law was no less impious than those who so acted under compulsion.[35]

Titus agreed to John's proposal and actually withdrew his camp some distance away, leaving the city unguarded. The whole purpose of what John proposed, however, had nothing to do with observing the Sabbath; it was a ruse which he used to escape: "At nightfall John, seeing no Roman guard about the town, seized his opportunity and, accompanied not only by his armed followers but by a multitude of non-combatants with their families fled for Jerusalem."[36]

Josephus then describes how, during the flight of the Jews, the women and children fell farther and farther behind. They shouted and screamed for help. However, John refused to accommodate them and marched on ahead: "'Save yourselves,' he cried, 'and flee where you can have your revenge on the Romans for any left behind, if they are caught.'"[37] Indeed they were caught. When Titus realized that he had been tricked, he set out in hot pursuit. He was unable to overtake John and his soldier group, but he caught most of the rest. According to Josephus, Titus's troops killed 6,000 on the road and captured another 3,000 women and children and sent them back as prisoners.[38]

John and his followers had no qualms about traveling on the Sabbath during wartime. No Jews came out to remonstrate with them for breaking the Sabbath. Their appeal to Sabbath-keeping served as a subterfuge by which to escape imprisonment. The group had no trouble

[35]Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Bk. IV, pars. 99-100.

[36]Ibid., par. 106.

[37]Ibid., par. 111.

[38]Ibid., par. 115.

traveling through Jewish territory on the Sabbath; their only threat came from the pursuing Romans.

Summary on Option I

It does not seem likely that Jesus instructed his disciples to pray that their flight (during the future Roman war) should not take place on the Sabbath because of fear of the Jews. The religious leaders of the Jews permitted that kind of flight on the Sabbath and this was demonstrated historically at least twice during the Roman war, once at the beginning of the war when the Jews attacked the Romans on the Sabbath and had to travel more than a Sabbath day's journey to do so. Later during that war the forces of John of Gischala made a forced march to Jerusalem to escape from the Roman besiegers of their town. The whole Sabbath, night and day, must have been given over to that flight, along with a considerable amount of time beyond it to reach Jerusalem.

In view of these instructions and historical examples, a Christian flight on the Sabbath, if necessary in view of a military invasion, should not have been threatening to the Jews. Probably they would have joined in that flight had they seen the threat in the same way.

Option II

Geographical Considerations

A Sabbath day's journey was considered to be 2,000 cubits.[39] This would be approximately three-fifths of a mile. Starting from the eastern gate of the temple mount on Sabbath, one could easily reach Bethany, located on the backside of the Mount of Olives, within a journey of that length. The modern road from the Kidron Valley angles up to the southeast from the northwest, but in biblical times the track was much more direct, following the direction of the path that runs up behind the Church of All Nations. Having reached Bethany, there would not have been any obstructions in the way of individuals as they traveled down the old Roman road toward Jericho. This would have taken them through the largely uninhabited wilderness of Judea. Traffic on the Jericho road would have been minimal on Sabbath.

An extra 2,000 cubits could have been added to a normal Sabbath day's journey by placing, on the preparation day, a deposit of food sufficient for two meals at a location at the end of the first Sabbath day's journey.[40] This would have taken a traveler to the eastern edge of Bethany with only the wilderness of Judea lying farther to the east, thus taking a traveler out of the range of any possible Sabbath harassment.

[39]Josephus, *Antiquities*, Bk. XIII, Sota 5, 3; Erubin 4,3.

[40]Erubin 4, 7-9, 8, 2.

Jesus' instructions in Matt 24:20 were not just for those in Jerusalem, but also for those living elsewhere in Judea. Sabbath travel for those living outside of Jerusalem would probably have been easier than for those living in Jerusalem, since the towns and villages they might have bypassed would have been smaller and less obtrusive.

In terms of forced travel on the Sabbath, Christians of the time who were in fairly good physical condition or had donkeys to ride could have made it to Jericho by sundown by leaving Jerusalem early in the morning. The normal route of travel would have been down the old Roman road through the Wadi Qelt. The downward pitch of the road, which declined approximately 4,000 feet in twenty miles, would have aided the travelers.

Since this route passed through the wilderness of Judea, it was a sparsely inhabited area and one would not have expected to obtain provisions along the way. Provisions would have been prepared on the preparation day if travel had to begin early Sabbath morning. These preparations would have been normal for anyone traveling that route at any time in the week because of the general unavailability of supplies to be had along that route. The "Good Samaritan Inn" on the south side of the modern road to Jericho is, of course, a modern construction. The monastery in the Wadi Qelt also comes from post-first-century times. The "Good Samaritan Inn" of Luke 10:30-37 was the exception rather than the rule in this barren region, and one would not have depended upon it except in cases of special necessity, as in the case of the man who was wounded by thieves while traveling through that region.

Religio-Political Considerations

The problem here has to do with the question of whether the gates of Jerusalem were open on Sabbath or not. In peacetime they had to be open on Sabbath to enable worshipers to enter the temple precincts. In at least two instances the eastern gates of the temple also served as the eastern gates to the city. This was the case for the Golden Gate, blocked up from the time of Suleiman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century, and for the Sheep Gate through which the sacrifices for the temple were brought. Those coming from the eastern side of the city to worship in the temple precincts on Sabbath would have entered the city through these gates that were kept open in peacetime. Probably people coming from outside of the city from the north, west, and south would have entered the city first in order to go most directly to the temple area. In times of war, all of the gates were closed all of the time, including the Sabbath.

Summary on Option II

The physical obstacles to a mandatory flight on the Sabbath day would have been minimal. People from inside of Jerusalem could have exited through the eastern gates of the temple, which also served as gates of the city. Other gates probably were open in peace time to permit worshipers to take the most direct route to the temple area. Having cleared the Mount of Olives, travelers would have encountered no obstructions in their path down to Jericho other than the problem of having to traverse a barren area. Preparations for travel through this barren terrain would naturally have been made previously and provisions taken along on the journey, since the people knew that supplies were not readily available along that route. When the actual "physical obstacles" are studied in detail and not left in generalities, it can be seen that these were not major considerations in determining whether to flee on Sabbath or not.

Fulfillment of Jesus' Prophecy

Interpretations

In spite of his excellent review of the literature on this subject and his useful review of rabbinic teaching about acceptable Sabbath activities, Yang falls short on his application of the prophecy. He does not believe that Eusebius's statement about the escape of Christians to Pella before the war in response to a "divine oracle" fits the fulfillment of this prophecy because Pella was not in the mountains to which Jesus urged his followers to flee.[41] This is a very literalistic reading of the text. Jerusalem lies at an elevation of 2,900 feet. Significantly higher mountains than this are encountered only when one reaches Upper Galilee. As a geographical point, one flees through the mountains of the wilderness of Judea to get down to Jericho.

Yang then considers the suggestion of B. Reicke and others that there was not a single emigration, but a rather spontaneous, gradual flight in the years 64-66 that occurred just before the war broke out.[42] Yang rightly rejects this proposal because it had nothing to do with the Abomination of Desolation that is mentioned immediately preceding the instruction about praying not to flee on the Sabbath (Matt 24:15). Others, Yang notes, applied the Abomination of Desolation to the desecrations carried out in the temple by the Zealots in the winter of 67/68.[43] Since this did not involve any strictly idolatrous symbol, Yang moves on to the Roman standard brought into the

[41]Yang, 236, with the sources mentioned in n. 39.

[42]B. Reicke, *New Testament Era: The World of the Bible from 500 B.C. to A.D. 100*, trans. D. E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 216.

[43]Yang, 236.

temple area at the time the temple was destroyed in 70. This does not fit either because that would have been too late for Christians to flee.[44] Thus in spite of having worked upon this text in so much detail, Yang is unable to apply it to any historical circumstance.

Application

Closer attention to the course of the Roman war would have provided a better locus for the application of this exhortation. What Yang did not take into account was that the first phase of this war ended with a Jewish victory, which occurred in the fall of 66. The Romans, however, came back with a vengeance in 67. This interlude provided Christians (and Jews) time to flee as Jesus had instructed them. Moreover, the Roman legions and banners were brought up to the wall of the temple enclosure in this initial phase of the war. The signal was given that it was time to flee, and the Roman retreat provided the opportunity to do so. The historical situation can be described in the following terms.

Abomination of Desolation

After finally turning back the attack of the Jews upon his troops at Gibeon at the beginning of the Festival of Tabernacles, Cestius Gallus moved his troops on to attack the city of Jerusalem at its northeastern corner. He broke through the outer wall at that point and fought all the way up to the retaining wall of the temple area. His troops were making efforts to break through that wall, and they prepared to burn the gate on that side of the temple area. The defenders of the city were very discouraged as they retreated into the temple and palace area, thinking that this would be the site of their last stand. Then with victory in his grasp, Cestius suddenly decided to call off the attack, much to the surprise of the defenders. Of this moment Josephus observed that "had he, at that particular moment, decided to force his way through the walls he would have captured the city forthwith, and the war would have been over."[45] By turning back, the opportunity for victory passed from the Romans. They had to fight their way in retreat down to Caesarea at the coast, with the final defeat of the rearguard force occurring in the Beth Horon pass.

Christians Pray for Their Safe Flight

Picture the situation of Christians inside the city while it was under siege for slightly less than a month. What would they have been doing?

[44]Ibid.

[45]Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Bk. II, par. 531.

According to Jesus' instructions, this was the special time that they were to pray. The Roman army came right up to the retaining wall of the temple area: the Abomination of Desolation had come to stand in the holy place. When the siege was suddenly and inexplicably lifted, the Christians undoubtedly saw this as an answer to their prayers. While their time to flee had come, they did not have to depart in winter, for it had not yet come. They did not have to leave on the Sabbath, because the army of Vespasian did not attack until the next year, A.D. 67. Their prayers were answered.

Not in Winter

The word used for winter in Matt 24:20 is *cheimnos*, which can mean full winter or simply bad weather or heavy rainstorms. In modern Israel, these winter rains begin in late November or early December. Josephus dates the final battle at the Beth Horon pass during the initial Roman retreat on the eighth day of the Macedonian month of Dios.[46] According to tables available for the Macedonian calendar, the first day of Dios in A.D. 66 fell on October 9.[47] Adding seven days to Josephus's date yields October 16 as the date of the final battle at the Beth Horon pass. This means that the residents of Judea and Jerusalem had a month or six weeks before the winter rains began, ample time for them to leave the city and country.

Evidence for the Flight

Yang holds that there is no evidence for a flight of either Christians or Jews from Jerusalem or Judea before, during, or after the Roman war.[48] Josephus, on the other hand, notes that there was a major flight from Jerusalem right after the defeat of Cestius's troops: "After the catastrophe of Cestius many distinguished Jews abandoned the city as swimmers desert a sinking ship."[49] Josephus named a number of those who fled at this time. It appears that most of them were Roman sympathizers, for they went over to Cestius. He, in turn, sent some of them on to Rome to report to Nero what had happened. Josephus names one pro-Roman elder who did not desert and was killed by the rebels. Thus, the danger was not that of fleeing the city, but of staying in it. While Josephus does not specifically mention them, Christians were undoubtedly among those who fled the city at this time. They, however, fled

[46]Ibid., par. 555.

[47]F. Parise, *The Book of Calendars* (New York: Facts on Fire, 1982), 12.

[48]Yang, 236-237.

[49]Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Bk. II, pars. 556-558.

in the opposite direction, down to and across the Jordan River and up the Jordan Valley to Pella, according to Eusebius.

Summary

A number of scholarly theories have been advanced to explain why Matthew included the Sabbath as a part of Jesus' exhortation to pray for deliverance at the time of the coming war. Most of these theories can be discarded reasonably, leaving only three main interpretations to deal with. The first of these is that Christians would not want to flee for fear of the Jews. Jewish theory and practice at the time, however, indicate that the Jews could have fled alongside of the Christians. A second theory, probably currently the most popular among commentators, is that Christians would not have wanted to flee on the Sabbath because of physical obstacles in their way at that time. A close examination of the obstacles proposed indicates that they would not have presented any major problems on the Sabbath more than any other day.

The final option is that Christians were exhorted to pray that their flight, at the beginning of the Roman war, would not have to occur on the Sabbath out of respect for their observance of that day. They could flee on that day if they had to, but they were to pray that they would not in order to keep that day as one of rest and worship, rather than a day of travel. This opportunity came immediately after the initial attack upon the city by Cestius's troops in the fall of A.D. 66. When the Romans retreated, the prayers of the Christians were answered. They did not have to flee upon the Sabbath or in winter, but were able to keep it even under those wartime conditions, due to the hiatus in the Roman attack upon Judea and Jerusalem.

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πιστις Χριστου: READING PAUL IN A NEW PARADIGM[1]

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The Background of the πίστις Χριστοῦ *Question*

When Gerhard Kittel in 1906 wrote his article on whether the expression πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is to be understood as a subjective or objective genitive,[2] his assessment of the evidence made it appear that the question could be easily resolved. Commenting on Paul's use of the expression in Rom 3:21-26, the first of Kittel's seven points in favor of the subjective genitive reading suggested that the texts were so straightforward that the perception of ambiguity, and thus the need for debate, was unwarranted. It was his view that "the first impression that the simpleminded reader must have, speaks against the objective reading. . . . The apostle would frankly have expressed himself in an unintelligible manner if he had intended to speak about faith in Jesus."[3]

Despite the overwhelming evidence alleged by Kittel in favor of the

[1]This paper was initially prepared for a reading course at the Duke University Divinity School under the guidance of professor Richard B. Hays in December 2000.

[2]Gerhard Kittel, "πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ bei Paulus," *Theologischen Studien und Kritiken* 79 (1906), 419-436.

[3]Ibid., 424. In addition to the meaning considered to be most likely in the eyes of the casual reader, Kittel's points were (1) that the unambigous subjective genitive in Rom 3:3, τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεου, referring to God's faithfulness; (2) that the subjective genitive ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ in Rom 4:16, speaking of Abraham's faith, not faith in Abraham; (3) that the verb πεφανέρωται in the perfect passive with the constellation δικαιοσύνη δὲ θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, referring to a completed and past event that militates against an objective genitive reading, as the act of believing is something in the present; and that this expression talks about the substance of what is revealed, not about the belief; (4) that the expression δικαιούμενοι . . . διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· in v. 24 is an explication and elaboration of δικαιοσύνη δὲ θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; (5) that the act of believing is spelled out by the phrase εἰς πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας in v. 22, thus avoiding the awkward redundancy that goes with the objective genitive reading "so dass kein Wort zu viel oder zu wenig gesagt ist"; (6) that the entire passage in Rom 3:21-26 presents Christ primarily as the mediator of God's salvation of humanity; (7) that where the expression πίστις Ἰησοῦ stands alone, i.e., not πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, this points to the faith of Jesus himself in the days of his flesh. Kittel acknowledged his indebtedness to the earlier article of Johannes Haussleiter, who took great pains to distinguish between the faith of the human Jesus in distinction from the faith of the exalted Christ ("Der Glaube Jesu und der Christliche Glaube," *Neue kirkliche Zeitschrift* 2 [1891]: 109-145, 205-230). There is, however, no evidence that Paul made a distinction between "Jesus" and "Christ."

subjective genitive reading, he was quick to acknowledge that he thought a change in the time-honored practice to be unlikely. "It stands as an established fact that in Romans the justification of sinners by faith in Jesus is the prevailing thought. Given this premise, the subjective reading will be confronted with grave reservations," he wrote.[4]

More people are likely to agree with Kittel in his assessment of the grave reservations against the subjective genitive reading than with his arguments in its favor. Since Kittel's article in the main was a restatement of viewpoints expressed fifteen years earlier by Johannes Haussleiter,[5] one is left to wonder whether anticipation of such reservations played a role in the long lag time before anyone responded to Haussleiter, and the virtual complete silence on the subject by Kittel or any other NT scholar of note during the next fifty years.[6]

Kittel was of course keenly aware that the texts and terms in question were precisely the ones that lay at the heart of the Protestant Reformation. Expressions like "the righteousness of God" and "faith in Jesus Christ" were the keystones of the gospel as Martin Luther saw it. Any revision of these terms might bring in its wake a different understanding of the notion of "gospel" and perhaps unsettle tenets of Protestant Christianity held as axiomatic. For Luther himself his understanding of these concepts had been personal breakthroughs, decisive turning points in his own experience as well as in the thinking of the segment of the church of which he was the leading reformer. His exposition of Romans was unambiguous. To him, the revelation of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in Rom 1:17 did not refer to the righteousness of God

[4]Kittel, 421, states: "Es gilt als feststehende Tatsache, dass im Römerbrief die Rechtfertigung des Sünders durch den Glauben an Christum Jesum der beherrschende Gedanke sei. Unter dieser Voraussetzung würde die subjektive Deutung einem schweren Bedenken unterliegen."

[5]Haussleiter, see n. 2.

[6]If being ignored is the ultimate slight, at least a few scholars found Haussleiter's proposal to be significant enough not to overlook it entirely. Sanday and Headlam referred to it dismissively in their Romans commentary, cautioning that if Haussleiter's view held good, "a number of other passages would be affected by it." Other than that reservation, their only arguments against Haussleiter were that his view "seems to us forced" and that "it has so far, we believe, met with no acceptance" (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ICC [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992], 83-84). The first edition of this influential commentary was published in 1897, before Kittel's article appeared. In his commentary on Galatians, Ernest De Witt Burton similarly made a note on Haussleiter's work, when he countered that since there is clear evidence that πίστις like ἐλπίς and ἀγάπη, may take the objective genitive, as in Ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ in Mark 11:22, the expression πίστις Ἰησοῦ and related terminology in Galatians should be read as objective genitives, denoting the believer's faith in Christ (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, ICC [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921], 121-122).

himself, but to the righteousness by which the condemned sinner might be justified and acquitted before God. "Moreover, with [the expression] the righteousness of God one must not here understand the righteousness through which he himself is righteous, but righteousness through which we are made righteous. This happens through faith in the gospel," wrote Luther.[7] For the believer the corollary to God's righteousness was faith *in* Christ; Luther consistently read πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ as an objective genitive.[8] πίστις was not an attribute of Christ, whether understood as his faith or his faithfulness; it was the God-given stance of the believer, by which he appropriated the righteousness that would be the basis for his acquittal.

There is little doubt today that Luther reached his conclusion as much on the strength of an overarching theological vision as on the basis of strict exegesis.[9] Central to that vision was his belief that his own profound sense of condemnation before God was also shared by the apostle Paul, i.e., that his own experience and that of the apostle ran on parallel tracks in their pre-Christian as well as in their postconversion outlook.[10] This is an important point because more recent views of this subject come close to implying that the objective genitive reading of πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ derives from a virgin reading of the Greek text.[11] In reality that interpretation was powerfully conditioned and favored by

[7]Luther's words in German are: "Wiederum darf man hier unter der Gerechtigkeit Gottes nicht verstehen, durch die er selbst gerecht ist in sich selbst, sondern die, durch die wir von ihm gerecht machen werden. Das geschieht durch den Glauben an das Evangelium" (*Vorlesung über den Römerbrief 1515/16*, Ausgewählte Werke [Munich: Chr. Raiser Verlag, 1957], 28). My English translation is deliberately literal; later Protestant terminology will favor the expression "declare righteous" instead of "make righteous."

[8]Luther, 132, states: "Desgleichen, wenn es 'Glaube an Christus' heisst, so ist darunter der Glaube an Christus und an das Wort eines jeden zu verstehen, in dem selber redet."

[9]Luther's view of the gospel also had implications for his understanding of the canon. It is well known that he thought that the epistle of James and the book of Revelation did not meet the standard of canonicity precisely because these books did not speak of the gospel as he understood it. "I miss more than one thing in this book," he wrote in 1522 in his first introduction to Revelation, "and it makes me consider it to be neither apostolic nor prophetic. . . . For me this is reason enough not to think highly of it: Christ is neither taught nor known in it" (*Word and Sacrament I*, Luther's Works [Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960], 35:398-399).

[10]See, e.g., Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *Harvard Theological Review* 65 (1963): 199-215. "It is as one of those [anxious contemporaries in the aftermath of the Black Death]—and for them—that Luther carries out his mission as a great pioneer. Is it in response to *their* question, 'How can I find a gracious God?' that Paul's words about justification in Christ by faith, and without the works of the Law, appear as the liberating and saving answer"(203).

[11]Thus Barry Matlock, "Detheologizing the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate: Cautionary Remarks from a Lexical Semantic Perspective," *NovT* 42 (2000): 1-23.

the experience, presuppositions, and *Sitz im Leben* of Luther and the other Protestant reformers. If it is true that the arguments for a subjective genitive reading of πίστις Χριστοῦ have been biased by a theological agenda, as Barry Matlock seems to suggest in the context of the current scholarly debate of the term, it does not follow that no such agenda was present when the objective genitive translation came into vogue. If anything, the evidence suggests the contrary: whatever theological agenda may be divined as the motive behind the call for a revised reading, there is no doubt that Luther's interpretation came into being as part of a broad theological system.[12] It was not primarily worked out on a lexical, semantic, and exegetical basis, the accepted tools of interpretation today.

After many years of silence on this subject, it was revived in 1955 by Gabriel Hebert.[13] He made no mention of the previous and all-but-forgotten work of Haussleiter and Kittel, even though his reading of the Pauline passages relevant to the inquiry also favored the subjective genitive reading of the passages in question. In fact, Hebert's translation of Rom 3:21-25 was not very different from better-fated interpretations that have been advanced in more recent times.[14] Thus, he read Rom 3:22 as "God's righteousness, through the Faithfulness of Jesus Christ, to all who believe."[15] He translated Gal 2:16: "We, knowing that a man is not justified by works of the Law, but through the Faithfulness of Christ Jesus (*dia pisteos Christou Iesou*), and not by works of the Law."[16] For Phil 3:9 he proposed the translation: "Not having a righteousness of my own, but that which is through the Faithfulness of Jesus Christ, the Righteousness which is from God *epi te pistei*, for (human) faith."[17]

Hebert's translation has deliberately been reproduced here in the main text rather than in the footnotes as telling evidence that later readings of πίστις Χριστοῦ with the subjective genitive meaning actually have improved little on what he proposed. His initiative was followed a

[12]Kittel's argument on behalf of a subjective genitive reading was exegetical only to a limited extent. It is possible that his views also may have reflected a certain cultural conditioning, perhaps of "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" in vogue in the early part of the twentieth century.

[13]Gabriel Hebert, "'Faithfulness' and 'Faith,'" *The Reformed Theological Review* 14 (1955): 33-40.

[14]Such as Douglas A. Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3:21-26*, JSOTSup 65 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

[15]Hebert, 37.

[16]Ibid., 37-38. Gal 3:22 was translated: "That the Promise through Faithfulness of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."

[17]Ibid., 37.

few years later by an article by Thomas Torrance, who concurred with Hebert that the construction πίστις Χριστοῦ in Paul's letters should be understood as "the faithfulness of Christ."[18]

If Hebert and Torrance had made the actual translation of these passages the substance of their articles, or if kindly disposed readers had chosen to make their proposed translation of the Greek text the most important aspect of their suggestions, these articles might have had a different reception. As it was, Hebert and Torrance invoked arguments on behalf of their positions that became subject to severe criticism. Both sought to bolster the subjective genitive reading by resorting to the Hebrew faith-language in the OT, claiming a direct link from OT usage to the faith-language in the letters of Paul.[19] The heavy use of etymology,[20] on the assumption that the root meaning of a word is a trustworthy guide to current usage and that such root meanings in this instance carried over into another language, drew a sharply worded rebuttal from James Barr.[21] While not denying that differences between Hebrew and Greek thinking are real, Barr rejected the way entire theologies have been constructed on the assumed meaning of a word. He took Hebert and Torrance as a case in point, arguing that the material had been

[18]Thomas Torrance, "One Aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith," *Expository Times* 68 (1957), 111-114. In a reading that lay close to that of Hebert, Torrance, 113, translated Gal 2:16: "We . . . knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but through the faithfulness of Jesus Christ (*dia pisteos Christou Iesou*), even we believed (*episteusamen*) on Christ Jesus that we might be justified out of Christ's faithfulness (*ek pisteos Christou*), and not by works of the law."

[19]Hebert suggested that wherever the word "faith" is used, especially by Paul, the "Hebrew" meaning should be assumed. Faith-terminology in the Bible should be seen as derivatives of the verb *ʾaman* and the corresponding noun *ʾemunah*. These words have the connotation of "firmness" or "steadfastness." For this reason, he proposed, they refer to divine attributes, and this meaning carries over into the Greek *pistis*, i.e., *pistis* should be understood with the broader God-centered meaning in mind. The NT phrase *pistis Christou* should thus read "the faithfulness of Jesus Christ." Torrance, 113, construed *pistis Christou* as a bipolar expression that should not be confined to either a subjective or objective genitive reading: "In most of these passages the *pistis Iesou Christou* does not refer only either to the faithfulness of Christ or to the answering faithfulness of man, but is essentially a polarized expression denoting the faithfulness of Christ as its main ingredient but also involving or at least suggesting the answering faithfulness of man, and so his belief in Christ, but even within itself the faithfulness of Christ involves both the faithfulness of God and the faithfulness of the man Jesus."

[20]Past usage of a word, let alone its proposed root meaning, is clearly a treacherous ally in terms of present meaning and usage. A nineteenth-century writer might refer to the work of a teacher as "the nicest work." Such an expression would to us mean that teaching is a most enjoyable profession. But what the nineteenth-century writer had in mind was not the teacher's sense of enjoyment, but rather that dealing with the young mind requires a certain touch.

[21]James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

presented selectively with misleading results. Aside from a partial and possibly biased presentation of the evidence on the part of these authors, Barr insisted that the current meaning of a word does not necessarily reflect its etymology.[22] Instead, Barr held that the sentence controls the meaning of the word, not *vice versa*, and that linguistic arguments in favor of a certain meaning often misconstrued and misapplied the evidence. In the case of Hebert and Torrance the linguistic argument had backfired, leaving the impression that the otherwise perfectly possible and highly intelligible translation of πίστις Χριστοῦ as "the faithfulness of Christ" was unsustainable.

Barr's withering critique may have had the effect of restraining any rash revival of the subjective genitive reading of πίστις Χριστοῦ, at least on linguistic grounds, but it hardly made the topic go away. A study by D.W.B. Robinson in 1970 suggested a three-pronged approach to resolving whether πίστις Χριστοῦ should be understood as a subjective or objective genitive: determining the force of the genitive after πίστις on grammatical and syntactical grounds, resolving the semantic problem as to the meaning of πίστις, and coming to grips with the meaning of πίστις Χριστοῦ in Paul's thinking, i.e., the theological issue.[23] On all these scores Robinson concluded that the evidence favored the subjective genitive reading. As to the semantic aspect, and perhaps in what could be seen as a partial vindication of Hebert and Torrance, he held that in ordinary Greek the meaning πίστις is not "faith" or "trust," but "reliability" or "fidelity." He also pointed out that in the LXX πίστος rarely, if ever, means "faith" or "trust." Taking his point of departure in Robinson's systematic approach, George Howard found the same trend as to the meaning of πίστος in Hellenistic Jewish literature.[24] He also called into question a crucial and explicit assumption in Barr's earlier rebuttal of the subjective genitive reading. Barr believed that the aspect of "trust" or "believing," though present in the OT,

> received a great increase of importance and centrality in the New Testament, a fact which I think no one will deny. This fact explains the great rise in the representation of the sense, "trust, faith" for *pistis* in the New Testament and its preponderance over the sense "faithfulness" which is the normal LXX sense.[25]

[22]Barr, 198, states: "Extant forms are not derived directly from the ultimate etymology or from the "root meaning."

[23]D.W.B. Robinson, "'Faith of Jesus Christ'—A New Testament Debate," *Reformed Theological Review* 29 (1970): 71-81.

[24]George Howard, "The 'Faith of Christ,'" *Expository Times* 85 (1974): 213-214.

[25]Barr, 202-203.

Was this conclusion favored by the evidence? Or was it merely an assumption, an example of proving what is assumed precisely by what at best can only be assumed? Barr himself seemed aware of that possibility, writing somewhat self-consciously: "If such a judgment will be permitted,"[26] to which Howard answered that such a judgment ought not to be permitted simply because the evidence for it is not there. "Since there is no real proof that 'trust/faith' is the normal meaning for New Testament *pistis* there is little confidence that can be given to Barr's treatment of the issue. Indeed if we follow the example of *pistis* in Hellenistic Jewish literature in general we should look for the meaning of 'faithfulness' to appear most often in the New Testament," concluded Howard.[27]

It is probably a fair assessment of the evolution of the πίστις Χριστοῦ question to say that the study of Richard Hays, examining Paul's letter to the Galatians, has played a pivotal role—enhancing the plausibility of the subjective genitive reading, serving as a catalyst for continued interest in the question, and clarifying the issues to be resolved.[28] In his analysis, Hays argues that Paul's strain of thought becomes much clearer if one recognizes the underlying narrative assumption and highly allusive character of the text. As to the former, Paul is not spelling out a complete and systematic presentation of his message in his letters. Instead, he repeatedly falls back on the narrative into which the Galatians were initiated through Paul's preaching when he was with them in person during his initial visit. When Paul reminded the Galatians that "it was before your eyes that Jesus Christ was publicly exhibited as crucified" (Gal 3:1), he was referring to the narrative he had related concerning the suffering and death of Jesus. With recourse to the terminology of Northrop Frye, Hays has suggested that "the *dianoia* of the gospel story is embodied in the phrase 'Jesus Christ crucified.' This summary phrase recalls the "scene of exceptional intensity" which stands at the center of Paul's recollection of the story of Jesus Christ. The allusion, therefore, which would be meaningless outside the frame of reference provided by the gospel story, stands for the whole story and distills its meaning."[29]

As to the second aspect of Hays's interpretation of Galatians—the allusive character of the text—a postulate that the author admits to be crucial, one should read Paul's letter with the understanding that "its foundation and framework are for the most part hidden from view,

[26]Ibid., 203.

[27]Howard, 214.

[28]Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4, 11*, 2d ed., SBLDS 56 (Chico: Scholars Press, 2002).

[29]Ibid., 197.

implicit rather than explicit."[30] On the interpretive platform of the text's narrative and allusive character[31] Hays proceeds with careful exegesis of the text itself.[32] This leads to several elements of distinction and importance in his interpretation, one of which is that Paul's quotation of Hab 2:4 is given greater playing room to Hays's understanding than what is commonly allowed. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται, as Paul uses the quotation in Gal 3:11, and as Hays interprets it, should not be seen merely as the apostle's frantic search for prooftexts for a doctrine completely unrelated to Habakkuk's original concern. Granting this, the text gets messianic overtones: ὁ δίκαιος in Habakkuk is the Messiah, and the one who shall live by faith is the Messiah himself, not just those who believe in him.[33] Not only this, but the recurring phrase οἱ ἐκ πίστεως in Galatians (3:7, 9) is never entirely loosened from its original moorings in the OT; it retains an allusive element and "is best understood in the context of Galatians 3 as an ad hoc formulation based upon the prophetic text."[34] According to this reading of Paul, "Christ is the ground of faith because he is the one who, in fulfillment of the prophecy, lives ἐκ πίστεως."[35]

Since the publication of Hays's dissertation, the number of participants and viewpoints in the debate has multiplied to the extent that a review of their respective positions is impossible within the limited framework of this inquiry. Thus, it seems more fruitful to take stock of issues that have been clarified and what this means for the current state of the subject.

[30]Ibid., 234.

[31]This is not to suggest that the notion of narrative and allusions are arbitrary presuppositions imported into the reading of the text. Instead, they emerge naturally from the text itself, and their explicit mention serve as facilitators or sensitizers, allowing for a more dynamic perception of the situation and a more nuanced reading of the text.

[32]As to grammatical evidence, Hays, 164, concludes that it favors the view that πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ means "faith of Jesus Christ," however that might be interpreted. The case on grammatical grounds for the translation "faith in Jesus Christ" is really very weak.

[33]Ibid., 150-151. "On this point, I have not persuaded many scholars," Hays has confided to me in a personal note.

[34]Ibid., 201. "In view of all these considerations," as Hays sees it, "we may suggest that οἱ ἐκ πίστεως carries not primarily the connotation of 'those who have faith' but rather the connotation of 'those who are given life on the basis of (Christ's) faith.'" The latter part of this statement is a quotation from Franz Muessner, *Der Galaterbrief*, HTKNT 9 (Freiburg: Herder, 1974), 207.

[35]Hays, 231.

πίστις Χριστοῦ: *The State of the Question Today*

In its simplest form, the issue is still whether the expression πίστος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ should be understood as a subjective or an objective genitive, in much the same way as the question was formulated by Kittel almost a century ago. Although there is no agreement as to the answer, much has been done to clarify aspects that must be taken into consideration, and lessons have been learned on all sides of the issue to help avoid the pitfalls of simplistic and one-sided solutions. The following is a selection of some of the most crucial concerns:

1. It must be admitted that the force of the genitive construction πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ may be either objective or subjective. Instances of unambigous subjective genitives have been identified in Rom 3:3, where τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ clearly means "the faithfulness of God," or Rom 4:16, where ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ also carries the subjective genitive force, referring to "the faith of Abraham." For the objective genitive, Mark 11:22 has already been noted, Ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ, quite likely meaning "have faith in God."[36] Another example is Phil 3:8, τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου, "knowing Christ Jesus my Lord" and not the knowledge that Christ himself had.[37] Nevertheless, the meaning of these clear-cut formulations does not dictate whether πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ should be understood as one or the other. This means that the question cannot be resolved on grammatical grounds. And while the two options are equally possible, it does not necessarily follow that they are also equally likely. If Kittel's view is correct on how the straightforward and simpleminded reader would read the construction, the first choice should be the subjective genitive, and the burden of proof for abandoning it lies on the objective genitive reading.

2. Other nuances of grammar and syntax are at best inconclusive in terms of deciding the question in favor of one reading or the other. Several attractive hypotheses have been slain by "ugly" facts, depending on one's preference. Burton's observation that "the article is . . . almost invariably present" when πίστις is accompanied with a subjective genitive,[38] is, as Dunn points out, weakened by the fact that "faith" in most of his examples is accompanied by the personal pronoun, "your

[36]This reading is contestable as indicated by Robinson, 71, who early in life encountered the translation: "Reckon on God's fidelity."

[37]Hays, 164; Arland Hultgrenn, "The *Pistis Christou* Formulation in Paul, *NovT* 22 (1980), 254; James Dunn, "Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," *SBL 1991 Seminar Papers*, 731-732 (reprinted in Hays, 249-271)..

[38]Burton, 482.

faith."[39] But the usefulness of the article as a distinguishing feature becomes even less tenable by the example of Abraham's faith in Rom 4:16, where the genitive is subjective, but the article is absent. Reluctant to relinquish this element, Hultgren makes the presence or absence of the article the leading argument in his analysis of Pauline syntax in favor of the objective genitive reading.[40] But the instances of the articular use of πίστις as a subjective genitive in connection with genitive pronouns such as *hymōn, hemon, autou* are, as Sam Williams has demonstrated, not convincing since such constructions are not normally anarthrous.[41] According to Williams, only two possible examples remain, Rom 3:3 and 4:12, for the hypothesis that "Paul always has the article before *pistis* when an accompanying genitive is subjective," but even these two constructions fail to come down in favor of the hypothesis.[42] All of this means that the presence or absence of the article cannot be used as the distinguishing feature it has been taken to be.

3. No one contests that Paul speaks about faith *in* Christ in his letters. Galatians 2:16, καί ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, means by virtually unanimous agreement "we also (or even we) believed in Christ Jesus." The issue to be safeguarded most by the objective genitive of πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is thus not in jeopardy even if the expression is interpreted as a subjective genitive.[43] Hultgren thinks that prepositional phrases like πίστις ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ in letters considered by some to be non-Pauline (as Eph 1:15) could have been expressed as πίστις Χριστοῦ by Paul, and that the increasing use of prepositional phrases with πίστις is evidence for the objective genitive reading.[44] This is at best a conjecture of dubious value, especially since prepositional phrases denoting "faith in Christ" also are found in letters that all agree are Pauline. What is certain is that the subjective genitive reading leads to a different interpretation of these texts, and there is

[39]Dunn, 732.

[40]Hultgren, 253.

[41]Sam K. Williams, "Again *Pistis Christou*," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 49 (1987): 432.

[42]Ibid., 432. In Rom 3:3, τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεου is a subjective genitive and arthrous, but its equivalent, δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in Rom 3:21, is anarthrous, though also subjective. In Rom 4:12, the complete expression is τῆς ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ πίστεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, thus not "the . . . faith of Abraham," but "the . . . faith of our father Abraham." It is the designation "our father" that controls the article in this instance, not πίστις.

[43]See Phil 1:29, Rom 10;14, and many equivalent examples using prepositional phrases such as εἰς, ἐν, or ἐπι for faith in Christ.

[44]Hultgren, 254. Dunn, 734, also considers the prepositional expressions "equivalent phrases." Another possibility is to read the prepositional phrase as locative, indicating that πίστις exists within the sphere of being-in-Christ.

nothing to compensate for that loss, if indeed it may be seen as a loss.

4. There is also agreement that pre-NT lexical evidence as to the use of πίστις in the LXX and in Hellenistic Jewish literature favors the notion of "faithfulness" rather than "faith."[45] This does not mean that the valence of NT faith language follows the same trajectory, but it indicates that if external evidence is admitted, such evidence tilts in the direction of the subjective genitive interpretation.

5. There is even agreement that the subjective genitive reading makes excellent sense theologically. Dunn writes that "I should make it clear that the *theology* of the subjective genitive reading is powerful, important, and attractive. For anyone who wishes to take the humanness of Jesus with full seriousness "the faith of Jesus" strikes a strong and resonant chord. Moreover, as a theological motif, it seems to me wholly compatible with Paul's theology."[46]

On balance, if the above points are representative of recent scholarly work, the trend tends toward the subjective genitive reading. But even if one must conclude that these pieces of the puzzle in themselves do not hold the key to the solution, it should not come as a surprise. Once the possibility of different views on each of the points listed above is admitted, it is clear that any or even all of the points cannot yield the consensus one might like to achieve in such matters. Kittel's prediction that the objective genitive reading of πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ would prove impervious to change may nevertheless have been overly pessimistic. There has already been such a major shift in scholarly opinion, at least in the English-speaking world, that it is no longer unthinkable that a revised reading may one day appear in standard translations of the Bible.

Before considering that possibility, it is well to remind ourselves that the objective genitive reading rose to its present status on the strength of a *theological* understanding. That path is not as readily open to anyone contemplating change in the established theological order in our time. In today's scholarly climate the singular achievement of Luther and the early Protestant reformers is not likely to be emulated. Anyone eager to see a different interpretation, believing that change is merited by concern for the nature of the evidence, will have to travel the thorny road of exegesis.

Whither πίστις Χριστοῦ?

In the revised edition of the Anchor Bible Commentary on Galatians, a shift in emphasis is evident in J. Louis Martyn's new translation that could

[45]Howard, 213-214; Ian G. Wallis, *The Faith of Jesus Christ in Early Christian Traditions*, SNTST Monograph Series 84 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-23.

[46]Dunn, 744.

be a harbinger of things to come even for standard translations of the Bible.[47] Galatians 2:16 now reads: "Even we ourselves know, however, that a person is not rectified by observance of Law, but rather by the faith of Christ Jesus. Thus, even we have placed our trust in Christ Jesus, in order that the source of our rectification might be the faith of Christ and not by observance of the Law."

The sensitized reader will notice that Martyn has incorporated the subjective genitive reading in his translation. Where the NRSV and virtually all other translations speak of "faith *in* Jesus Christ," Martyn has chosen "the faith *of* Jesus Christ." This small change in prepositions, from *in* to *of*, leads to enormous change in meaning. The former refers to the faith of the believer, the latter to the faith of Christ himself. What is a little step for grammar turns out to be a giant leap for interpretation. According to Martyn,

> Paul writes *pistis Christou Iesou*, an expression which can mean either the faith that Christ had and enacted or the faith that human beings have in Christ, both readings being grammatically possible. Recent decades have seen extensive discussion of the matter, sometimes even heated debate; and the debate has demonstrated that the two readings do in fact lead to two very different pictures of the theology of the entire letter. Is the faith that God has chosen as the means of setting things right that of Christ himself or that of human beings? Attention to a number of factors, especially to the nature of Paul's antinomies and to the similarities between 2:16 and 2:21, leads to the conclusion that Paul speaks of the faith of Christ, meaning his faithful death in our behalf.[48]

Another notable difference is that the traditional word "justified" has been replaced by the word "rectified" as a better rendition of the scope and intention of the Greek verb δικαιόω. Even though the words δικαιόω and δικαιοσύνη in Greek are closely related as the verb and the noun of the same idea, this relationship has been obscured in many English translations. Martyn explains the rationale for his solution by pointing to the weakness of the traditional position: "To render the verb with the English expression 'to justify' while translating the noun as 'righteousness'—the most common way of proceeding—is to lose the linguistic connection that was both obvious and important to Paul."[49]

[47]J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1997). The Greek expression is διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. It can also be translated "the faithfulness of Jesus Christ." One scholar who has chosen this translation consistently in a work on Galatians is Bruce Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham's God* (Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark, 1998).

[48]Martyn, 251.

[49]Ibid., 249. E. P. Sanders has made a similar observation as to the way the Greek terms

> All of the translation options . . . have one weighty liability: they are either at home in the language of the law—where "to justify" implies the existence of a definable legal norm—or in the language of religion and morality—where "righteousness" implies a definable religious or moral norm. As we will see, Paul intends his term to be taken into neither of these linguistic realms. Hence, we will find some advantage in using the verb "to rectify" and the noun "rectification." For these are words that belong to a single linguistic family (*rectus facio*), and they are words that are not commonly employed either in our courtrooms or in our religious and moral institutions. The subject Paul addresses is that of God's *making right what has gone wrong*.[50]

Thus, the legal aspect of coming into a right relationship with God is toned down in favor of the relational or covenantal. The antinomy Paul presents is not between works and faith, or between doing and believing, as the traditional view has it. It is between law and "the faith of Christ" as the basis for righting what has gone wrong. Besides, the subjective genitive reading of πίστις Χριστοῦ spills over into the characterization of the two opposing communities, οἱ ἐκ πίστεως and ὅσοι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου. On that basis, Martyn introduces the interesting contrast between "those whose identity is derived from faith" (3:7, 9) and "those whose identity is derived from observance of the Law" (3:11).

An exegetical approach that favors the subjective genitive reading of πίστις Χριστοῦ in Galatians has already been noted in Hays's *The Faith of Jesus Christ*. Since it is undisputed that Galatians is thematically related to Romans, and since the use of the πίστις Χριστοῦ formulation is as widespread in Romans as in Galatians, that epistle naturally stands apart as fertile soil for renewed exegetical effort.[51] In addition, a crucial link between the two letters is found in the fact that Paul calls upon the same quotation from Habakkuk in support for his message in Gal 3:11 and Rom 1:17.

Before considering the relevant texts in Romans, two further observations are in order. While the case for a theocentric reading of Galatians may be questioned, the evidence for such a reading of Romans is ample. Williams believes that the expression δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ should be accepted as a central theme in Romans, and that the unfolding of this theme is nothing if not theocentric (e.g., Rom 1:17; 3:21-26; 15:8). Williams claims that in Romans Paul "wants to show that his gospel agrees with who God *is*—Lord of all people and forever true to his own nature

have been handled in English (*Paul* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1991], 44-47).

[50]Martyn, 250.

[51]As noted, Kittel argued the case for the subjective genitive in Romans on exegetical grounds only to a limited extent.

and purpose."[52] In Rom 3:21-26, Paul refers to δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ three times, making the death of Jesus the focal point of its meaning. According to Williams, "Rom 3:26 indicates that when Paul employs the term *dikaiosune theou* in 3:21-26 he is thinking about *how* God is righteous."[53] He finds strong confirmation that this is a consistent and overarching theme in Romans since Paul clearly returns to it in chapter 15. In his conclusion, Williams states that "if 'righteousness of God' is a key to Romans and if the preceding pages correctly point in the direction of the apostle's intent when he uses this phrase, the argument of *this* letter, at least, is thoroughly theocentric."[54]

In contrast to other epistles, no real or imminent crisis may be identified that triggered Paul to write to the Romans. If Paul in Galatians is arguing his case in heated dialogue with the "Galatian teachers," no such adversary seems to be present among the Roman believers. If anything may be said to distinguish this epistle, it is found in Paul's painstaking effort to enlist the OT in support of his gospel. In this letter, at least, Richard Hays is probably right when he states that "once the conversation begins, the addressees recede curiously into the background, and Paul finds himself engaged with an older and more compelling partner."[55] That partner is not a contemporary person or event, but the OT itself.

In Romans, Paul uses the Habakkuk text to introduce the theme of his letter: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel. . . . For in it the righteousness of God (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ) is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, 'The one who is righteous will live by faith'" (Rom 1:1, 17, NRSV). Later he expounds on the meaning of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ (1:17; 3:3, 21, 22, 25, 26), placing this expression in such intimate relationship to πίστις Ἰησοῦ (3:22, 25, 26) as to make the two phrases very closely related. Also in Romans, Paul proceeds on a line of reasoning that clearly

[52]Sam K. Williams, "The 'Righteousness of God' in Romans," *JBL* 99 (1980): 254. James Dunn dissents from Williams's view in certain particulars, but not as to whether the expression δικαιοσύνη θεου (Rom 1:17; 3:21-26) is saying something about God (*Romans 1-8*, WBC [Dallas: Word, 1988], 40-42). In the closing part of the letter, Paul refers to himself as a servant ὑπὲρ ἀληθείς θεοῦ (Rom 15:8), indicating once again that God is more than a peripheral concern in his ministry. This applies whether these expressions are read as subjective or objective genitives.

[53]William, "Righteousness of God," 278.

[54]Ibid., 289. Perhaps the most emphatically theocentric reading of Paul has been that of J. Christiaan Beker, who writes that "Paul is an apocalyptic theologian with a theocentric outlook" (*Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of god in Life and Thought* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980], 362).

[55]Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 35.

takes the form of an answer to the problem raised by Habakkuk in the OT. Reluctant to admit this, some of the most influential writers on Romans have strained to show that Paul was not quoting Habakkuk because he was talking about the same thing, and thus was invoking the OT source in support of his own thesis. Instead, it has been held that Paul was merely using Habakkuk as a matter of convenience, even though his subject matter was different. In the influential commentary of Sanday and Headlam, the authors wrote that "the Apostle does not intend to base any argument on the quotation from the O.T., but only selects the language as far as being familiar, suitable, and proverbial, in order to express what he wishes to say."[56] Hays asserts that "parties on all sides of the debate have been surprisingly content to assume that Paul employs the passage as a proof text for his doctrine of justification by faith with complete disregard for its original setting in Habakkuk's prophecy."[57]

Despite the near unanimity with which it has long been held, this inference is best settled by letting the evidence speak for itself. The perplexing issue was clearly stated by Habakkuk: "O Lord, how long shall I cry for help, and you will not listen? Or cry to you 'Violence!' and you will not save? Why do you make me see wrongdoing and look at trouble? Destruction and violence are before me; strife and contention arise. Your eyes are too pure to behold evil, and you cannot look on wrongdoing; why do you look on the treacherous, and are silent when the wicked swallow those more righteous than they?" (1:2, 3, 13).

Habakkuk received the answer that the revelation of God's righteousness would not be infinitely delayed: It "awaits an appointed time. . . . [I]t will certainly come and will not delay . . . , but the righteous will live by his faith" (2:3, 4). This statement is quoted by Paul, and it will become evident that he was not applying it to a completely different question than that of Habakkuk.[58]

> Thus, when Paul quotes Hab. 2:4, we cannot help hearing the echoes—unless we are tone-deaf—of Habakkuk's theodicy question. By showcasing this text—virtually as an epigraph—at the beginning of

[56]Sanday and Headlam, 289. These authors believed that "there is no stress on the fact that the O.T. is being quoted," that "the Apostle carefully and pointedly avoids appealing to Scripture," and that "no argument is based on the usage of the O.T."

[57]Hays, *Echoes*, 39.

[58]Hays notes that this text was deemed to be the *locus classicus* for the question of God's justice both in Judaism and early Christianity. He also emphasizes the difference between the Hebrew text and the LXX, where it says in Hebrew that "the righteous one shall live by *his* faithfulness," meaning that of the loyal person, whereas in the LXX the wording is that "the righteous shall live by *my* faithfulness," meaning the faithfulness of God himself (*Echoes*, 40).

the letter to the Romans, Paul links his gospel to the Old Testament prophetic affirmation of God's justice and righteousness.[59]

When this relationship is accepted, it points toward a different translation of Paul's introductory theme than the one found in most translations and holds the key to a number of puzzling concerns in Romans.[60] The wording of Paul's message might then be that "the righteousness of God is revealed from faithfulness to faith,[61] as it is written, 'The righteous one shall live by faith.'"[62]

The validity of this conclusion is strengthened by Paul's question in Rom 3:3, a text concerning which most translators have agreed. Paul's use of the word πίστις allows no ambiguity; only the subjective genitive reading of τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεου has any meaning. "What if some were unfaithful? Will their faithlessness nullify the faithfulness of God?" (Rom 3:3, NRS). In this passage Paul rephrases his introductory theme, asking whether the unfaithfulness of Israel may be used as evidence that God himself cannot be trusted. He answers his own question with an emphatic negative (3:4). But his answer remains unsubstantiated until the fuller explanation in Rom 3:21-26.

Several NT scholars have singled out this passage as the key to the letter. Cranfield says that "it is the centre and heart of the whole of Rom 1.16b-15.13,"[63] Käsemann that it holds "the thesis proper,"[64] Ridderbos that this is "the great programmatic summary of his gospel."[65] John A. T. Robinson, while admitting that the passage may be difficult, calls it "the most concentrated and heavily theological summary of the Pauline gospel, and every word has to be wrestled with. But if we take the trouble it demands and really enter into the background of his

[59]Ibid., 40.

[60]For Paul this theme did not hinge on the single reference to Habakkuk. As Hays demonstrates, Paul was mingling echoes from the Psalms, Isaiah, and Habakkuk, locating his proclamation of the gospel "within the sounding chamber of prophetic reflection for faithfulness" (ibid., 41).

[61]Hays has "out of faithfulness for faithfulness" (ibid., 41).

[62]As already noted, a strong case for understanding Habakkuk's original statement as a messianic prophecy has been made, in which case "the righteous one" (with the definite article in Rom 1:17) must refer to Christ. This answers the question as to whose faithfulness it talks about, whether God's, who sent Christ (as in the LXX), or Christ's, who was faithful to death (as in Hebrew). The answer is both. See Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ*, 151ff.

[63]C.E.B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), 199.

[64]Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 91.

[65]Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 144.

words it is not, I believe, obscure, however profound."[66]

The element to be explained, then, is "the righteousness of God," couched in the echo of the anguished query of Habakkuk adopted here by the apostle Paul. This passage, with the subjective genitive reading of πίστις Χριστοῦ, has recently been worked out exegetically by Douglas A. Campbell.[67] While no one will deny its complexity, I suggest that the subjective genitive interpretation yields the lucid message that Robinson thought was possible, and a clarity that has not been achieved as long as πίστις Χριστοῦ has been read as an objective genitive.[68] For the present purpose the Greek text of Rom 3:21-26 is reproduced along with a translation that reads πίστις Ἰησου as a subjective genitive, contending that the case for such a translation has been made, that it is preferred by the context and makes plain the meaning of an otherwise tortuous passage.[69]

Νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου	But now apart from law
δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ	the righteousness of God[70]

[66]J.A.T. Robinson, *Wrestling with Romans* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 43.

[67]The most thorough discussion of this passage in Romans is found in Campbell. A few concerns emerge from Campbell's dissertation. One has to do with the significance of the passage itself. While beginning his study by highlighting the broad scholarly consensus as to the significance of Rom 3:21-26 in the overall theme of Romans—giving the references reproduced here—he seems to back off from that view himself (203). If this impression is correct, the reason for it is far from clear. If anything, it seems that his interpretation of the passage substantiates and amplifies the consensus already existing as to its importance. Also puzzling, in a more recent article, is Campbell's straining to downplay a theocentric reading, or to posit a christocentric reading in opposition to a theocentric (idem, "Romans 1:17—A *Crux Interpretum* for the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate," *JBL* 113/2 [1994]: 265-285).

[68]I have seen the look of amazement when presenting this passage to lay audiences, comparing the subjective and objective genitive readings. As to lucidity, the verdict clearly has gone in favor of the subjective genitive alternative.

[69]I am indebted to Campbell's detailed analysis of Rom 3:21-26. The tenor of his interpretation will easily be recognizable in my translation, but Campbell's wording has not been followed in every respect. See also Hays, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and Pauline Christology: What Is at Stake?" *SBL Seminar Papers 1991*, 714-729 (reprinted in Hays, 272-297).

[70]"The righteousness of God" should not only be thought of as though the righteousness that has been revealed is sufficient to meet our standard, i.e., righteousness relative to a known quantity. It is probably better to understand it as *God's way of being righteous*, admitting that it has so far been an unknown quantity.

πεφανέρωται μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, δικαιοσύνη δὲ θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας.	has been disclosed, witnessed by the law and (by) the prophets, the righteousness of God through the faithfulness of Jesus Christ to all who believe.[71]
οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ	For there is no difference,[72] for all have sinned and lack the glory of God.[73]
δικαιούμενοι δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ·	They have been set right freely by his grace through the deliverance (which is) in Christ Jesus.
ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διά [τῆς] πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι	God set him forth publicly[74] as a means of reconciliation[75] through the faithfulness of his bloody death.
εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ,	(He did this) in order to show his righteousness (in view of the fact that) he had passed over the sins previously committed[76] in the forbearance of God;

[71]The redundancy of the objective genitive reading is here avoided, i.e., "the righteousness of God by faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe."

[72]"[N]o difference," that is, between Jews and Gentiles with respect to coming up short.

[73]Campbell has, "Everyone sinned and lacks the glorious image of God" (*Rhetoric of Righteousness*, 203). Lacking "the glory of God" here is usually thought of in purely ethical terms: knowing what is right, but failing to do it. It seems possible to read this as an amplification of what he has already said, making "the righteousness of God" and "the glory of God" sound the same theme.

[74]This reading is preferred by the context, but also because it resonates with the narrative background that is assumed in Galatians: "You foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you? It was before your eyes that Jesus Christ was *publicly exhibited* as crucified!" (3:1). The "public display," προεγράφη, referred to Paul's previous *preaching* of the crucified Jesus and stands as the programmatic point of reference for the entire letter; the public display in Rom 3:25, προέθετο, to that event itself. This rendering is also preferred by Christian Maurer in *TDNT*, vol. 8 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 166.

[75]ἱλαστήριον lacks the article and should not be seen as a definite entity, such as "the mercy seat." Adolf Deissmann has worked out the case for the present translation (*Bible Studies* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901], 124-135).

[76]Campbell has chosen another solution for this part, but the translation chosen here resonates better with the question it is thought to address.

πρὸς τὴν ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ.

(that is,) in order to demonstrate his righteousness at the present time, that he (God) may be right in the very act of setting right[77] the one who lives on the basis of the faithfulness of Jesus.[78]

The disturbing question raised by Habakkuk and echoed by Paul as to God's righteousness was answered in the faithful life and death of Jesus Christ. It was not answered, it must be added, in Habakkuk's time by a turnaround in the immediate moral order, or in Paul's time by a sudden improvement in the national fortune of Israel. But the question was answered; it is as an answer to that question that the passage must be read, not primarily as a message about individual salvation. To this effect Hays writes that

> the Reformation theme of justification by faith has so obsessed generations of readers (Protestant readers, at least) that they have set Law and gospel in simplistic antithesis, ignoring the internal signs of coherence in Rom 3:1-26; consequently, they have failed to see that Paul's argument is primarily an argument about theodicy, not about soteriology. The driving question in Romans is not "How can I find a gracious God?" but "How can I trust in this allegedly gracious God if he abandons his promises to Israel?"[79]

The salient point in this exegetical approach is that it looks not only at the grammar or semantics of the text itself. Paul alludes to the OT when he develops his theme and lays out the basis for its resolution. He uses quotations from, and allusions to, Scripture in a manner that is consonant with the original text. The full scope of his message cannot be understood except by hearing the echoes of the OT, just as many pregnant statements in the OT would remain unintelligible except in the light brought to bear on them by the NT. Hays's contention that Paul has salted his letter with OT allusions, that he "hints and whispers all around Isaiah,"[80] and that the very incompleteness of Paul's allusions was

[77]The usual translation, as in the RSV, is "that he himself is righteous and that he justifies him who has faith in Jesus." But the notion of "both-and" is not satisfactory, nor is it mandated by the Greek. The και serves an explanatory and amplifying role. It is "in the very act" of setting right the one who lays claim to the faithfulness of Jesus that God has revealed his way of being right.

[78]Here Campbell has "the one who lives out the faithfulness of Jesus." Other options are possible and may be even better, especially if one allows that the passage speaks about God's way of being righteous.

[79]Hays, *Echoes*, 53.

[80]Ibid., 63.

intentional in order to call on the reader to complete the figures of speech, assumes a way of reading Scripture that is more dynamic, poetic, and dramatic than what has hitherto been the norm.

The notion that "the righteousness of God" has come to light in "the faithfulness of Jesus Christ" cuts a wide swath in the theological landscape and rearranges the perspective around a new center. When Campbell says that the point of Rom 3:21-26 is that "Christ, and above all his death, is the definitive eschatological revelation of the saving righteousness of God,"[81] he is stating a conclusion that in itself can hardly be contested, but the anguished tenor brought to the question by Habakkuk has been preempted. The prophet's voice was not that of the terrified sinner seeking justification before the bar of divine justice, but that of the distraught believer perplexed by moral disarray, unfulfilled promises and God's apparent absence. In his question lay the troubling possibility that God may not be righteous at all, let alone that his righteousness would have a saving quality. The NT answer is that God indeed turned out to be righteous, but his righteousness is molded according to an unexpected norm. Above all, it was not punitive according to the notions of many who had placed their hope in him. Instead, in what may have been anticipated only by the prophet who is heard whispering all over in Romans,[82] his righteousness was redemptive.

The suggestion that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in the broadest sense refers to God's character and way of doing things may more easily win acceptance on the basis of Romans than in Galatians. But in both letters God's treatment of Jew and Gentile occupies center stage. E. P. Sanders, who in one context says of Paul that "from him we learn nothing new or remarkable about God,"[83] has not been oblivious to the problem posed by God's apparent neglect of the Gentiles or by the implications of the proposed terms for their inclusion.

> The election of Israel, however, called God's consistency of purpose even more into question: why choose Israel, give them the law, and then require them to be saved as were the Gentiles—by faith in Christ? Doubts about God's constancy led to the theological problem called "theodicy," the "righteousness of God." God, we have seen, should not be capricious. And so the lead question is whether or not the word of God, when he called Israel, had failed (Rom 9:6). Has God been fair, honest, just, reliable, and constant? The two dispensations seem to

[81]Campbell, *Rhetoric of Righteousness*, 203.

[82]The prophet Isaiah, that is, and not only chaps. 40-55, as the footnotes and references in *Nestle-Aland* will show. Irrespective of the many incarnations he is given in modern scholarship, Isaiah sounds a consistent theme.

[83]E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977), 509.

indicate not. Only if Paul can hold them together can he save God's reputation.[84]

Against the background of such questions, "saving God's reputation," as Sanders puts it, may not be the peripheral concern in Paul's theology that it has often been taken to be. In Galatians, we read that it was God who at the right time sent forth his Son in order to ensure the adoption of all his alienated sons and daughters, offering equal terms and the right of inheritance to all without any distinction as to gender, race, or status (Gal 4:4-7). In Romans, Paul repeatedly has the need to reaffirm God's impartiality and fairness. "For God shows no partiality," he writes in Rom 2:11, later asking rhetorically whether God is "the God of Jews only" (Rom 3:29), emphatically dismissing the suggestion, then returning to the subject again in Rom 10:12: "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and is generous to all who call on him." Such affirmations indicate that God's reputation did not lie outside Paul's field of vision, and that the person by whom and the event by which God's righteousness had been disclosed had answered the concern. Radical as it may seem, our reading of πίστις Χριστοῦ, which on the surface may seem like a minor revision, lays the groundwork for an entirely different paradigm in the theology of the NT.

If Habakkuk's question in the OT belongs to the realm of theodicy, and if the same concern is echoed and amplified by Paul in the NT, its coherence and depth of perspective is retained only by reading πίστις Χριστοῦ as a subjective genitive. With the objective genitive reading the subject has been changed; we are in a different landscape in which the question raised by the OT prophet is not addressed.

The last of the πίστις Χριστοῦ formulations in the NT lies outside the Pauline corpus, but it is not irrelevant to the subject of God's redemptive righteousness as we have seen it play out in the letters of Paul. It is set in the book of Revelation, with a frame of reference that is pervasively and explicitly dualistic. The story is told in starkly symbolic language of the cosmic war between God and Satan, culminating with Satan's defeat and self-inflicted demise (Rev 20:1-10). The entire text is, from beginning to end, suffused with OT echoes and allusions in a pattern that is neither haphazard nor immaterial to the reader's prospects of deciphering the message.[85] Among the myriad of allusions there is also one recalling the biblical story of the Fall. Implicating Satan in the fateful event, Revelation refers to him as "the great dragon . . . *that ancient serpent*, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the

[84]Ibid., 118.

[85]The most rewarding recent book on the literary structure and pattern of Revelation is Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993).

whole world" (Rev 12:9; 20:2). The imagery, intentionally fragmentary, expects the receiver of the message to fill in the blanks, hearing the distant echo of suggestions that portrayed God as arbitrary, severe, and unreasonable (Gen 3:1). In the original story, the point was not only that human beings did something that was explicitly prohibited (Gen 2:16, 17; 3:3). According to the serpent, it was rather that the prohibition ought not to have existed in the first place (Gen 3:1, 6). In the context of Revelation, misrepresentation of God lies at the heart of the satanic agenda (Rev 12:9; 20:7, 8). Setting right the deceptive portrait through the life and death of the Lamb (Rev 5:6; 12:11)—a perspective not unlike Paul's tribute to the mind of God in Christ in Phil 2:5-11—may be seen as the paramount concern of the book.

In what purports to be the climax of this cosmic drama, we find the text, Ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν, οἱ τηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησου (Rev 14:12). This text—terminated by the phrase πίστις Ἰησοῦ—is the final expression of its kind in the NT. If the consequence of reading such constructions as subjective or objective genitives leads to different results as we have seen in the letters of Paul, so also here. The traditional reading says of the remnant that is admonished to persevere that "they keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" (RSV).[86] The indebtedness of the standard interpretation to Lutheran categories of law and gospel need hardly be pointed out: at issue is their individual salvation, and the answer applies the formula of law and grace. But the context of the cosmic battle belies the notion that the main concern is individual salvation. Instead, in the eschatological drama of conflicting loyalties and perceptions of the Unseen, the question is rather to overcome the satanic misrepresentations, no matter how specious and persuasive, and hold to the truth about God. With the subjective genitive reading πίστις Ἰησοῦ, the call is for them to "hold firm to the way of God as it was revealed by the faithfulness of Jesus."[87]

In the course of the πίστις Χριστοῦ debate, Hays has written that the relationship between Christology and soteriology still appears elusive: "*How* the death of Jesus can be understood to be the source of salvation."[88] He

[86]Interestingly, translators have often settled for the subjective genitive reading in this case, "the faith of Jesus," but the theology derived from the text has nevertheless retained the flavor of similar phrases in Paul, i.e., "faith in Jesus." The KJV has, "The faith of Jesus." With more recent translations the emphasis has changed in the direction of human steadfastness in times of distress. The NIV has "the saints who obey the commandments of God and remain faithful to Jesus"; the GNB has "those who obey God's commandments and are faithful to Jesus."

[87]The faithfulness of Jesus was manifested most clearly in his self-sacrificing death in Revelation as much as in the letters of Paul.

[88]Hays, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ," 727.

confides that "I still cannot, I am sorry to say, offer a satisfactory elucidation of this mystery."[89] Perhaps part of the answer is that theodicy is more important to soteriology than it is taken to be. Put more bluntly, even if God could not save anybody, he could clear himself of the charges that had been brought against him. In view of the struggle between good and evil, the incarnation, suffering, and death of Jesus—"the faithfulness of Jesus Christ"—served as the ultimate rebuttal of the satanic misrepresentation that made God out to be an arbitrary and severe sovereign not worthy of the loyalty and obedience of human beings. Even within an outlook more attuned to the modern consciousness, viewing the existence of personal evil as implausible and unpalatable, the question of God's ways remains a matter of as grave concern as it was to Habbakuk. Rectifying the sinner's legal status has hardly ever been the only question to be resolved in setting right what has gone wrong in the relationship between human beings and the Creator.

Whither πίστος Χριστοῦ? In what may be marked as a centennial of sorts for the initial suggestion that this phrase calls for a different translation,[90] the goal of seeing the proposed revision reflected in standard translations for the Bible still seems distant. But if the subjective genitive reading of the construction has emerged as the preferred option, that should nevertheless be the goal; indeed, nothing less could be the goal. Such a change will accommodate the need of the simpleminded reader, who, as Kittel suggested, would not read the Greek expression as anything but a subjective genitive, and also reflect the practice in the early church, who read it that way.[91]

But the earliest and more important witness to how the expression πίστις Χριστοῦ should be understood may be found in the OT. Let Habakkuk, in this review at least, have the last word because the exegetical ladder that leads to the subjective genitive reading of πίστις Χριστοῦ begins with him. Let him stand as a post-Holocaust voice heard in pre-Holocaust times, scanning the horizon for evidence that God has not abandoned the world and that the agents of chaos have not been left free to run riot. "If it seem slow, wait for it; it will surely come, it will not delay," Habakkuk was admonished (Hab 2:3).

According to the NT, it did come. Paul says that God's way of being righteous is revealed in the gospel, apart from law, "although the law and the prophets bear witness to it, the righteousness of God by the faithfulness of Jesus Christ" (Rom 1:17; 3:21-22).

[89]Ibid., 727-728.

[90]Haussleiter, as noted, was published in 1891.

[91]Wallis, 175-212.

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THE DAY OF DEDICATION OR THE DAY OF ATONEMENT? THE OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND TO HEBREWS 6:19-20 REVISITED

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The greatest respect an author can receive is when another scholar offers a rejoinder to one of his articles. In the spring edition of *AUSS*, Richard Davidson has done me the honor of offering a criticism of my article in the same issue.[1] Davidson agrees that the veil mentioned in Heb 6:19 is the inner and not the outer veil of the tabernacle. This abandons the position so tenaciously defended by Adventists from Crosier to Rice.[2] However, Davidson then shifts the discussion from which veil is referred to in Heb 6:19-20 to the question of what OT event is behind the language employed by the author of Hebrews. This indeed is the real issue.

Davidson argues that the event alluded to in Heb 6:19-20 is not the Day of Atonement, as most argue, or the Abrahamic covenant, as Rice argued, but "the complex of inauguration services of the sanctuary" as carried out by Moses acting in a priestly role (Exod 40; Lev 8:10-12; Num 7:1).[3] This position is very similar to the view of E. E. Andross,[4] who saw a close parallel between the dedication of the earthly tabernacle and the inauguration of the heavenly. He argued that the daily ministry of the Mosaic tabernacle commenced only after Moses finished anointing both apartments and had come out of the tent. Likewise, Christ, having inaugurated the whole heavenly sanctuary (including the Most Holy Place), came out into the outer apartment to commence his postascension ministry. Davidson is not so explicit concerning Christ's movement in

[1]Norman H. Young, "Where Jesus Has Gone as a Forerunner on Our Behalf (Hebrews 6:20)," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 165-173; and Richard M. Davidson, "Christ's Entry 'Within the Veil' in Hebrews 6:19-20: The Old Testament Background," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 176-190.

[2]O.R.L. Crosier, "The Law of Moses," *The Day Star* (February 7, 1846): 41; George E. Rice, "Hebrews 6:19: Analysis of Some Assumptions Concerning *Katapetasma*," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. F. B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1989), 233-234. [Reprinted with corrections by the author in *AUSS* 5 (1987): 65-71].

[3]Rice, 233-234; Davidson, 176-177.

[4]E. E. Andross, *A More Excellent Ministry* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1912), 42-54.

and out of the inner apartment of the heavenly sanctuary, but this seems to be the logic of his position.[5]

There is no dispute that the dedication ritual is alluded to by the author of Hebrews. I have previously also argued that the dedication service is part of an amalgam of sacrificial ideas found in Heb 9, especially vv. 18-23.[6] But since it is an amalgam of rituals it is a perilous procedure to attribute the description in 9:18-23 to a single OT ceremony. Be that as it may, Davidson's argument that the same ritual is behind Heb 6:19-20 appears flawed to me for several reasons.

First, none of the chapters related to the dedication of the tabernacle (Exod 40; Lev 8; Num 7) actually refer to Moses as a high priest.[7] In contrast, Heb 6:19-20; 9:11-12; and 10:19-21 do refer to Jesus as a high (or great) priest, and thus parallel Aaron's entrance into the Most Holy Place on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:2-3, 11-14, 15). Whenever Hebrews refers to Jesus' entrance into the heavenly sanctuary, or his sacrifice, the contrast is consistently between the Melchizedek order and the Aaronic or Levitical priesthoods, not with Moses (see Heb 7:1-10, 11-28; 8:1-4; 9:6-14, 24-28; 10:5-18). Moses' role is limited to erecting the tent and making it operational (8:5; 9:19-23). Hebrews never describes Moses as offering sacrifices within the tabernacle. This is the exclusive role of the Levitical and Aaronic priests (5:1-4; 7:11; 9:6-7; 10:11).

Second, nowhere in Exod 40, Lev 8, or Num 7 is the language of going "within the veil" used. Davidson's appeal to Exod 26:33 does not overcome this lack, for in this chapter "within the veil" refers merely to the *position* where the various holy objects are to be placed in the tabernacle, whereas Heb 6:19-20 refers to the *function* of the high priest. There is no direct reference in Exod 26:33 to the high priest, or even Moses, entering "within the veil."[8] Leviticus 16 (Day of Atonement) alone in the OT has the high priest entering within the veil. Exodus 26:33 does not deal with this function of the high priest; hence the former provides the background to Heb 6:19-20, and the latter does not.

[5]I am happy to note that Davidson does not in fact follow Andross in this way, though he perceives the mobility of the enthroned Jesus within the heavenly sanctuary in more materialistic terms than I do (Richard M. Davidson, "Inauguration or Day of Atonement? A Response to Norman Young's 'Old Testament Background to Hebrews 6:19-20 Revisited," *AUSS* 40 [2000] 70-71, and n. 5).

[6]Norman H. Young, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," *NTS* 27 (1981): 205-206. See also Mary Rose D'Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 243-258.

[7]In the OT, Moses' "priestly" function is limited to the establishment of the tabernacle and the priests. Nor, *pace* Davidson, is Moses designated a king in the OT.

[8]It is no doubt implied, and Philo does draw this conclusion (*Vita* 2.153).

Third, Davidson makes too much of the "differences between the LXX and Hebrews in wording and syntax for the phrase 'within the veil.'"[9] The language in Heb 6:19-20 is remarkably similar to that in Lev 16, as both Roy E. Gane and I have noted in our previous articles.[10] The differences do not outweigh the similarities.

Fourth, Moses' dedication of the sanctuary, its altars, and its vessels occurred once; it was not an annual event. If there were any repetition of the dedication ceremonies, it continued through the Day of Atonement (Exod 30:10). The use of dedication language in 9:19 "suggests a reference to the inauguration of the first covenant."[11] Paul Ellingworth correctly notes that "in both occurrences [of ἐγκαινίζω] in Hebrews [9:18 and 10:20] the context requires reference to an initial inauguration."[12] As such, the inauguration service cannot be the background to Hebrews's emphasis on the *repetitious* nature of the old covenant sacrifices (see 7:27; 9:6; 10:11). The repetitious nature of the old covenant sacrifices cannot be dissociated from the repetitious nature of the Levitial priests' entering into the sanctuary, for it is by means of these repeated sacrifices that "the priests go continually into the first tent" (Heb 9:6).

Elsewhere Hebrews speaks of an annual entrance of the high priest into the tabernacle by means of sacrificial blood (Heb 9:7, 25). In contrast to this, Jesus entered the heavenly sanctuary once-for-all by means of his own blood (9:12). This contrast would be lost with a once-off dedication entrance. The aorist verb, εἰσῆλθεν, in 6:20 parallels the same aorist verb in 9:12, 24 and refers in all three texts to Jesus' once-for-all (ἐφάπαξ, 9:12) entrance into the heavenly sanctuary in contrast with the annual entrance made by Aaron and his successors on the Day of Atonement.

Fifth, it is quite arbitrary to assert that Heb 10:19-20 "is the key to interpreting" Heb 6:19-20.[13] The reverse is more likely true given that Heb 6:19-20 occurs first in the epistle and sets the meaning of the term "veil" throughout the epistle. Hebrew 6:19-20 is, if anything, more straightforward than Heb 10:19-20. The parallel nature between the two passages certainly demands that "veil" be given the same meaning in each case; on that Davidson and I are agreed.

[9]Davidson, "Christ's Entry 'Within the Veil,'" 175, n. 4.

[10]Roy E. Gane, "Re-opening *Katapetasma* ("Veil") in Hebrews 6:19," *AUSS* 38 (2000): 5-8; Young, 169.

[11]Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 466.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Davidson, "Christ's Entry 'Within the Veil," 179.

Davidson seems to think that the presence of the verb ἐγκαινίζω in Heb 10:20 points unambiguously to the dedication ritual of the sanctuary. This is not really so. In the LXX this verb speaks of the renewal of such things as the altar, the gates, an ordinary house, kingship, a right spirit, and inward parts. It is used for "the house of the Lord" (3 Kgdms [LXX] 8:63 = 1 Kgs 8:63; 2 Chron 7:5, חנך), or in 1 Macc 4:36; 5:1 for the renewal of the sanctuary, though it does not occur in the LXX for the dedication service as such. In Heb 10:20 it is "a new and living way" that has been consecrated, not the sanctuary. It means here, according to Behm, "to make a way which was not there before."[14]

Sixth, Davidson seems to make the same mistake as Rice—he deals with a word but neglects the sentence. The evidence certainly demonstrates that τά ἅγια in the LXX refers to the sanctuary as a whole, but this does not mean that the context in Hebrews is not drawing on the language of the Day of Atonement. Just as a twenty-first-century Christian knows that steam pudding, holly, stocking, presents, conifer tree and snow *when all found together* point to a northern Christmas, so equally a first-century Jew knew that the grouping of high priest, blood of goats and calves, entered, sanctuary, and once-for-all (not annually) pointed to the entrance of the high priest into the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement (Heb 9:11-12; 24-25).

Davidson accepts the presence of the Day of Atonement imagery in Heb 9:7, 25, but rejects it in 9:11-12 despite the nearly identical language used in all three texts, allowing for the contrast between the earthly high priest and Jesus. The following chart emphasizes how inconsistent it is not to give these texts the same OT background.

Aaronic			Christ
Day of Atonement Heb 9:7	Day of Atonement Heb 9:25	Day of Atonement Heb 13:11[15]	Day of ??? Heb 9:11-12
High Priest	High priest	High priest	High priest
Goes into	Enters	Brought into	Entered
The second [tent]	Holy Place	Sanctuary	Holy Place
Once a year	Year after year	————	Once for all
Not without . . . blood	With blood	Blood	With his own blood

[14]J. Behm. *TDNT*, s.v. ἐγκαινίζω.

[15]Heb 13:11 quotes from Lev 16:27 the Day of Atonement chapter.

The parallel between τὰ ἅγια (9:12, 25) and ἡ δευτέρα [σκηνή] (9:7) is added proof that the general term τὰ ἅγια is being used contextually by the author with specific reference to the Most Holy Place, for the second tent is indisputably referring to the inner shrine of the tabernacle. The main point, however, is that if 9:7, 25 and 13:11 have the Day of Atonement as their background, so must 9:11-12.

Seventh, it is an overstatement to say that the conjunction of τράγων and μόσχων in Heb 9:12 is based on the same combination in Num 7 (LXX), a chapter concerning the inauguration of the tabernacle. The two words do occur in Num 7, but never conjoined as sin offerings. In Lev 16, the calf (young bull) and the goat form a combined sin offering for the priests and the congregation. However, in Num 7 the thirteen references to τράγος (עתוד) occur in a repeated listing of animals offered for a peace offering (θυσία σωτηρίου = זבח השלמים), a ritual that does not bring the sacrificial blood into the sanctuary (Lev 3:12-16). In Num 7, μόσχος (פר) is repeatedly included among a group of animals sacrificed for a whole-burnt offering (ὁλοκαύτωμα = עלה), but again such sacrifices do not require the priest to bring the blood into the sanctuary (Lev 1:10-13). In contrast, the OT sacrifice that Hebrews draws upon does require the blood of both sacrificial animals to be brought by the high priest into the sanctuary (9:7, 12, 25; 13:11 [note the plural]).

Hebrews also uses τὸ αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων (9:13; 10:4 [in reverse order]), a conjunction that never occurs in either the dedicatory service or the Day of Atonement, which indicates the author is choosing his terms for the sacrificial animals with less than a precise match with the LXX.[16] Hence we should use data based on the terms for the sacrificial animals with care, giving more consideration to the context than the words. We should also note that the central—though not exclusive—concern of Hebrews is with the sin offering for the people (2:17; 5:1, 3; 9:7, 22, 26, 28; 10:3-4, 11-12, 18; 13:11-12) and not the peace offering or even, despite 10:6, 8, the whole-burnt offering.[17]

Furthermore, Philo, the first-century Jewish philosopher, uses τράγος more frequently than χίμαρος for the sin-offering goat of the Day of Atonement.[18] Most scholars recognize that Philo has strong affinities with

[16]"Bulls and goats" occurs in the LXX only in Deut 32:15; Ps 49:13; Isa 1:11, Song 2:14.

[17]Num 7 includes the sin-offering some thirteen times, but the LXX elsewhere consistently uses χίμαρος ἐξ αἰγῶν (שעיר פנים) (see, e.g., Lev 4:23). Χίμαρος (שעיר) is used for the sin-offering in Lev 16 (LXX), but it does not occur at all in the NT.

[18]*Spec. Leg* 1.188 (χίμαρος); *Leg.All.* 2.52; *Post.* 70; *Plant.* 61; *Heres* 179 (τράγος). Pseudo-Barnabas, also uses τράγος for the sin-offering goat of the Day of Atonement (7.4, 6, 8, 10). Josephus (37-post 93 C.E.) is another first-century example of how fluid Jewish writers were in their choice of words for the sacrifices. He uses ἔριφος (kid, he-goat) and ταῦρος (bull, ox) for the sin-offerings of the Day of Atonement (*Ant.* 3.239-240).

the Epistle to the Hebrews. Philo died around 50 C.E., so he is a near contemporary of the author of Hebrews. If another first-century Jew can use τράγος for the Day of Atonement sin-offering goat, I am hard pressed to understand why the writer to the Hebrews cannot.

Eighth, the aorist participle (γενόμενος) in Heb 6:20 does not point, as Davidson suggests, to some heavenly inauguration of Jesus as high priest.[19] The aorist participle generally refers to action completed with or before the main verb. The aorist participle in 6:20 (as does παραγενόμενος in 9:12) modifies εἰσῆλθεν. The point being made by the author is that Jesus had become high priest before he entered the heavenly realm. The writer uses the aorist participle in this way over and over again (1:3, 4; 5:9, 10; 6:20; 7:26, 27; 9:11, 12, 28; 10:12) to denote action completed before the action of the main verb.[20]

Davidson's study leaves me with a query. How is he able to see the Day of Atonement in Dan 8:11-14 where there is no mention of a high priest, blood, calves and goats, entering, sin offering, cleanse, annual (to the contrary, Dan 8:11, 12, 13 refer to the "daily" service, התמיד), inner veil, or the burning of carcasses outside the camp? Yet despite their *absence* in Daniel, he is able to find the Day of Atonement in 8:14. However, despite their *presence* in Hebrews, he is unable to see the Day of Atonement in 6:19-20 or 9:11-12. The root צדק is a very common one in the OT (some 509 times), but it is never used of a sacrifice in the cultic material. It takes considerable linguistic dexterity to make נצדק mean "cleanse" in a Day of Atonement context.[21] Likewise, without the contextual indicators that we have in Lev 16:2

(אֶל־הַקֹּדֶשׁ מִבַּית לַפָּרֹכֶת אֶל־פְּנֵי הַכַּפֹּרֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָאָרֹן),

the reference to קדש (Dan 8:14) relates to the sanctuary as a whole.

It has all the appearances of desperation to use (as some do) the symbolic references to a ram (Dan 8:3, 4, 6, 7, 20, איל) and to a goat (vv. 5, 8, 21, צפיר) as evidence of Day of Atonement language. The sin-offering animals in Lev 16, let us recall, are פר (young bull) and שעיר (goat). The ram for a burnt offering does not cleanse the tabernacle. My appeal is for him to look for the Day of Atonement in Hebrews with the same openness to the text that he exhibits with his exegesis of Dan 8:14.[22]

[19]Davidson, "Christ's Entry 'Within the Veil,'" 177, 189.

[20]See Norman H. Young, "Bearing His Reproach (Heb 13:9-14)," *NTS* 48 (2002): forthcoming.

[21]Richard M. Davidson, "The Meaning of *Niṣdaq* in Daniel 8:14," *JATS* 7/1 (1996): 107-119.

[22]Richard M. Davidson, "The Good News of Yom Kippur," *JATS* 2/2 (1991): 4-27; and cf. William H. Shea, *The Abundant Life Bible Amplifier: Daniel 7-12*, 2 vols (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1996), 111-118.

In summary let me review the arguments.

1. The use of ἐγκαινίζω in Heb 9:18 and 10:20 does not shift the focus from the Day of Atonement to the inauguration service. Neither this Greek word nor the related Hebrew word (חנך, חדש) actually occur in the dedication rituals Davidson appeals to, namely, Exod 40, Lev 8, and Num 7, that is, it is never used in connection with the dedication of the tabernacle. Hebrews's concern is, of course, with the Mosaic tabernacle, not the Solomonic Temple or the Second Temple. Jesus' death inaugurated a new covenant and a new and living way to God, but that does not mean the entrance language through the veil or within the veil has its background in the dedication of the Mosaic tabernacle.

2. The variation of terms in Hebrews and the usage of Philo (and other first- or second-century writers) make the appeal to the word τράγος as pointing to the dedication of the tabernacle and not the Day of Atonement quite dubious.

3. The word "car" describes the whole of a motor vehicle, but if I say "my wife drove off the car at speed," most of us would think of her positioned behind the steering wheel—only James Bond drives from the roof. Likewise, contextual clues—such as a high priest who entered with sacrificial blood—give τὰ ἅγια (sanctuary) a specific reference to the Day of Atonement and the high priest's entrance into the most holy place (Heb 9:12; cf. 9:7, 25).

4. This is confirmed when one finds in the same book a linguistic connection to the Day of Atonement when Jesus as a high priest after the order of Melchizedek entered "within the veil" (6:19-20), a phrase that is exclusive to the Day of Atonement *when it is connected with a high priest entering the sanctuary.*

Davidson has rightly reminded us that Hebrews contrasts Jesus' death with a range of OT cultic events. The presence of some allusion to dedicatory ideas in 9:18-23 and perhaps 10:19-20 is not denied, but by itself it is an insufficient background for all the sanctuary language found in Hebrews, especially Heb 6:19-20. He is also surely correct when he argues that the fulfillment of the high priest's annual Day of Atonement entrance into the sanctuary is the death of Christ on the cross.[23] However, I'm not persuaded that the proverbial saying in 9:27 points to a future Day of Atonement judgment.[24] This does not rule out

[23]Davidson, "Christ's Entry 'Within the Veil,'" 187.

[24]The stress on the death of Christ throughout the section (9:15-28) should be observed: "a death has occurred" (v. 15), "the death of the one who made it" (v. 16), "takes effect only at death" (v. 17), "shedding of blood" (v. 22), "nor . . . to offer himself again and again" (v. 25), "to suffer again and again (v. 26), "the sacrifice of himself" (v. 26), "to die once . . . so Christ having been offered once" (vv. 27-28).

the Day of Atonement as a type of last judgment, but is this the concern of Hebrews? I would simply contend that "better blood" involves a better entrance (εἰσῆλθεν, 6:20; 9:12; 9:24), once-for-all instead of once a year; and that sounds to me like the Day of Atonement and not the initial dedication of the sanctuary.[25]

Davidson and I approach Hebrews differently. For me the death of Christ directs the author's selection and treatment of OT material. Thus he uses in an unparalleled way the verb "offer" (προσφέρω) to describe the high priest's blood manipulation on the Day of Atonement (9:7) because this facilitates the application of this act to the offering (προσφορά) of Christ on the cross (10:10, 14). In a unique manner he describes the tabernacle as consisting of a first and second tent (9:2-3), because this allows him to relate the apartments to the first and new covenants (8:13; 9:18).[26] He speaks of "shedding blood" (9:22), because it matches the death of Jesus better than sprinkling. He focuses on a minor part of the Day of Atonement—the burning of the sacrificial carcasses outside the camp—because this for the author coincides with Jesus' death outside the city's wall (13:11-12).

Hebrews uses the OT language of the Day of Atonement and other sacrifices as a means of conveying a profound theology about the achievement of the death of Jesus. The writer, to my mind, is not interested in the details of the heavenly sanctuary, but emphasizes the heavenly realm to encourage harassed Christians to look beyond their present trauma to the glorified and triumphant Christ. Davidson, in contrast, treats Hebrews as though it were a literalistic commentary on the OT types.

This has been for me a salutary exchange. Davidson has forced me to reexamine my position, to adapt some points, and even to abandon others. It shows the benefit of a dialogue between one who is trained in NT and another who is an OT scholar. The conversation has been fruitful and friendly, which I appreciate. Nevertheless, I remain convinced that the Day of Atonement is the OT background for Heb 6:19-20 and 9:11-12.

[25]We must emphasize that Hebrews is using Day of Atonement language to achieve a theological idea and not to give a spatial description of the heavenly sanctuary.

[26]This is one of the alternatives allowed in the *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7:451.

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INAUGURATION OR DAY OF ATONEMENT? A RESPONSE TO NORMAN YOUNG'S "OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND TO HEBREWS 6:19-20 REVISITED"

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I appreciate the opportunity to continue the dialogue with my friend and colleague Norman Young over important matters in the book of Hebrews raised by Roy Gane's article and our two responses in recent issues of *AUSS*.[1] First of all, I wish to soften the language of the editor in his introduction of our two articles in the last issue of *AUSS*. The editor writes that I offer "a contrasting view to both Gane and Young."[2] Awkward wording in an earlier draft of my article may have given the editor that impression, but the final (published) draft is, as far as I can determine, in complete harmony with the study by Gane. I agree with Gane that reference by the author of Hebrews to the veil in Heb 6:19-20, following LXX usage, most probably has in view the "second" veil, i.e., the veil before the Most Holy Place. This was also the major conclusion of Norman Young's article, and thus I find myself in agreement with both Gane and Young in regard to their main point (i.e., the identification of the veil of Heb 6:19) and their basic methodology (recognizing the

[1]Roy Gane, "Re-Opening *Katapetasma* ('Veil') in Hebrews," *AUSS* 38 (2000):5-8; the response by Norman H. Young, "Where Jesus Has Gone as a Forerunner on Our Behalf (Hebrews 6:20)," *AUSS* 39 (2001):165-173; and my response, "Christ's Entry 'Within the Veil' in Hebrews 6:19-20: The Old Testament Background," *AUSS* 39 (2001):175-190.

[2]Jerry Moon, "More on *Katapetasma*," *AUSS* 39 (2001):163. Perhaps here is an appropriate place to make a minor (but important) correction of an error in my article that crept in during the editorial process. In seeking to improve my style (for which I am grateful!), an editor inadvertently introduced a contradiction to an earlier statement in my article. P. 183, para. 1, sent. 1, reads in part: "the LXX always uses *ta hagia* for the entire sanctuary as a whole, but never for the Most Holy Place in particular." My earlier draft read: "*ta hagia* is a term in the LXX for the entire sanctuary as a whole, and never the Most Holy Place in particular." In the published version, the word "always" (added inadvertently by the editor) should be replaced with "regularly" or "almost always," since, as we pointed out on p. 180, n. 18, out of 109 occurrences of *ta hagia* in the LXX referring to the sanctuary, in 106 occurrences—i.e., almost always—the term refers to the sanctuary as a whole, but in three verses it seems to refer to the Holy Place. The conclusion of this published sentence still stands, however, that in the LXX *ta hagia* is used "never for the Most Holy Place in particular." (I take ultimate responsibility for this error, since I was supplied with the edited copy to make a final check, and failed to note this inadvertent editorial mistake.) One additional minor typographical error should also be noted: p. 179, n. 12, should read "For Pentateuchal usage, see n. 13"—not n. 12.

consistency of the author of Hebrews with LXX usage).

My article actually addressed a further, deeper issue, building upon the previous one: what is the OT background of Heb 6:19-20? I applaud Young for acknowledging in his reply to my article that "this indeed is the real issue."[3] On this issue of background Young and I do come to different conclusions. I see the OT background of Heb 6:19-20 and parallel "entering" passages in Hebrews as inauguration, while Young sees the background as the Day of Atonement.

Young rightly points out that the inauguration background to Heb 6:19-20 was suggested almost a century ago by E. E. Andross, in his book *A More Excellent Ministry*. However, Andross based his arguments largely on thematic typological parallels to the OT inauguration services and allusions to these elsewhere in the NT, and did not ground his conclusions in an examination of the intertextual use of key LXX terms by the author of Hebrews.

Furthermore, Andross argued that Christ, following his inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary, left its Most Holy Place and sat down at the right hand of the Father on a throne in the *Holy Place*. Young assumes that "the logic" of my position leads to the same conclusion, but in fact I do not concur with Andross on this point. I agree instead with Young, that in Hebrews the "throne of the Majesty in the heavens" (Heb 8:1), the "throne of God" (Heb 12:2), where Christ sat down, most probably should be located in the heavenly equivalent to the Most Holy Place, just as in the earthly sanctuary YHWH was enthroned in the Most Holy Place, above the ark between the cherubim (Exod 25:22; Num 7:89; 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; 2 Kgs 19:15).

But I find attractive the further suggestion of my colleague Roy Gane, who argues that Christ is by no means *confined* to his position on the throne with the Father in the heavenly equivalent to the Holy of Holies.[4] In fact, Ps 110, the root passage cited by the author of Hebrews to indicate that Jesus "sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on High" (Heb 1:3; cf. 1:13; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2), makes clear that "sitting at the right hand of" does not primarily refer to *location* but to *status*. In Ps 110:1, YHWH says to David's "Lord" (i.e., the Messiah), "Sit at My right hand"; but v. 5, also addressed to the Messiah, states that "Yahweh is at your right hand." Who is at whose right hand? The two verses are contradictory if taken literally as referring to location. Furthermore, in Ps 110:1 YHWH states that the Messiah will sit at his right hand "till I make your enemies your footstool," yet in vv. 5 to 7, while apparently still sitting at YHWH's right hand, he is at the same time engaged in battle against his enemies!

[3]Norman H. Young, "The Day of Dedication or the Day of Atonement? The Old Testament Background to Hebrews 6:19-20 Revisited," 61.

[4]Roy Gane, *Altar Call* (Berrien Springs: Diadem, 1999), 174-182.

Obviously the reference to "sitting at the right hand" is not dealing primarily with location, but with kingly status. This is also the way the phrase is often used elsewhere throughout the OT: the king, while described as "sitting on the throne of the kingdom"—i.e., in his status as king, is simultaneously involved in activities that clearly indicate he is not literally seated upon a throne.[5]

The author of Hebrews, faithful to the predictive language regarding the Messiah's kingship in Ps 110, describes Christ's kingly status in terms of "sitting on the throne of God," while at the same time acknowledging the priestly work of Jesus that also is predicted in Ps 110 (v. 4). As priest forever "after the order of Melchizedek," i.e., both priest and king, Christ can at one and the same time be presented as "seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens" (kingly status) and yet not be confined to a certain location in carrying out his high priestly role as "Minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle which the Lord erected, and not man" (Heb 8:1-2).

By using the plural term *ta hagia*, "holy places," which in the LXX regularly refers to the whole (bipartite) sanctuary, the author of Hebrews certainly leaves open the possibility that part or even all of Christ's heavenly ministry as high priest could take place in the heavenly counterpart to the Holy Place. The present ongoing work of Christ as high priest in the heavenly sanctuary, from the first-century perspective of the author of Hebrews, is that of intercession, i.e., the "continual" or *tamîd* ministry which in the OT type took place in the earthly Holy Place of the sanctuary (Heb 7:25-27). But the author of Hebrews is not concerned to spell out the details of precisely where in the heavenly sanctuary Christ's high priestly ministry is conducted.

I will now respond as briefly as possible to the various points raised by Young in objection to my conclusion that the OT sanctuary inauguration rituals provide the background to Heb 6:19-20 and the parallel "entering" passages in the epistle. Since he raises a number of new points not referred to in either of our earlier articles, more space is needed in this reply to address these points than I at first envisioned.

First, Young rightly points out that in the OT material dealing with the inauguration/dedication of the sanctuary, Moses is never referred to

[5]See, e.g., the numerous references to Solomon "sitting on his throne" (for instance, 1 Kgs 1:13, 17, 20, 27, 30, 35, 46, 48; 2:12, 24; 3:6; 5:5; 10:9; 1 Chron 28:5) in the sense of having kingly status, and not confinement to a precise location on a literal throne. At the Temple dedication Solomon said, "I sit on the throne of Israel" even as he "turned around and blessed the whole congregation" (1 Kgs 8:14-15, 20; cf. 2 Chron 6:3, 10). Again, Jeremiah speaks of kings and princes "sitting on the throne of David" even as they are riding on horses or chariots into the city of Jerusalem (Jer 17:25; 22:4).

as a high priest, whereas in Hebrews the One who enters the heavenly sanctuary is repeatedly called High Priest. But that is just my point: Hebrews is modifying the high-priestly typology of the Pentateuch in light of the prediction of Ps 110 that the Messiah will be *both* priest and king in the same person. In Hebrews, as I indicated in my article, the roles of *both* Aaron and Moses (the equivalent of priest and king) are combined in the work of Jesus Christ, the High Priest "after the order of Melchizedek" and not the order of Aaron.[6] Hebrews also clearly recognizes what is implicit in the Torah, that Moses engages in high-priestly work, especially in performing the complex of rituals connected with the inauguration of the sanctuary before Aaron was anointed (Heb 9:19-21). As has been demonstrated in my article, this complex of inauguration rituals is precisely the context of each of the three "entering" passages in Hebrews that parallel Heb 6:19-20.[7]

Young's second objection is that the Pentateuchal chapters dealing with inauguration contain no language of entering "within the veil." Young wishes to exclude from consideration the reference in Exod 26:33 to "within the veil," but I still maintain that this verse is very relevant to the discussion. At the very least, this verse shows that the phrase "within the veil" is not technical language limited to a Day of Atonement context; it pinpoints a certain location—the Most Holy Place—and not a particular event. But more than this, Exod 26:33 must clearly be seen within the larger integrally bound-up complex of inauguration/consecration events connected with the commencement of the Hebrew cultus.[8] Although the actual anointing of the sanctuary is not explicitly mentioned in Exod 26:33, this verse refers to the time when the sanctuary would be erected and the ark taken "within the veil," and Exod 40:1-9 shows that the actualization of this verse was indeed on the day when the sanctuary, including the ark within the second veil, was anointed by Moses, in his high-priestly role (before Aaron's anointing). Thus

[6]Davidson, "Christ's Entry," 176-177. It is widely recognized that in the Hebrew Torah Moses is presented in the triple role of prophet, priest, and king, even though neither the term "priest" nor "king" is explicitly employed to refer to him, and even the term "prophet" is only implicitly applied to him (Deut 18:15; 34:10). Moses' function as earthly leader of Israel specifically places him in the equivalent position of king within the Israelite theocracy, alongside Aaron, the designated priest. It is instructive to note the parallel with the First Temple inauguration, at which time both the king and the priests played active roles in the dedicatory services (see 1 Kgs 8).

[7]Ibid., 181, 185, 186-187.

[8]The Pentateuchal materials portraying this single complex of events include prescriptive texts for the setting up of the sanctuary (such as Exod 26), narrative texts describing the fulfillment of these prescriptions by Moses (such as Exod 40), and further descriptive/narrative details involved in the consecration/inauguration of the sanctuary and the priesthood (such as found in Lev 8-9 and Num 7).

it is very difficult for me to understand how Exod 26:33 may be regarded as unrelated to the inauguration of the sanctuary and irrelevant for the discussion of the background event of Heb 6:19-20.

Third, Young feels I make too much of the differences in wording and syntax between the LXX and Hebrews in the expression for "within the veil." I did record the differences in a footnote, suggesting that these must be kept in mind, but I agree with Young that in comparing the usage of the expression "within the veil" in Hebrews to that of the LXX, "the differences do not outweigh the similarities."[9] Hence I have acknowledged, and even built upon, the cogency of his and Gane's arguments for the basic conclusion in their articles, i.e., that this expression most probably refers to the second veil and not the first. Thanks, Norman and Roy, for nudging me to a decision on this issue!

Young's fourth objection is that the inauguration services of the earthly sanctuary occurred only once, and as such they cannot be the background to the emphasis in Hebrews upon the *repetitious* nature of the old covenant sacrifices and the *annual* entrance of the high priest on the Day of Atonement, *contrasted* with the once-for-all sacrifice and once-for-all entrance of Jesus into the heavenly sanctuary.

This objection goes to the heart of what I see as the major underlying difference of perspective on Hebrews between Young and myself: we have a very different view of the nature of typology in the epistle. Young posits a basic *discontinuity* between the OT type and the NT antitype in Hebrews; he claims that "manipulating the type to fit the antitype" or "forcing of the shadow to fit the substance is the common manner of the writer."[10] The implication of this position is that one therefore cannot legitimately argue from the OT type to the NT antitype, but only the other way around; one must interpret the types in light of their inspired reinterpretation in Hebrews.[11]

By contrast, I view the nature of typology in Hebrews to be one of basic *continuity* and not discontinuity.[12] To be sure, this continuity entails

[9]Young, "Day of Dedication or Day of Atonement?" 63. I would simply add to Young's remarks that the language for this expression is not only to its usage in Lev 16, but also similar to its usage in Exod 26:33; and thus while it is most probably referring to the second veil, it is not necessarily referring to the event of Day of Atonement.

[10]Norman Young, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," *NTS* 27 (1981):205, 209.

[11]Ibid., 209, n. 77.

[12]This continuity is demonstrated in Hebrews, e.g., by the author's use of terminology that highlights correspondence (and intensification) of basic contours: *hypodeigma* "copy," *skia* "shadow," *typos* "type," *antitypos* "anti [= corresponding to the] type," *anagkē* "necessity," and *alēthinos* "true." The continuity is also illustrated by the way the author of Hebrews argues from type to antitype: several times he explicitly insists that as it happened in the OT type, so

intensification from type to antitype, as in all biblical typology,[13] but not manipulation or distortion of the OT type. There are a couple of crucial instances in the book of Hebrews where the NT antitype does in fact move beyond intensification to involve actual modification of the OT type, but these instances of discontinuity occur *not* because the author of Hebrews feels free to manipulate the OT types, but because *already in the OT* there was a prophetic indication of such change in the typology.

One major area of discontinuity is with regard to the priesthood: the author of Hebrews does point to a modification from the (1) mortal, (2) sinful, (3) Levitical priest to the antitypical priest, who is immortal, sinless, and after the order of Melchizedek, not Levi. But, as we noted above, this modification is based upon his exegesis of the OT passage in Ps 110 (note the repeated citation of this passage in Hebrews, and in particular the treatment in Heb 7). The other major area of discontinuity is with regard to the sacrifices: the author of Hebrews indeed sees a typological shift from the (1) many (2) ineffectual (3) animal sacrifices to the once-for-all, effectual sacrifice of the man Jesus. But these modifications again are grounded in the OT messianic passage of Ps 40:6-8 (see the exegesis in Heb 10:1-14).

Thus I concur with Young that with regard to the *sacrifices*, the author of Hebrews does contrast the *many* sacrifices offered daily and yearly (including the Day of Atonement) with the *once-for-all* sacrifice of Christ, thereby modifying the type (Heb 7:27; 10:11). But this is based upon an OT control, i.e., Ps 40:6-8, which predicts the coalescing of the many animal sacrifices into the one sacrifice of the Messiah.

With regard to Christ's *entry into the heavenly sanctuary*, however, I do not find any OT control justifying a modification of basic OT sanctuary typology, making Christ's entry into the heavenly sanctuary to commence its services the antitype of the annual entry on the Day of Atonement. Neither do I find the author of Hebrews making such modification. Instead, he uses inauguration language to describe this entering. The inauguration of the

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it is *necessary* (*anagkē*) for it to happen that way in the antitype (see, e.g., Heb 8:3; 9:16, 23; 13:11-12). Throughout the epistle, including the sanctuary discussion, the author also often uses Rabbi Hillel's principle of *Qal wahomer*, "light to heavy" (we today term this the *a fortiori* or "what is more" argument), which posits a basic continuity between the items compared (e.g., Heb 9:13-14; 12:25). For further discussion, see Richard M. Davidson, "Typology in the Book of Hebrews," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 4 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 174-178.

[13]See Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical* typos *Structures*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 2 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1981), 276-277, 303-304, 326-327, 346-347, 353, 365, 398, 405-408, 416-422.

antitypical heavenly sanctuary at the commencement of its services is presented in basic continuity with the inauguration of the typical earthly sanctuary at the commencement of its services. The Day of Atonement language is reserved by the author for portraying Christ's once-for-all sacrifice (as we have seen above, modified typology in harmony with Ps 40:6-8 where all sacrifices coalesce into one), and for portraying the work of judgment that is still future in his time, also in harmony with the OT type that places the Day of Atonement at the end of the yearly round of sanctuary services (Heb 10:25-31; cf. 9:27[14]).

The passages adduced by Young to support a contrast between the many yearly Day of Atonement enterings (Heb 9:7, 25; 10:1, 3) and the once-for-all entrance of Christ (9:12) do not appear to me to be describing such contrast. In these passages a contrast of *sacrifices*, not *enterings*, is in view. Even in Heb 9:12, where Christ is said to enter "once-for-all," the explicitly stated contrast is between the blood of the dedication animals ("not with the blood of goats and calves") and the better blood of Christ's sacrifice ("but with his own blood").

As I point out in my article,[15] Young and I differ on the contextual emphasis of the verses preceding Heb 9:12. I concur with a number of recent studies which maintain that the overarching context of Heb 9:1-12 is a comparison/contrast *between the old and new covenants, each with their respective sanctuaries.*[16] Hebrews 9:12 thus presents the transition between the old and new covenant, the transition between the earthly sanctuary and the heavenly sanctuary, concentrated in the inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary. On the other hand, Young sees the context primarily as a contrast *between the two apartments* of the earthly sanctuary—the first apartment

[14]In the conclusion of his critique of my article, Young questions whether Heb 9:27 points to a Day of Atonement future judgment ("Day of Dedication or Day of Atonement?" 67-68). I agree with him that the *stress* of the parallel in this passage is not on future judgment, but I do not believe the concept is totally absent from the verse.

[15]Davidson, "Christ's Entry," 185, n. 29.

[16]For bibliography and further discussion, see ibid. Cf. the consensus statement of the Daniel and Revelation Committee, "Daniel and Revelation Committee Report," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrews*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 4 (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 4-5, and Davidson, "Typology in the Book of Hebrews," 176-185. In the latter reference, I discuss how the basic comparison/contrast between old and new covenant sanctuaries (not apartments) is highlighted in Heb 9:8. This verse indicates (contrary to Young's interpretation) that the way into *ta hagia* (the heavenly sanctuary, not just the Most Holy Place) is not made manifest as long as the first (i.e., earthly) sanctuary (not first apartment) still has a standing. (See NEB for essentially this translation.) Verses 9-10 point out that this whole earthly sanctuary is a *parabolē*, standing for the earthly OT age of which it was a part. Verses 11-12 make clear that this same earthly sanctuary in its entirety is also a type of the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Heb 8:5; 9:23-24).

representing the OT age and the second apartment the NT age and heaven itself. Hebrews 9:12 is thus placed in parallel/contrast with the earthly entering of the second apartment on the Day of Atonement. I believe Young's focus upon a contrast between apartments and not covenants, in which the continuity between type and antitype totally breaks down, further illustrates his fundamental presupposition of radical discontinuity between OT type and NT antitype (and the author's freedom to modify the OT type), and may go a long way to explain our different interpretations of the background event in Heb 9:12 and other parallel "entering" passages in Hebrews.

If one recognizes that the context of Heb 9:1-12 presents a comparison between the whole earthly sanctuary (vv. 1-10) and the whole heavenly sanctuary (vv. 11-12), and not a contrast between apartments, then a closer look makes further apparent that the author of Hebrews does not contrast Heb 9:12 (Christ entering into the heavenly sanctuary once-for-all) with Heb 9:7 (the high priest's annual going into the Most Holy Place).[17] Instead, in Heb 9:12 the "once-for-all" inauguration of the antitypical heavenly sanctuary at the commencement of its services is presented by the author of Hebrews in basic continuity with the initial (one-time) inauguration of the typical earthly sanctuary at the commencement of its services, of course intensified as the

[17]This is contrary to what Young seeks to demonstrate in his parallel chart derived from his 1981 article (Young, "Day of Dedication or Day of Atonement?" 64; cf. idem, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," 199). Heb 9:7 contrasts with v. 6, not with v. 12. The contrast is between the earthly priests' "continual/regular" or *tamîd* (LXX *dia pantos*) ministry in the first apartment (v. 6) and the earthly high priest's once-a-year (*hapax tou eneiautou*) service—going into the second apartment on the Day of Atonement with blood which he had offered for himself and the people (v. 7). Surface similarities between Heb 9:7 and 9:12 diminish upon closer inspection. A different Greek verb for "go in" (*eiseimi*) is used in Heb 9:7 (actually the verb does not even appear in v. 7 but is implied from the previous verse) than for "enter" (*eiserchomai*) in 9:12 and the other "entering" passages of Hebrews that refer to Christ's entering into the heavenly sanctuary (as examined in my article). Again, Heb 9:7 refers to the high priest going specifically into the "second" apartment, whereas Heb 9:12 speaks of Christ entering *ta hagia*, "the sanctuary," which, as we noted in the article, may include the Most Holy Place, but in LXX usage is *never* the term used to denote specifically the second apartment by itself. Instead of positing that the author of Hebrews departs from LXX usage in Heb 9:12, as Young claims, I find that he is remaining consistent with LXX usage, and referring to Christ's entering of the entire heavenly sanctuary at the time of its inauguration, including, but not limited to, the heavenly Holy of Holies. If the author had wished to contrast the many yearly (Day of Atonement) enterings with the once-for-all entering of Christ in these two passages, he would undoubtedly have used the phrase "every year" (*kat' eniauton*) in contrast with "once-for-all" (*ephapax*), as he does in Heb 9:25 and 10:3, instead of "once in the year" (*hapax tou eneiautou*). It is unlikely that the author would radically contrast the two words *hapax* "once" (9:7) with *ephapax* "once, once for all" (9:12), when the latter term is used synonymously with the former elsewhere in the epistle (see, e.g., 10:2, where *hapax* clearly means "once for all"). Finally, the use of the word *tragos* in Heb 9:12, which is intertextually linked to inauguration (Num 7) and not Day of Atonement, makes highly problematic any linkage to the Day of Atonement in Heb 9:7.

earthly inauguration used the blood of "goats and calves" while the heavenly inauguration involved the blood of Christ.

As a fifth objection, Young finds "quite arbitrary" my suggestion that Heb 10:19-20 provides the key to interpreting Heb 6:19-20, and suggests that the reverse is more likely to be the case. However, it is not unusual within the Hebrew mind-set to portray a scene in more general terms first and then in later references to that scene provide crucial interpretive details. For example, in Ezek 1 the prophet Ezekiel describes the four living creatures, but not until chapter 10, when he sees them again, does he give the "key" to their identity by pointing out that they are in fact "cherubim" (Ezek 10:3-5, 15, 20).

This pattern of moving from the general introduction to clarifying details is found within the book of Hebrews. For example, the author briefly introduces the general concept of the high priesthood of Jesus already in Heb 2:17, but it is not until Heb 5, and especially Heb 7, that we learn the specific nature of this high priesthood, that it is after the order of Melchizedek (Heb 5), and the radical implications of this shift in priesthood typology (Heb 7). Similarly, I find the author of Hebrews introducing the theme of Christ's entry into the heavenly sanctuary in 6:19-20, and then in 9:12 and especially 10:19-20 providing crucial details to identify the occasion as the inauguration. This is consonant with other language of entry in these passages that moves from the general (in 6:19-20) to the specific and more explanatory (in 10:19-20).[18]

As part of this fifth objection, Young claims that the presence of the verb *enkainizō* in Heb 10:20 does not point unambiguously to the complex of inauguration/dedication rituals for the sanctuary, since the term may refer to other kinds of renewal than inauguration of the sanctuary. But Young's references to other occurrences of *enkainizō* outside the Pentateuch miss the point. Young himself acknowledges that "Hebrews's concern is, of course, with the Mosaic Tabernacle not the Solomonic Temple or the Second Temple."[19] Hence, it is the usage of the *enkainzō* word group (verb or nominal derivatives) describing the Mosaic cultus in the LXX Pentateuch that is significant as background for Hebrews.[20] And the evidence is clear from the LXX Pentateuch: in material dealing with the sanctuary and cultus the *enkainizō* word group appears *only* in Num 7, and the context of this chapter

[18]See Davidson, "Christ's Entry," 181-182.

[19]Young, "Day of Dedication or Day of Atonement?" 67.

[20]Such is to be presumed unless Hebrews actually cites (or clearly alludes to) other OT passages that describe the OT cultic practices in general, as we see below with the conjoining of "bulls" and "goats." In the remainder of this article I use *enkainizō* to encompass the whole word group which includes both the verb and its nominal derivatives, unless I specifically refer to it as a verb. Note that verb *enkainizō* does appear twice in a noncultic setting in the LXX Pentateuch (Deut 20:5 [2 times]), and here the meaning is also clearly "to dedicate."

is the complex of rituals performed to dedicate/inaugurate the sanctuary. In fact, the inauguration of the sanctuary altar, described in Num 7, comes as the climactic, culminating stage in this complex of inauguration/dedication rituals for the sanctuary (see Num 7:1).

If the evidence is clear from the LXX Pentateuch that *enkainizō* in a cultic context refers to "inauguration" and not "renewal" in general, it is even clearer from the context of Hebrews itself. As noted already in my article, the verb *enkainizō* is employed by the author not only in Heb 10:20, but also in Heb 9:18. This latter passage uses *enkainizō* with reference to putting the first covenant into effect and anointing the sanctuary (see vs. 21), and here it unambiguously means "inaugurate." This use of *enkainizō* is the closest context for interpreting Heb 10:20, even closer than LXX usage, and confirms that "inaugurate" is the meaning intended by the author of Hebrews in this "entering" passage.

Young also argues that according to Heb 10:20, it is "a new and living way" that has been consecrated, not the sanctuary. But again, as pointed out in my article, "the new and living way [*hodos*]" of Heb 10:20 is "through the veil" which is further defined in Heb 9:8 as "the way [*hodos*] into the sanctuary [*ta hagia*]." Furthermore, the context of both 10:20 and 9:8 is the official starting up of the heavenly sanctuary services.[21] It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Heb 10:20 speaks of the inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary.

A sixth objection raised by Young is that my argument "deals with a word but neglects the sentence." He uses a vivid illustration from the imagery associated with Christmas: "Just as . . . steam pudding, holly, stocking, presents, conifer tree and snow *when all found together* point to a northern Christmas, so . . . the grouping of high priest, blood of goats and calves, entered, sanctuary, and once-for-all (not annually) pointed to the entrance of the high priest into the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement."[22] May I suggest a parallel illustration? What do the following connote—December, the 25th day of the month, snow, exchange of presents and cards, lights decorating the house, family celebration and games, and special holiday culinary delicacies? Sounds indeed like Christmas. But then add two more items: *hanukiyyot* (nine-branched candelabra) and dreidel, and it is clear that the holiday is not Christmas, but Hanukkah, which begins on the 25th day of the Jewish month Kislev. Likewise in Hebrews, the collocation of high priest, blood of goats and calves, entered, sanctuary, and once-for-all may together sound like Day of Atonement, but add the two LXX terms *enkainizō* and *tragos*, and it is

[21]Davidson, "Christ's Entry," 181, 185.

[22]Young, "Day of Dedication or Day of Atonement?" 64.

clear that inauguration, rather than the Day of Atonement is in view. (The Hebrew term for "inauguration" is *ḥanukkah*, so the illustration is particularly appropriate here!) The point is that one must take *all* the words of the sentence into account, not just some of them.

I agree with Young that Heb 9:7 and 9:25 refer to Day of Atonement, because of the clear reference to "once a year" and "every year" respectively.[23] But in Heb 9:12 and 10:19-20 the lack of reference to "once a year" or "every year," the reference to *enkainizō* and *tragos* ("inaugurate" and "he-goat") used in LXX cultic language of the Torah only for the inauguration, and the larger context of these passages—all clearly point to inauguration as the background. Furthermore, Heb 13:11 does not refer exclusively to Lev 16:27 and the Day of Atonement, but summarizes the general principle (set forth foundationally in Lev 4:5, 12, 21; and 6:30) that all sin offerings (both daily and yearly) whose blood is taken into the sanctuary must be burned outside the camp.[24] One cannot arbitrarily lump together all of these passages because of some similar language: the full scope of terminology and immediate context for any given passage must be given due weight in deciding which background is in view.

A seventh objection of Young is that the two terms *tragos* "goat" and *moschos* "calf" are never conjoined in Num 7 *as sin offerings*. But that is just my point! The *tragoi* "goats" and *moschoi* "calves" of Heb 9:12 *do not* refer to the OT Day of Atonement sin offerings, as Young assumes, but to inauguration offerings. This is made apparent within the immediate context of Hebrews itself. It is no accident that just a few verses later in this same chapter, Heb 9:19, the blood of these same two animals is mentioned again,[25] and this time the context clarifies beyond any doubt that the OT background is inauguration (see the term *enkainizō* in v. 18). The author of Hebrews unmistakably links the conjoining of these two animals with the background of inauguration, not the Day of Atonement. Hebrews 9:19 refers to the inauguration of the covenant, and according to Exod 24:5, the sacrifices for

[23]Ibid., 64-65, 67. However, I disagree that *ta hagia* in 9:25 refers exclusively to the Most Holy Place. In light of LXX usage where *ta hagia never* refers to the Most Holy Place alone, I find it more probable that Heb 9:25 is remaining consistent with the LXX and referring to the entire sanctuary. After all, on the Day of Atonement, the high priest went into the entire sanctuary to make atonement for both apartments with the blood of the Lord's goat.

[24]Heb 13:11 is paraphrasing *both* Lev 16:27 and the foundational statements of this principle in Lev 4:5, 12, and 6:23 (v. 30 in Heb. and Eng.). A comparison of the Greek of Heb 13:11 with LXX usage reveals that every parallel Greek expression found in Lev 16:27 is also found in the basic statement of the principle in Lev 4:5, 12, and 6:23 (v. 30 in Heb. and Eng.).

[25]I am assuming the presence of both these words in the Greek original, in harmony with the decision of the latest edition of the UBS Greek Bible, and as generally represented in the most recent English translations. Young concurs ("The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," 205, n. 53).

this inauguration were not sin offerings, but burnt offerings and peace offerings. In Num 7, in the context of the inauguration of the sanctuary, these same two kinds of offerings are conjoined—thirteen times, along with explicit use of the term for inauguration/dedication (LXX *enkainizō*). Hebrews 9:12 refers to these same two kinds of offerings. The animal chosen by the author to represent the burnt offering is the first one mentioned in the lists of Num 7, the *moschos*; and the animal he chooses to represent the peace offerings of Num 7 is the one distinctive animal that is not mentioned with regard to any other sanctuary ritual, i.e., the *tragos*, thus pinpointing the inauguration context.

Young continues his critique by pointing out that the blood of the *tragos* and *moschos* in Num 7 is not brought into the sanctuary. It is true that Num 7 does not mention the blood of these animals being brought into the sanctuary. However, *according to the author of Hebrews*, the blood of these two animals is indeed brought into the sanctuary in the context of the inauguration! Hebrews 9:19 specifically states that Moses "took the blood of calves [*moschoi*] and goats [*tragoi*] . . . and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people." Then v. 21 indicates that "likewise [*omoiōs*] he sprinkled with *the blood* [*tō haimata*] both the tabernacle and all the vessels of the ministry." The use of the Greek word translated "likewise, in the same way" and the presence of the article "the" with the word "blood" in Greek unambiguously refers back to the previous inauguration rites of v. 19 and to the same kind of blood (i.e., of the calves and goats).[26]

Young refers to the use of the phrase "bulls and goats" (Heb 9:13, and the reverse order in Heb 10:4), where the word *tauros* "bull" is linked with *tragos* "goat," and suggests that the author of Hebrews "is choosing his terms for the sacrificial animals with less than a precise match with the

[26]Is the author of Hebrews here manipulating or misrepresenting the OT type? To the contrary, I believe the author of Hebrews may well have recognized the underlying linguistic connection in the LXX Torah between the inauguration of the covenant and the inauguration of the sanctuary and altar, and that he draws the logical implications. Exod 24:5 indicates that for the inauguration of the covenant the blood sprinkled on the people was from burnt offerings and peace offerings, but only one animal is mentioned for these sacrifices: the *moscharion* (diminutive of *moschos*). In Num 7, this *moschos* (same Hebrew word *par* as in Exod 24:5) is connected to the burnt offering. The author of Hebrews mentions this word, representing the burnt offering, and then selects the uniquely characteristic inauguration animal of Num 7 for the peace offering, i.e., the *tragos*. Based upon Num 7, where the altar is anointed (v. 1) as well as inaugurated with blood (vv. 10-88), the author of Hebrews apparently assumes (not without some textual justification, and perhaps oral tradition—note that Josephus, *AJ* iii.206, describes the use of both blood and oil in the dedication service) that the rest of the sanctuary was inaugurated with blood like the altar, employing the same animals as in Num 7. Thus, it seems that the author of Hebrews finds Num 7 to be the key passage that links the inauguration of the covenant with the inauguration of the altar and the sanctuary.

LXX."[27] But as I have argued in my article,[28] this linkage of terms is very precise. In Heb 9:13 and 10:4 the author is alluding to Isa 1:11 and Ps 49:13 [50:13 in Hebrew and English], and deliberately broadening the reference from the inauguration context of Heb 9:12, 19 to the whole complex of sacrifices in the OT, as the more general contexts in Heb 9:13 and 10:4 make clear. Thus in Heb 9:12 and 19 the author precisely pairs *tragos* and *moschos*—terms that are uniquely conjoined in the context of inauguration in Num 7—when he wishes to point to inauguration. And in Heb 9:13 and 10:4 he pairs *tauros* and *tragos*—terms that are conjoined to describe sacrifices in general in Isa 1:11 and Ps 49:13—when he wishes to speak of the whole sacrificial system. This is another of the many examples in Hebrews where it is apparent that the author was intimately acquainted with the intricacies of the Hebrew cultus and did not use descriptive terminology imprecisely.[29]

I agree with Young that the central concern of the epistle with regard to sacrifices is for the sin offering. Particularly emphasized are the sin offerings offered up "daily" or "continually" throughout the year as they became necessary (Heb 7:27; 10:1). But this does not rule out reference to inauguration in other contexts where the author draws the specific parallel between the old covenant with its (earthly) sanctuary and the new covenant with its (heavenly) sanctuary. In presenting the transition between the two covenants, and the commencement of the heavenly sanctuary ministry (especially Heb 9:12 and 10:20), the author uses specific language that pinpoints the inauguration sacrifice (*tragos*) and event (*enkainizō*).

It is rather surprising to me to see that when the evidence of LXX usage points to inauguration rather than the Day of Atonement, Young so easily abandons the methodology that he so strongly promoted in his article with regard to interpreting the phrase "within the veil" in Heb 6:19-20. He shifts away from a terminological control in the LXX to suggest that the author of Hebrews may have been following the imprecise usage of terms in Philo. The prodigious research of Ronald Williamson has shown that the book of

[27]Young, "Day of Dedication or Day of Atonement?" 65.

[28]Davidson, "Christ's Entry," 184, n. 27.

[29]Another classic example is the alleged "blunder" on the part of the writer of Hebrews when he states that the Most Holy Place "had" the altar of incense (Heb 9:4); Harold S. Camacho, "The Altar of Incense in Heb 9:3-4," *AUSS* 24 (1986): 5-12, shows that, far from being a case of ignorance or carelessness, this passage reveals the author's mastery of the subtle OT theology of the sanctuary in which the altar of incense, although located in the Holy Place, actually had a Most Holy Place function (1 Kgs 6:22; cf. Exod 30:10.) Note also the statement of the author of Hebrews in 9:22 that according to the Torah "*almost* all things are purged with blood"; he had a clear grasp of that one minor exception to the expiation by blood found in Lev 5:11-13.

Hebrews contains no trace of the fundamental attitudes or convictions of Philo's philosophical thought-forms,[30] and those who have claimed close conceptual affinities of Hebrews with Philo have not taken Williamson's evidence seriously. But regardless of any possible terminological affinities between Hebrews and Philo, fortunately the author of Hebrews does not leave us in doubt as to whether he is following the usage of Philo or of the LXX with regard to conjoining *tragos* and *moschos*. As we have seen above, the context of the epistle itself in Heb 9:18-19 indisputably shows that when the author of Hebrews conjoins the terms *tragos* and *moschos*, he has reference to inauguration. Young acknowledges the inauguration background of Heb 9:18-19 and I am hard pressed to understand why he does not allow the author of Hebrews's own terminological usage in these verses to inform the same usage a few verses earlier in the same chapter. This closest context of usage for these terms surely must take exegetical precedence over any speculation regarding employment of Philonic terminology.

Young's eighth objection is to my suggestion that the aorist participle *genomenos* may hint at inauguration in Heb 6:19, 20. I agree that this is at best only a hint, and not conclusive. But as Young notes, the aorist participle generally refers to action completed with or before the main verb. I simply suggest that the other occurrences of this aorist participle in Hebrews cited by Young seem to connect the action of the main verb and the participle rather closely together in time (Heb 1:3, 4; 5:9, 10; 7:26, 27; 9:11-12, 28; 10:12), and this may well be the case with Jesus' officially becoming high priest and inaugurating the heavenly sanctuary. In the OT type these two events are part of one inauguration complex, and I suggest that the author of Hebrews is remaining consistent with the OT sanctuary typology, rather than modifying/manipulating the type to bring together the high priest's inauguration with the Day of Atonement, events never associated together in time in the OT sanctuary services.

Young's final query leaves me wondering why he wishes to shift the discussion to the exegesis of Dan 8, a totally different topic from the interpretation of Hebrews's "entering" passages. This is not the place to discuss in detail the interpretation of Dan 8. I would simply point out that I do not interpret Dan 8:11-13 as referring to the Day of Atonement, as Young seems to imply. I find these verses describing a counterfeit religious power that attempts to usurp the "continual" (*tamîd*) ministry of the Prince of the host. Regarding Dan 8:14, where I do see connections with the Day of Atonement, the query of Young applies equally well to his

[30]Ronald Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Leiden: Brill, 1970); for a summary of his conclusions, see Davidson, "Typology in the Book of Hebrews," 137-140.

own apparent interpretation of (re)dedication[31] in Dan 8:14 as to mine. I have pointed out above that the terms such as high priest, blood, calves and goats, entering, sin offering, cleanse, and inner veil,[32] apply equally well to the inauguration/dedication rituals as to the Day of Atonement. Therefore, Young must also face the fact that none of these terms normally describing sanctuary dedication are present in the text. In other words, the absence of these terms helps neither the Day of Atonement nor the (re)dedication interpretations.

In the case of Dan 8, I have not seen any exclusive terminology linking decisively to either inauguration or the Day of Atonement; and thus in order to ascertain which background, if either, is in view, a broader, text-based linguistic study of the passage in question must be undertaken in addition to broader intertextual study that includes contexts and concepts as well as terminology.[33] By contrast, in the case of the "entry passages" in the book of Hebrews, as I have pointed out in my article, there are two such exclusive terms (*enkainizō* and *tragos*) which occur in the cultic sections of the Torah LXX *only* in a context of inauguration, and in fact conjoin only in a single chapter of the Pentateuch (Num 7), thus providing powerful intertextual indicators of the inauguration background of these passages. One of these terms (*enkainizō*) actually means "to inaugurate," and thus represents not only an intertextual linkage to the general inauguration background, but actually provides a semantic control that points unmistakably to inauguration and not to the Day of Atonement. This term does not appear only incidentally in Heb 10:20, to show some "dedicatory ideas" in the passage apart from the main point, but constitutes the operative

[31]In a previous draft of his response to my article, Young argued more explicitly for a dedication ritual as the more probable interpretation of Dan 8:14, and I presume he refers to the (re)dedication of the sanctuary after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes, in line with the interpretation of many modern Daniel commentators.

[32]I do not include from Young's list the burning of the carcasses outside the camp since, as we have seen above, this applies to the general rule for a sin offering whose blood is brought inside the sanctuary, and not uniquely to the Day of Atonement. Obviously also if the final cosmic Day of Atonement is alluded to in Daniel 8:14, it will not be termed "annual."

[33]Some study has already been done in significant articles, revealing a strong linkage between Dan 8 and the Day of Atonement, and not inauguration. See especially Angel M. Rodriguez, "Significance of the Cultic Language in Daniel 8:9-14," in *Symposium on Daniel*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 527-549; and Jacques B. Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987), 23-31. An exhaustive text-based linguistic and intertextual study of Dan 8:9-14 is currently being undertaken by Martin Pröbstle in an Andrews University Ph.D. dissertation. This work will probably exceed 650 pages when completed.

verb (parallel to and explanatory of the verb "enter" in Heb 6:20[34]) clarifying the purpose of Christ's entry—to inaugurate the heavenly sanctuary.

In summary of the above responses to Young's arguments, the following points may be emphasized.

1. The term *enkainizō* in Heb 10:19-20 clearly focuses upon the OT background of inauguration and not the Day of Atonement. The *enkainizō* word group repeatedly, and exclusively, appears in the context of the complex of dedication rituals of the Mosaic sanctuary (four times, to be exact, in Num 7). Young wishes to dismiss these occurrences as not being a part of the dedication rituals for the sanctuary and its precincts, but as I have shown above, they actually appear as the climax and culmination of these rituals. That *enkainizō* is referring to "inauguration" and is not just a general term for "opening" or "renewal" is not only indicated by LXX usage, but is confirmed within the epistle to the Hebrews, where the same verb *enkainizō* is used in Heb 9:18 with reference to the ratification of the covenant and indisputably means "inauguration." Christ's inauguration of "a new and living way. . . through the veil" in Heb 10:19-20, seen in light of the parallel language in Heb 9:8 ("the way into the [heavenly] sanctuary [*ta hagia*]"), clearly refers to his inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary, corresponding antitypically to the inauguration of the earthly Mosaic sanctuary.

2. The term *tragos* "goat" in Heb 9:12, likewise clearly alludes to the inauguration rituals of the Mosaic sanctuary. This word appears in the cultic parts of the LXX Torah only in Num 7 (and here thirteen times!), in a context of sanctuary inauguration. In fact, the terms "goat" (*tragos*) and "calf" (*moschos*), along with *enkainizō* (in its nominal forms), conjoin only here in Num 7 in the entire LXX OT. Such exclusive intertextual convergence of crucial cultic terms employed by the author of Hebrews in a single OT LXX chapter in a context of inauguration certainly points to inauguration as the OT background of these "entering" passages in the book of Hebrews. Any lingering doubt as to whether the author of Hebrews is remaining faithful to LXX usage or possibly following the ambiguous usage of Philo (which could allow for either inauguration or the Day of Atonement backgrounds), is dismissed by the author of Hebrews himself. Within the same chapter as Heb 9:12, and just a few verses later (v. 18) he refers to the blood of the same two animals, "calves" [*moschoi*] and "goats" [*tragoi*], and here the conjoining of these two animals indisputably refers to the inauguration rituals (of both covenant and sanctuary, see v. 21), not the Day of Atonement. As with *enkainizō*

[34]See Davidson, "Christ's Entry," 181-182.

in Heb 10:20, so with the reference to *tragos* and *moschos* in Heb 9:12: we find both an intertextual terminological control from LXX usage and an inner terminological control within the book of Hebrews itself, and both point clearly to inauguration and not the Day of Atonement as the background event of these passages.

3. Contextual clues within the epistle provide further evidence for the OT background intended by the author of Hebrews. The context of each of the "entering" passages of Hebrews paralleling Heb 6:19-20 is the transition between the two covenants with their respective sanctuaries and the official starting up of the heavenly sanctuary ministry. Just as the starting up of the earthly sanctuary in the OT was the occasion for inauguration, so in the antitype it is natural that Christ be presented by the author of Hebrews as inaugurating the heavenly sanctuary when he officially started up its services. In the OT cultus the Day of Atonement never coincided with the inauguration of the sanctuary, and thus it is contextually consistent that the Day of Atonement is not the antitypical event alluded to in the Hebrews's "entering" passages. Furthermore, in none of these passages does the context call for translating *ta hagia* with reference only to the Most Holy Place, but rather to the entire heavenly sanctuary, in harmony with LXX usage in which *ta hagia* never refers solely to the Most Holy Place, and in harmony with the OT inauguration rituals in which the entire sanctuary and not just the Most Holy Place was inaugurated.

4. Hebrews 6:19-20 is in clear and close parallel with the other three "entering" passages of Hebrews, and it seems most probable that the same inauguration background behind Heb 9:12, 24; and 10:19-20 is the background for Heb 6:19-20. This is fully consistent with the work of the high priest "after the order of Melchizedek" (Ps 110), which according to Hebrews includes the high-priestly work performed by both Moses and Aaron.

5. Fundamental to our divergent conclusions is the fact that Young and I approach Hebrews very differently. I see in Hebrews a basic continuity between OT type and NT antitype, except in those instances where the OT itself has announced a discontinuity (i.e., Ps 40:6-8 and 110:4). I find the author of Hebrews supporting this fundamental continuity of basic contours both by precept (use of terminology for continuity such as *typos* "type" and *antitypos* "*corresponding* to the type) and example (himself arguing from type to antitype and insisting on the "necessity" *anagkē* that as it happened in the type, so it must also occur in the antitype, 8:3; 9:16-18, 23). Young, on the other hand, believes that the "common manner of the writer" of Hebrews consists of "manipulating the type to fit the antitype" and "forcing of the shadow to

fit the substance."[35] By suggesting such radical discontinuity between type and antitype, and thereby disallowing the legitimacy of arguing from type to antitype, it appears to me that Young has followed critical scholarship in general in nullifying the predictive nature of typology and robbing typology of its intended gospel-teaching function within the OT whereby OT believers could understand in advance the essential contours of the Messiah's redemptive work.

Young and I also disagree over how literally to take the author of Hebrews' language regarding the heavenly sanctuary. Young thinks that I treat Hebrews as a "literalistic commentary on the OT types,"[36] whereas it seems to me that Young has virtually collapsed sanctuary typology in Hebrews into a metaphor of the achievement of Jesus' death. Young's reference to the many affinities between Hebrews and Philo of Alexandria, along with his allusion in an earlier article to the author of Hebrews being "Alexandrian,"[37] leads me to wonder if Young sees the Epistle to the Hebrews steeped in (or at least tinged with) Philonic/Platonic dualism, as do many critical Hebrews scholars. In the thought world of Philo, there is no room for a real, spatio-temporal heavenly sanctuary. In contrast to this view, I believe that Williamson's monograph (referred to above) has shown that the epistle to the Hebrews contains none of the fundamental dualistic attitudes or convictions of Philonism, but rather upholds the same robust biblical realism as throughout the rest of Scripture. In Hebrews, the author not only affirms a real deity, real humanity, and real priesthood of Christ, but also "a *real* ministry in a *real* sanctuary" (original emphasis).[38]

Contrary to Young's appraisal of my approach, I do not regard Hebrews as a "literalistic commentary on the OT types." That the author of Hebrews remains faithful to the basic contours of sanctuary typology, and that he affirms the existence of Christ's ongoing priestly ministry in a real, spatiotemporal heavenly sanctuary, is not "literalism" but biblical realism.[39] The author of Hebrews does not literalistically apply all of the minute details of the Mosaic tabernacle to the heavenly sanctuary, but

[35]Young, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," 205, 209.

[36]Young, "Day of Dedication or Day of Atonement?" 68.

[37]Young, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," 201.

[38]William G. Johnsson, *In Absolute Confidence: The Book of Hebrews Speaks to Our Day* (Nashville: Southern, 1979), 91.

[39]See Fernando Canale, "Philosophical Foundations and the Biblical Sanctuary," *AUSS* 36 (1998):183-206, for a helpful discussion of various philosophical deconstructions of the literal biblical language of the sanctuary, including Philo and leading Christian theologians, and a call to return to the biblical foundations regarding the interpretation of sanctuary texts.

recognizes, in harmony with the nature of biblical typology throughout Scripture, the fundamental continuity between the *basic contours* of type and antitype.[40]

The author of Hebrews does not attempt a full-blown typological commentary on the Levitical cultus. At the same time the antitypical fulfillments to which he does point remain faithful to the OT types or the modifications of those types already predicted in the OT. With regard to the Israelite cultus, the author of Hebrews shows that the basic contours of the OT sanctuary typology are fulfilled in Christ: (1) his sacrifice, coalescing the many daily and yearly sacrifices into his once-for-all death in light of Ps 40:6-8 (Heb 7:27; 9:7, 25; 10:1, 3); (2) his inauguration of the heavenly sanctuary to officially start up its services and provide access into the presence of God (Heb 6:19-20; 9:12, 21-24; 10:19-20); (3) his ongoing high priestly mediatorial ministry in the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 4:14-16; 7:25); and (4) his future (from the author's perspective) Day of Atonement work of investigative and executive judgment for the professed people of God (Heb 9:27; 10:25-31). The book of Hebrews does not collapse sanctuary typology into a mere hortatory metaphor of the crucified and glorified Christ, but calls upon Jewish Christians tempted to return to Judaism not to forsake Jesus, in whom is found the fulfillment of the wide range of OT types that pointed to him.

To conclude, I wish once again to commend my esteemed colleague Norman Young for his contribution to the exegetical methodology of Hebrews interpretation by taking seriously the LXX terminology utilized by the author of the epistle. He has shown how this methodology provides a crucial control for the identification of the veil in Heb 6:19 and 10:20. I merely suggest that this methodology be extended to other key LXX terminology used by the author of Hebrews, including *enkainizō*, *tragos*, *moschos*, and *ta hagia*, and that the implications of this usage be taken seriously in identifying the OT background behind the "entry passages" in Hebrews. Young acknowledges allusions to dedicatory ideas in Heb 9:18-23 and even perhaps in 10:19-20, but goes on to state that "by itself it [inauguration/dedication] is insufficient background for all the sanctuary language found in Hebrews, especially Heb 6:19-20."[41] I heartily agree that inauguration is insufficient background for all the sanctuary language in Hebrews. As I mentioned in the conclusion to my article, I find the inauguration motif to be only one—and

[40]These basic contours are already apparent in the OT as one examines the features of the sanctuary precincts and services that remain *constant* as one moves from the Mosaic tent tabernacle to the permanent structures of the Solomonic temple, the Second temple, and the descriptions of the eschatological temple in Ezek 40-48. It is these same basic contours that are summarized by the author of Hebrews in 9:1-7.

[41]Young, "The Day of Dedication of the Day of Atonement?" 67.

not the major one—among many sanctuary motifs in Hebrews, including the Day of Atonement. But, based upon LXX usage and contextual evidence within the epistle, I do find inauguration, and not the Day of Atonement, to be the most probable background to Heb 6:19-20 and parallel "entering" passages.

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JOSHUA'S RECEPTION OF THE LAYING ON OF HANDS, PART 2: DEUTERONOMY 34:7 AND CONCLUSION

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Two passages address laying on of hands in the installation of Joshua: Num 27:12-23 and Deut 34:9. In a previous article,[1] I exegeted Num 27:12-23 with the specific purpose of analyzing the significance of laying hands on Joshua. In this article, I will exegete Deut 34:9 with the same hand-laying emphasis and then conclude by analyzing the procedural techniques, symbolic meanings, and tangible effects of laying on of hands in the installation of Joshua in these two passages.

Deuteronomy is generally divided into four major sections: Moses' first (chaps. 1-4), second (chaps. 5-26), and third (chaps. 27-30) addresses, and final arrangements (chaps. 31-34). As a key element in the final chapter of the book, Deut 34:9 also plays a significant function in the final section of the book (chaps. 31-34) as it clarifies the roles of YHWH and Moses in selecting the new leader of the covenant community as well as Israel's expected response to the new leader.

Deuteronomy 34:9 must be understood in light of the larger picture portrayed in Deut 31 through 34. Other than YHWH, Moses and Joshua play the major character roles of the final four chapters. While the dominant theme running throughout these chapters is that of the death of Moses, the installation of Joshua plays an important secondary theme. Deuteronomy 31-34 can be divided into three sections, each containing a chiastic structure. The Hebrew word for speak (דבר) demarcates the beginning point of each section, while the Hebrew word for finish (כלה) concludes the first section, and the Hebrew word for complete/finish (תמם) concludes the second section. Deuteronomy 31 through 34 can be outlined as:

I. Moses spoke (דבר) these words to all Israel (31:1-29)

- A. I am 120, cannot go out/in, for YHWH says I cannot cross (עבר) over the Jordan
  - 1. YHWH and Joshua will cross over (עבר) before you
  - 2. Do what YHWH commands and be strong/courageous; YHWH will not fail you

[1]Keith Mattingly, "The Significance of Joshua's Reception of the Laying on of Hands in Numbers 27:12-23," *AUSS* 39 (2001): 191-208.

B. Moses summoned and spoke to Joshua (31:7-9)
  1. Be strong/courageous; you will go in (תָּבוֹא) to the land with this people
  2. YHWH will be with you/not fail you, nor forsake you

C. Moses wrote this Torah, gave to Levites/elders, charged to read it (31:9-13)

D. YHWH spoke to Moses (31:14-21)
  1. You are going to die—so summon Joshua, come to tabernacle
  2. You will soon sleep with your fathers, I will be forsaken, so write this song and teach it to Israel

C' Moses wrote this song and taught it to Israel (31:22)

B' YHWH commanded Joshua and said to him: (31:23)
  1. Be strong/courageous you will bring (תָּבִיא) Israel in
  2. I will be with you

A' Moses finished (כלה) writing the words of this Torah into a book
  When the words concluded (תמם), Moses commanded the Levites, saying: (31:24-29)
  1. Place this book of the Torah at the side of the ark of the covenant of YHWH
     For I know your rebelliousness while I am alive, surely more so after I die
  2. Gather the elders and I (YHWH) shall speak words into their ears
     For I know that after my death you will surely rebel

II. Moses' Song (31:30-32:47)
  A. Moses spoke (דבר) the words of this song to Israel until their conclusion (תמם) (31:30)
  B. The Song (32:1-43)
  A' Moses spoke all the words of this song to the people, he and Joshua
     Moses concluded (כלה) speaking all these words (32:44-47)

III. Moses' Death (32:48-34:12)
  A. YHWH spoke (דבר) to Moses that very day, saying (the command to die) (32:48-52)
     1. Ascend the mountain and see the land of Canaan
     2. And die on the mountain
        a. because (עַל אֲשֶׁר) of your rebellion against me among the children of Israel
        b. and because (עַל אֲשֶׁר) of your not sanctifying me among the children of Israel

  B. The blessings of Moses (33:1-29)

  A' The death of Moses (the response to YHWH's command) (34:1-12)
     1' Moses ascended the mountain and saw the land YHWH promised to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob
     2' Moses died a great man
        a. Servant of YHWH

b. According to the word (עַל־פִּי) of YHWH who buried him in an unknown place
c. Moses was 120 years old, eyes not dimmed, vigor not diminished
d. Israel mourned for Moses 30 days until the mourning period ended (תמם)
e. Joshua blessed by Moses' greatness
    i. Received spirit of wisdom as a result of Moses' laying hands on him
    ii. Israel listened to Joshua and did according as YHWH commanded Moses
f. Never a prophet like Moses whom YHWH had known face to face
    i. Evidenced by all the signs and wonders performed in Egypt
    ii. Evidenced by his strong hand and awesome power performed before all Israel

Sections I and III emphasize Moses's old age and imminent death and describe Joshua's installation as Moses' successor. Section I describes two elements of the installation as described in Num 27:12-23, namely, that of presentation and commission.[2] Deuteronomy 31:7 describes Joshua's presentation by stating that Moses "summoned" Joshua and "spoke" to him "before the eyes of" all Israel. Deuteronomy 31:14 adds a second element of the presentation by stating that Moses was to present himself and Joshua at the Tent of Meeting before YHWH, where both Moses (Deut 31:7-8) and YHWH (Deut 31:23) gave Joshua words of commission. Section III describes the third element of Joshua's installation as described in Num 27:12-23, namely, that of the laying on of hands. Section II gives importance to Joshua by giving him credit, along with Moses, for having spoken the words of the song normally attributed only to Moses (Deut 32:44).

Section III is divided into three subsections, A, B, A'. While A and A' both address matters of Moses' death, their themes are dramatically different. Subsection A addresses the more negative elements of Moses' death, namely, the cause and consequence of his death. Subsection A' addresses Moses' death from a positive standpoint. Moses is referred to as the "servant of YHWH." No human buried Moses; YHWH personally buried him. Though he was 120 years old, subsection A' points out that his eyes had not dimmed nor his vigor diminished. Evidently, he did not die of old age. He was so important to the Israelite nation that they mourned for him thirty days. He had such an impact on Joshua that by laying his hands on him, Joshua received both the spirit of wisdom and the obedience of Israel. Finally, this subsection points out that never has there arisen a prophet like Moses whom YHWH knew face to face, as evidenced by all the signs and wonders he performed in Egypt and the

[2]See Mattingly for a thorough discussion of the parallels between the two passages ("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], 256-263).

strong hand with which he performed awesome power before Israel.

Deuteronomy 34:9 falls into the second section of chapter 34, which addresses the greatness of Moses. The unique elements of v. 9 are twofold: it introduces a person other than Moses and addresses the future beyond Moses' death by describing Joshua's installation as Israel's next leader through the laying on of Moses' hands. Deuteronomy 34:9 consists of two distinct sections, each with two subsections, as illustrated in the following outline:

A. Joshua, son of Nun
  a. Full of the spirit (רוּחַ) of wisdom (חָכְמָה)
  b. Because (כִּי) Moses laid hands on him
B. And the sons of Israel
  a'. Obeyed (וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ) him
  b'. Did (וַיַּעֲשׂוּ) as YHWH commanded Moses

This short verse contains a variety of parallelism. An external parallelism based upon result exists between sections A and B. Section A establishes the result of laying on of hands on Joshua: he received the spirit of wisdom. Section B establishes the result of the hand-laying gesture for the children of Israel: they obeyed YHWH by obeying Joshua. Simulataneously, a sequential parallelism is developed: section A establishes a fact to which section B responds. Israel's obedience of section B is a response to the hand-laying of section A.

Subsections a, a' and b, b' provide an internal parallelism within the verse. Subsections a and a' are more abstract, presenting spiritual principles. Subsection a establishes that Joshua was filled with the spirit of wisdom, and subsection a' establishes that Israel "listened" to or "obeyed" Joshua. Subsections b and b' portray actions that relate to their previously mentioned principles. Subsection b establishes that the spirit of wisdom was the result of an action—that of laying on of hands. Subsection b' establishes that Israel actually "did" something.

Two elements influence an understanding of laying on of hands in the experience of Joshua as related by Deut 34:9. First, Deut 34:9 describes the results of the hand-laying gesture on Joshua personally—he was filled with the spirit of wisdom. Second, Deut 34:9 also describes the results of the gesture on Joshua as it related to the Israelites in general—they obeyed him by doing as YHWH had commanded.

Results on Joshua

Filled

Joshua was filled (מָלֵא) with the spirit of wisdom. The basic meaning of מָלֵא is "to fill," "be full," or "to make full."[3] The form מָלֵא (fill) as it exists

[3]Richard Gary Fairman, "An Exegesis of 'Filling' Texts Which Refer to the Doctrine

in Deut 34:9 can be translated in one of three ways: as a verb, qal perfect 3d masculine singular (was filled) or a qal participle; as an attributive adjective (full or complete, modifying spirit of wisdom); or as a masculine noun (fullness, that which fills).[4] As a verb, מָלֵא can be translated as either "to fill" or "to be full (of)"[5] and can be used in the sense of "to fill up, complete."[6] An object can be filled by either that which is concrete or that which is immaterial. Immaterial items that can be used in the filling process include praise, blessing, glory, indignation, righteousness, laughter, or anguish.[7]

The first two options of the above three choices apply to Deut 34:9—either מָלֵא is a verb, as translated above, or an attributive adjective modifying "spirit of wisdom," translated as "Joshua, son of Nun, received the spirit of wisdom in its fullness."[8] Two arguments support translating מָלֵא in our verse as a verb. First, the structure of the verse indicates clearly the choice of verb. The verse is divided into two sections in which each section contains two verbs: the first contains two perfect verbs, and the second contains two imperfect verbs (plus the clause stating: "as YHWH

of Filling" (Th.D. dissertation, Grace Theological Seminary, 1986), 23-32. Fairman reviews the major lexicons and provides an excellent study of the meaning of מָלֵא; cf. my dissertation for a review of the OT expression "filling the hands" ("The Laying on of Hands on Joshua: An Exegetical Study of Numbers 27:12-23 and Deuteronomy 34:9," 121-123).

[4]Walter Kaiser, "מָלֵא," *TWOT* (1980), 1:505-506; Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 347; L. A. Snijders, *TDOT* (1996), 8:297-308; Heinz-Joseph Fabry, "מָלֵא *mālēʾ*," *TWAT* (1986), 4:876-886; idem, "מָלֵא *mālē*," *TDOT* (1996), 8:307-308.

[5]William Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 195.

[6]Snijders, 298, states: "Complete the week of this one [bride] (Gen 29:27), while in Babylon, Israel's time of service was fulfilled when its measure of suffering was complete (Isa 40:2), when the days of the Nazarite separation are filled (completed, Num 6:5, 13)."

[7]Ibid. Praise (Hab 3:3), blessing (Deut 33:23), glory (Num 14:21), indignation (Jer 15:17), righteousness (Isa 33:5), laughter (Job 8:21; Ps 126:2), and anguish (Isa 21:3).

[8]Wilhelm Julius Schröeder incorrectly interprets this clause ("Deuteronomy," in *A Commentary on the Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal and Homiletical*, vol. 3, trans. A. Gosman [New York: Scribner's, 1858], 238). Fairman, 126, agrees with Schröeder and argues that the "adjective is to be preferred because the verb is transitive, and this occurrence lacks a direct object." However, Fairman, 26, points out that מָלֵא can be either transitive or intransitive. Thomas Lambdin cautions that adjectives are often associated with stative verbs which are frequently identical in stem form to the 3ms of the perfect and thus easily confused (*Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* [New York: Scribner's, 1971], 94). However, Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor treat מָלֵא in Deut 34:9 not as an adjective, but as a stative, qal perfect verb, and translate, "Joshua . . . was filled with the spirit of wisdom" (*An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 366).

had commanded Moses"). Should מָלֵא not be a verb, the verse would be imbalanced. Second, the particle כִּי (because) forces the choice of a verb.

The book of Numbers, on one occasion, used the verb "fill" when referring to Joshua. Israel's older generation could not enter the Promised Land because they followed the advice of the ten faithless spies who did not "fully" or "completely follow" (מָלֵא אַחֲרֵי) YHWH. However, Caleb and Joshua were allowed to enter because they "completely followed" (מָלֵא אַחֲרֵי) YHWH.[9] Rendered literally, the Hebrew idiom reads that they "completely filled themselves after YHWH," giving the idea of total obedience and dedication.[10]

The act of filling, as indicated in Deut 34:9, is an act of placing something into Joshua, an act of completion. YHWH completely filled his servant who had faithfully and fully previously given his all.

Spirit of Wisdom

To understand the "spirit of wisdom" that filled Joshua, one must review the four other OT texts[11] that use the phrase as well as review the concept of wisdom as used in Deuteronomy. In a seminal study on "filling" texts, Richard Fairman noted three additional texts to the above-mentioned four which provide an important contribution to an understanding of that which filled Joshua.[12] A review of these texts reveals the following three points. First, YHWH is the one who fills. YHWH alone truly knows and understands wisdom, and it is he who dispenses it to his people.[13] His spirit is seen to be the means by which his people are filled with wisdom; hence the expression, "spirit of wisdom." Second, the people of YHWH were "wise of heart." Wisdom, placed in the heart by YHWH, draws one's attention to the law,

[9]Num 32:12. Jacob Milgrom translates the phrase as, "they remained loyal to the Lord" (*Numbers Bemidbar*, JPS Torah Commentary [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990], 269). Philip J. Budd translates it as, "they followed Yahweh wholeheartedly" (*Numbers*, vol. 5, *WBC* [Waco: Word, 1984], 335).

[10]Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 104. The phrase, מִלְּאוּ אַחֲרֵי יְהוָה is used four times in the Pentateuch: twice for Caleb (Num 14:24; Deut 1:36), once for Caleb and Joshua (Num 32:12), and once for the nation of Israel, which did not follow YHWH (Num 32:11).

[11]Three texts address the workers who built the tabernacle (Exod 28:3; 31:3; 35:31), and one addresses the shoot to arise from the stump of Jesse (Isa 11:2).

[12]Fairman, 103-145, refers to seven texts. Of the seven, four have already been mentioned because they refer specifically to the "spirit of wisdom" (Exod 28:3; 31:3; 35:31; Deut 34:9). The three additional texts include Exod 35:35 (Bezalel and Oholiab filled with the heart of wisdom), 1 Kgs 7:14 (Hiram filled with wisdom), and Mic 3:8 (Micah filled with power of the spirit of YHWH).

[13]See also 1 Kgs 5:9, 26; Job 11:6; 28:23; Pss 51:8; 90:12; Prov 2:6.

one's ears to be open to knowledge, and one's words to be well chosen.[14] One "wise of heart" possesses a broad intelligence that comprehends the surrounding world and provides a dimension of experience informed by acknowledgment of YHWH's righteousness and divinity. It was these kinds of persons, both male and female, who were filled with the spirit of wisdom to fashion the priestly vestments and construct the tabernacle.[15] Third, YHWH's gift of wisdom gave the practical ability to accomplish a task or the skill to lead, distinguish right from wrong, and render true justice.

An overview of the usage of wisdom in Deuteronomy yields four important observations.[16] First, wisdom played a role in the establishment of leadership. The book of Deuteronomy introduces its concern for leadership in 1:9-18, where YHWH instructed Moses to choose wise, discerning, and reputable men to aid in the governance of Israel. Second, wisdom in Deut 1:16-17 manifested itself in clear leadership responsibilities, such as listening without bias and judging without partiality or fear. Third, the book associates wisdom with obedience, particularly of YHWH's statutes and judgments (Deut 4:5-8). In keeping YHWH's law, Israel will show its wisdom and understanding to other nations (Deut 4:6). The nation's wisdom lies in an intelligence and discernment that is the fruit of obedience to the law. Fourth, the book of Deuteronomy also associates wisdom with the ability to recognize where a particular course of action will lead. Moses called his people (Deut 32:29) to be wise and understanding so that they could interpret events that YHWH would bring into their experience.

What did Joshua receive when he received the "spirit of wisdom"? Most importantly, the origin of the spirit that Joshua possessed came from outside himself—YHWH filled him. However, YHWH filled those who were already wise-hearted. Joshua had established a special ability in the congregation. As would occur in the future with Solomon, Joshua received a special gift of wisdom, giving him the various skills necessary to lead.[17] He needed wisdom to righteously judge all Israelites and aliens

[14]Placed by YHWH (Exod 35:35; Prov 2:6; 1 Kgs 10:24; 2 Chr 9:23); focused on law (Prov 2:2; 10:8); ears open to knowledge (Prov 18:15); and words well chosen (Prov 15:28; 16:21, 23; Job 33:3; Isa 32:4).

[15]Of the "wise of heart" texts mentioned above, Exod 35:25, 26 refers to women who wove the tapestry for the tabernacle.

[16]S. Dean McBride Jr., "Polity of the Covenant People: The Book of Deuteronomy," *Int* 41 (1987): 229-244. McBride suggests that the book of Deuteronomy concerns itself with the leadership of Israel in two of the above four ways: provision for setting up leadership and instructions about responsibilities of leadership. He suggests that Torah in the book of Deuteronomy is best understood as polity, by which Israel's life should be ordered and ruled.

[17]The phrase "spirit of judgment" (Isa 28:6) refers to the power being given to one who sits in judgment by which he is enabled to exercise his judicial functions. Similarly, the spirit

without partiality and fear. Because the book of Deuteronomy associates wisdom with obedience to YHWH's law, it can be assumed that the spirit of wisdom associated with Joshua also included a relationship to the law. As a leader, Joshua needed the ability to understand, interpret, and apply the law in the life of YHWH's people. Also he received special wisdom that enabled him to choose wisely where to lead YHWH's people. Wisdom is that quality given by YHWH which enabled Joshua to make good judgments, to understand the essence and purpose of things, and to find the right means for achieving the YHWH-given goals.

Because Moses Laid His Hands

Joshua was filled with the spirit of wisdom because (כִּי) Moses had laid his hands on him. Reception of the spirit of wisdom evidently depended upon hand-laying, which on the surface appears to contradict Num 27:18, where hand-laying was dependent on a previous possession of spirit. An attempt at reconciliation of this contradiction must take into consideration the particle כִּי.

Although the particle כִּי is one of the most frequently used words in the OT with a wide and varied range of meanings,[18] clear evidence supports interpreting it as causal in Deut 34:9. The evidence that supports this conclusion is at least fourfold: translations generally understand כִּי as

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of wisdom is a gift which enables the governing of people; cf. Norman Henry Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament* (London: Epworth Press, 1944), 149. Joshua received practical wisdom and common-sense administration skills. See also Samuel Rolles Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy*, ICC (New York: Scribners, 1902), 424; Joseph Reider, *Deuteronomy with Commentary* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1937), 345.

[18] כִּי has been used in the OT in at least ten different ways: causal (because), temporal (when, now), conditional (if), adversative (after a negative), concessive (though), asseverative (to assert strongly, a use originating in oaths), resultative (that), interrogative (who, introduces a question), nominalizing (introducing noun clauses), and recitative (introducing direct speech) (J. Muilenburg, "The Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of the Particle kî in the Old Testament," *HUCA* 32 [1961]: 135-160). כִּי occurs about 4,350 times; see also Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 72-73; W. Vogels, "The Spirit in Joshua and the Laying on of Hands by Moses," *Laval théologique et philosophique* 38 (1982): 3-7; T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985), 136-159; John N. Oswalt, "כִּי (*kî*) as though, as, because that, but, certainly, except, for, surely, since, that, then, when, etc." *TWOT* (1980), 1:437-438; Pinchas Doron, "Motive Clauses in the Laws of Deuteronomy: Their Forms, Functions, and Contents," *HAR* 2 (1978): 62-65; A. Schoors, "The Particle kî," in *Remembering All the Way... A Collection of Old Testament Studies Published on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Oudtestamentische Werkgezelschap in Nederland*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, Oudtestamentische Studien, no. 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 240-273; and Mitchell Dahood, "Interrogative kî in Psalm 90:11; Isaiah 36:19 and Hosea 13:9," *Biblica* 60 (1979): 573-574.

causal,[19] Masoretic accents indicate that the כִּי clause was to be included as an explanation of the previous clause, the structure of the verse supports placement of the Masoretic accents,[20] and most instances of כִּי following a main clause should be rendered as "because."[21] The particle indicates that Joshua was filled with the spirit of wisdom *because* Moses laid hands on him.

It should be no surprise that Moses' hands were perceived as having the capability of such accomplishment. The three verses following Deut 34:9 conclude the book by reminding the reader of the greatness of Moses with language that draws attention to the entire exodus experience. Moses' greatness included talking face to face with YHWH, performance of signs and wonders which YHWH sent him to do in Egypt, possession of a mighty hand (הַיָּד הַחֲזָקָה), and performance of awesome deeds in the sight of Israel. It should be noted, however, that the Pentateuch's intent is not to present Moses' hands as having magical power. YHWH is always presented as the real power.[22] Moses laid his hands upon Joshua when he set him apart for leadership, but it was YHWH who gave the gift through the hands of Moses.[23] Although it is the blessing of YHWH that made the difference in establishing Joshua as Israel's next leader, YHWH yet chose to pass that blessing through the hands of Moses.

What did the gesture accomplish for Joshua? Realizing that Deut 34:9 concludes a ceremony begun in Deut 31, the laying on of hands designated a rite of installation, an investiture of a new function, a method of induction into a position of authority.[24] Earl Kalland and

[19]NAB has "since"; JB, NASB, RSV, NEB, KJV, NKJV have "for"; NRSV, NIV have "because."

[20]The verse is composed of four well-balanced sections: Joshua, the son of Nun, was filled with the spirit of wisdom; because Moses had laid hands on him, so the Israelites listened to (obeyed) him, and did as YHWH commanded Moses. Also the verb in the first two sections is in the perfect, and the verb in the last two sections is in the imperfect.

[21]Schoors, 264-273. Muilenburg, 145, points out that the causal כִּי is particularly noteworthy for the role it plays in the many kinds of motivations of various literary forms; cf. Gen 3:5, 14; 1 Kgs 13:21; 21:29; 2 Sam 12:10; Isa 7:5; 15:1.

[22]YHWH told Moses that Pharaoh would not let him go unless a "mighty hand" compelled him. So, YHWH stated that he would stretch out his "hand" and strike the Egyptians with his wonders (Exod 3:19-20).

[23]In Deut 31:7, 8, Moses informed Joshua that YHWH would be the one who took Joshua into the Promised Land; in Deut 31:23, YHWH affirmed this promise directly to Joshua. In the Num 27:12-23 pericope, Moses asked YHWH to appoint a man and then did all that YHWH commanded him.

[24]Joseph Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'Eglise ancienne* (Paris: Gabalda, 1925), 163; Henry P. Smith, "The Laying-on of Hands," *The American Journal of Theology* 17 (1913): 59-60.

Matthew Henry refer to the installation of Joshua as an "ordination."[25]

Scholars have proposed at least two suggestions as to what was transferred by Moses' hand gesture during Joshua's installation ceremony. On the one hand, the "spirit of wisdom" is a reference to that part of Moses' honor which YHWH told him in Num 27:20 to pass on to Joshua. By the laying on of hands, Joshua became a participant of the authority and spirit of wisdom of Moses.[26] On the other hand, the "spirit of wisdom" refers to a special gift given by YHWH's Spirit. On at least one other OT occasion, reception of the Spirit of YHWH was connected to a physical act. David received a mighty outpouring of the Spirit on the day Samuel anointed him with a horn of oil.[27] This outpouring did not preclude the fact that David already had a measure of the Spirit. Rather from that day forward, David received extra evidence of YHWH's Spirit. In the case of Joshua, a man who already had spirit (Num 27:18) received an extra measure of the spirit of wisdom mediated by the physical contact of Moses' hands.[28] In the laying on of Moses' hands, Joshua received something more. That something more was what Moses had possessed during his leadership of Israel and which Israel was soon to lose due to Moses' imminent death—a gift to lead the whole nation into YHWH's desired action. Joshua had no need of this gift prior to Moses' death and his installation as the leader of the nation.

Result on Israel

As a result of the hand-laying experience in which the spirit of wisdom was mediated to Joshua, "all the sons of Israel obeyed" him. All that

[25]Earl S. Kalland, "Deuteronomy," vol. 3, *Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 324-325; Matthew Henry, *Matthew Henry's Commentary on the Whole Bible*, 6 vols. (Old Tappan, NJ: Revell, n.d.), 888.

[26]Paul Galtier, "Imposition des mains," Dictionaire de théologie catholique (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1927), 7:1304; W. D. Stacey, "Concerning the Ministry—Three Addresses to Ordinands," *ExpTim* 75 (1963-64): 265. Stacey states: "It seems certain that the transmission of personal virtue and vitality (of Moses) is implied." Smith, 59-60, emphasizes that the Spirit is not bound to any one physical act on the part of man. Hand-laying did not mediate the Spirit. Rather, it transferred a portion of Moses' honor or majesty.

[27]1 Sam 16:13.

[28]Allen Howard Podet, "Elements in the Development of Rabbinical Ordination in the Codes" (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, 1964), 42-46; Coppens, 163; A.R.S. Kennedy, *Deuteronomy and Joshua*, vol. 4, The New Century Bible (New York: Henry Frowde, n. d.), 246-247; Henry Wheeler Robinson, *Deuteronomy and Joshua*, NCB (New York: Oxford University Press, 1907), 246-247; Bernard M. Zlotowitz, "Semichah and Its Relation to Ishut," in *Rabbinic Authority: Papers Presented before the 91st Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis*, ed. Elliot Stevens (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1982), 90/2:67-68; John D. W. Watts, "Deuteronomy," *BBC* (Nashville: Broadman, 1970), 296.

YHWH had asked Moses to do to Joshua in Num 27:12-23 had as its intended result—the obedience of Israel directed toward Joshua. Deuteronomy 34:9 reports that Israel followed through with YHWH's instructions and submitted to Joshua. The children of Israel also did as YHWH had commanded Moses.

In listening to Joshua, Israel was listening to Moses, who had listened to YHWH. Thus in "listening" to and "obeying" Joshua, as well as "doing" all that YHWH had commanded through Moses, Israel was taking some of its first steps in covenant fulfillment. Reception of Moses' hand-laying gesture confirmed Joshua's role as leader of the covenant community. Only as Israel obeyed him could it maintain the integrity of its covenantal relationship with YHWH.

Comparing Numbers 27:12-23 and Deuteronomy 34:9

The book of Numbers indicates that Joshua was appointed from among the numbered who were to enter the Promised Land. It addresses Moses' specific concerns for the leadership of Israel, concerns of shepherding and leading the people out and back in. The book describes elements other than the laying on of hands that were part of the installation ceremony. Such elements included public presentation to the congregation and the high priest, the giving of a charge, and the giving of some of Moses' honor. Deuteronomy 31, which introduces the last major section that Deut 34 concludes, also describes two of the elements accompanying the laying on of hands mentioned in Numbers, namely, presentation and commission. The book of Numbers also specifies that in order for Joshua to discover YHWH's will for his leadership, he must ask Eleazar the high priest, who in turn was to seek YHWH's will through the Urim. The book of Deuteronomy states that Joshua received the "spirit of wisdom" through hand laying and adds a touch of closure by stating that Israel really did obey Joshua.

The two areas of apparent disagreement between the two passages can be harmonized. In the first disagreement, the book of Numbers appears to contradict itself by reporting that YHWH instructed Moses to lay his hand (singular) on Joshua, but in following YHWH's instruction Moses laid his hands (plural). A review of Moses' usage of hand or hands indicated that there was no significant difference in the symbolism of one or both hands. Most likely, in that hands (plural) are mentioned in both Deuteronomy and Numbers, the actual ceremony involved Moses' using both hands.[29] The second disagreement concerns the relationship between

[29]The command is more concerned with method than with numbers. It appears that the instruction is to use a particular part of the anatomy in the ordination service, namely, the hand. A review of hand usage in the OT confirms that Hebrew thought placed no significant

hand laying and the "spirit." The book of Numbers states that Joshua was to receive hand laying because he is a man in whom there is spirit, and the book of Deuteronomy states that he received the spirit of wisdom because of the hand gesture. The two passages really address two different issues: Numbers clarifies why Joshua is eligible for the position of leadership, while Deuteronomy clarifies what happened as a result of the hand-laying experience. Joshua's previous reception of the Spirit did not preclude the need of a new, outward sign. YHWH passed a special, new gift to Joshua as a result of Moses' laying hands on him, which was necessitated by the fact that Joshua received new responsibilities. The book of Deuteronomy clarifies that Joshua received an additional endowment of the "spirit."

Both passages emphasize YHWH's control—he is in command of the event. In Num 27:16, Moses requested that YHWH, "the God of the spirits of all flesh," direct in choosing Israel's next leader. Eight specific references to YHWH throughout the passage further indicate his control. The pericope concludes by pointing out, with two distinct statements in the short space of two verses, that Moses did as YHWH had commanded. Deuteronomy 34:9 follows in the same vein, also emphasizing that Israel did as YHWH had commanded Moses. Both passages emphasize the significant role of spirit.

Both passages emphasize that as a result of the hand-laying gesture all of Israel obeyed Joshua. Both passages treat the laying on of hands as of primary importance to the installation of Joshua. Both passages structurally indicate the importance of the laying on of hands: Numbers by placing the gesture first to emphasize its importance as both a title to the list and a conclusion, Deuteronomy by placing it last in the Deut 31 through 34 pericope as a summary statement to give meaning to the entire installation procedure. Hand laying provided a means for Moses to become physically involved in choosing Joshua, to physically manifest his faith in YHWH, to pass some of his honor to Joshua, and for YHWH to give the spirit of wisdom. Both passages treat the gesture as an important, visible expression of the word of YHWH with all of its attendant concepts of power and ability to effect what the gesture signified. YHWH blessed Joshua through the hands of Moses.

The Significance of the Laying On of Hands

Joshua's reception of the laying on of hands played a critical, necessary, and significant role in his installation to the office of Israel's leader. At

difference upon the usage of one or two hands. Vogels, 4-5, states that "the ritual of the laying on by one or two hands appears elsewhere and the difference of number does not seem to indicate a difference of meaning." He then refers to D. Daube, E. Ferguson, J. K. Parratt, and C. Chavasse for support.

least three types of transfer took place as a result of this procedure: Joshua received a portion of Moses' honor, an extra measure of God's Spirit in the form of the spirit of wisdom, and the obedience as well as loyalty of the Israelite congregation. Laying on of hands was the primary element which summarized and gave meaning to all the other actions that took place at the installation service. In other words, the laying on of hands gave meaning to the public presentation and became a physical conduit for passing two elements to Joshua: YHWH's commission and Moses' honor. The laying on of hands was a legal action which gave visible representation to YHWH's word. While Moses laid his own hands on Joshua, YHWH did the transferring.

It should not be surprising that hand laying played such a significant role because of the importance hand symbolism played in the ancient Near Eastern and biblical worlds. Inasmuch as hands symbolized power and possession throughout these worlds, YHWH was easily perceived as passing his power to Joshua through Moses' hands, and at the same time he was perceived as claiming Joshua as his possession through the instrument of Moses' hands. On other occasions, YHWH spoke "by the hand" of Moses. On the occasion of Joshua's installation, YHWH transferred his Spirit to Joshua "through the hand" of Moses.

Usage of the hand-laying gesture in Joshua's installation service indicated an ordination to a special work of ministry for his people. Joshua was to lead his people out and bring them back in by becoming their shepherd. Hand laying indicated that he was indeed YHWH's personal choice to be Israel's shepherd. As hand laying indicated an act of consecration in which the Levites were set apart from the rest of the congregation in order to be completely dedicated to cultic service, so the same hand-laying gesture indicated a consecration in which Joshua was set apart from all others in order to be dedicated completely to the ministry of leadership. While ordination to priesthood was indicated by "filling the hands," Joshua was filled with the spirit of wisdom at his ordination by the "laying on of hands."

The ceremony in which Joshua received the laying on of hands followed a simple procedure. Moses called all of Israel to meet at the door to the tabernacle. In full view of all, Moses formally presented Joshua. Presentation played an important role in the procedure. He then laid his hands upon the head of Joshua, which was followed by giving Joshua a commission that included words of encouragement, a description of Joshua's task, promise of divine assistance, and exhortations to preserve and keep the law. Joshua was then presented to the high priest as a reminder that he was to always work in conjunction with him, especially to discover YHWH's will for Joshua's leadership. The ceremony concluded with YHWH's appearing in the pillar

of cloud, wherein he confirmed the process by giving his own personal commission to Joshua that included words of encouragement, task description, and a promise to stay close to Joshua.

Laying hands on Joshua carried several symbolic meanings: identification, substitution, affirmation, confirmation, setting aside, conferral of office, and transfer. Hand-laying identified Joshua as YHWH's choice to become Israel's leader. The gesture also identified Moses with Joshua and Joshua with Moses, thus making Joshua the clear substitute of Moses by receiving his endorsement through personal touch. Thus by placing hands on Joshua, Moses affirmed him and indicated confidence in him as well as confirmed and ratified the spiritual gifts of leadership YHWH had already given him. Laying on of hands signified an official investiture wherein Joshua was dedicated to the office of leadership and indicated conferral of formal and public appointment to that office. It was the visible symbol of transferring the lifelong office and powers of leadership to Joshua. Because of the laying on of hands, the Spirit of YHWH was transferred to Joshua, enabling him to better function in his capacity as leader.

Did the laying on of hands establish a succession of leadership? Yes and no. Yes, Joshua succeeded Moses as a result of the laying-on-of-hands ceremony. However, Moses in no way established a dynasty or circumstances that could in any way be interpreted as "apostolic succession."[30] Moses' authority was rooted in his relationship with YHWH and not in his relationship or connection with any human being. Joshua's authority was rooted in YHWH's commands to Moses as well as to himself. Joshua's authority was founded in his connection to YHWH rather than in his connection to Moses. One does not read that Joshua in turn laid hands on anyone; but instead after his death, YHWH raised up judges to lead Israel.[31] What made the difference was YHWH's choice, whether it be of Joshua or later of the judges. However, it should be noted that YHWH chose to establish Joshua through the physical contact of Moses' hands with Joshua's head.

[30]Pirke Avoth states: "Moses received the Torah at Sinai and handed it down to Joshua; Joshua to the elders; the elders to the prophets; and the prophets handed it down to the men of the Great Assembly." Such a statement implies some sort of succession. However, the intent of the statement appears not to be concerned with leadership succession, but rather with outlining a historic chain of men who transmitted Jewish tradition. See, e.g., Irving M. Bunim, *Ethics from Sinai: An Eclectic, Wide-ranging Commentary on Pirke Avoth* (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1964), 1:28; R. Travers Herford, *The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers* (New York: Schocken, 1962), 20; Jacob Neusner, *Torah from Our Sages: Pirke Avot* (Chappaqua, NY: Rossel, 1984), 25; Isaac Unterman, *Pirke Aboth: Sayings of the Fathers* (New York: Twayne, 1964), 24-30.

[31]Judg 2:16.

Whereas the laying on of hands was rooted in a command from the Almighty, the gesture had at least two tangible results: Joshua's reception of the spirit of wisdom in leadership skills, and the congregation's receptivity of and obedience to his leadership. YHWH's gift of wisdom received through the laying on of hands had such a noticeable, tangible effect on Joshua that the writer of Deut 34:9 felt compelled to make note of it. The whole congregation observed Moses physically touch his successor. Moses did not just speak words; he also gave physical manifestation to graphically illustrate his point. Moses, by touching Joshua, marked him as the one to receive the above-mentioned symbolic meanings of hand-laying. The gesture of touch became the conduit by which YHWH chose to pass some of Moses' honor to Joshua.

The laying on of hands is thus central to the essence and purpose of ritual investiture as described in Num 27:12-23 and Deut 34:9. This essence and purpose permeate the procedural details, the symbolic meaning, and the tangible results of the hand gesture. While the other elements of the installation ritual were important, the laying on of hands was indeed the strong identifying mark that bound them all together.

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MADABA PLAINS PROJECT: TALL AL-'UMAYRI, 2000

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Introduction

An eighth season of excavation by the Madaba Plains Project occurred between June 19 and August 2, 2000, at Tall al-'Umayri, located about 10 km south of Amman's Seventh Circle on the Queen Alia Airport Highway at the turnoff for Amman National Park (Figure 1). It was sponsored by La Sierra University in consortium with Canadian University College and Walla Walla College and in affiliation with Andrews University.[1] This season, a team of forty Jordanians and sixty-seven foreigners, mostly from the United States, took part in the interdisciplinary project.[2]

[1]Previous reports in *AUSS* include Lawrence T. Geraty, "The Andrews University Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report on the First Season at Tell el-'Umeiri," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 85-110; Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report on the Second Season at Tell el-'Umeiri and Vicinity (June 18 to August 6, 1987)," *AUSS* 26 (1988): 217-252; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1989 Season, Including the Regional Survey and Excavations at El-Dreijat, Tell Jawa, and Tell el-'Umeiri (June 19 to August 8, 1989)," *AUSS* 28 (1990): 5-52; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1992 Season, Including the Regional Survey and Excavations at Tell Jalul and Tell El-'Umeiri (June 16 to July 31, 1992)," *AUSS* 31 (1993): 205-238; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, Øystein S. LaBianca, and Douglas R. Clark, "Preliminary Report of the 1994 Season of the Madaba Plains Project: Regional Survey, Tall al-'Umayri and Tall Jalul Excavations (June 15 to July 30, 1994)," *AUSS* 34 (1996): 65-92; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, Øystein S. LaBianca, and Douglas R. Clark, "Preliminary Report of the 1996 Season of the Madaba Plains Project: Regional Survey, Tall al-'Umayri and Tall Jalul Excavations," *AUSS* 35 (1997): 227-240; Larry G. Herr, Douglas R. Clark, Lawrence T. Geraty, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "Madaba Plains Project: Tall al-'Umayri, 1998, *AUSS* 38 (1998): 29-44.

[2]The authors of this report are especially indebted to Dr. Fawwaz el-Khraysheh, Director General of the Department of Antiquities; Ahmed esh-Shami and Rula Qusous, Department of Antiquities representatives; and other members of the Department of Antiquities, who facilitated our project at several junctures. The American Center of Oriental Research in Amman, directed by Pierre Bikai and assisted by Patricia Bikai, provided invaluable assistance. The staff was housed in Muqabalayn at the Amman Training College, an UNWRA vocational college for Palestinians. We give special thanks to its principal, Dr. Fakhri Tumalieh, for making our stay a genuine pleasure. The scientific goals

During the 2000 season we worked in five fields of excavation primarily at the western edge of the site (Fields A, B, and H), but also at the southern lip (Field L) and at the base of the southeastern slope (Field K) (Figure 2). Excavation centered on several periods of excavation. First, we traced the surfaces associated with the Early Bronze Age dolmen in Field K dated to about 3000 B.C. Second, we cleared two rooms of a major Late Bronze Age building in Field B from ca. 1400-1225 B.C. Third, we uncovered a house-shrine from our extensive Iron I city from about 1225-1000 B.C. in Fields A, B, and H. Fourth, we unearthed much more evidence for late Iron I at several locations on the site. Some of the evidence suggests a cult center near the southwest corner of the site in Field H. Fifth, we removed a portion of a late Iron II domestic pillared building from around 600 B.C. in Field B. And sixth, we exposed an isolated Hellenistic complex in Field L from the second century B.C. We will interpret the finds below field by field.

Field A: A House-Shrine from the Time of the Judges

JOHN I. LAWLOR
Grand Rapids Baptist Seminary

In Judg 17 a man named Micah and his mother melted down pieces of silver, made an image of YHWH, set it up in their house (or in an adjoining room) as a shrine, and hired a Levite to minister there. During the summer of 2000

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and procedures of the project were approved by the Committee on Archaeological Policy of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

The authors wish to thank each member of the staff. The field supervisor for Field A was John Lawlor of Concourse University; square supervisors included Ahmed ash-Shami, Heather McMurray, Jürg Eggler, and Joseph Rivers; assistant supervisors were Craig Curtis, Rob Holm, Ben Chambers, Fred Holcomb, Julie Kuehn, and Jonathan Elick. The cofield supervisors for Field B were Douglas R. Clark of Walla Walla College and Kent Bramlett of the University of Toronto; square supervisors included Carolyn Rivers, Matthew Jacobsen, Jonathan Ponder, and Jeff Younker; assistant supervisors were Adam Rich, William Frei, Kim Rolling, Leanne Rolling, Daniel Cotton, Janelle Worthington, and Dena Zook. The field supervisor for Field H was David R. Berge of Hebrew Union College; square supervisors included Don Mook, Dean Holloway, Niko Geneblaza, John Heinz, and Nicholas Jones; assistant supervisors were Shilpa Kurkjian, Nicole Igboji, Garrick Herr, Sally Holcomb, Patrick Rosa, Wayne Jacobsen, and Nathan Kemler. The field supervisor for Field K was Elzbieta Dubis of Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland; square supervisors included Marcin Bando, Pawel Lepiarz, Marzena Daszewska; assistant supervisors were Maja Bialkowska and Sebastian Kowalewski. The field supervisor for Field L was David C. Hopkins of Wesley Theological Seminary; square supervisors included Mary Boyd, Sarah Knoll, and Dick Dorsett; assistant supervisors were Kate Dorsett, Alexander Kreutzer, Paul Ritter, Megan Owens, Richard Manchur, Jason Schilling, Jason Tatlock, and Gina Rogers. Camp staff and specialists included Karen Borstad (objects), Joan Chase (physical anthropology and eco-lab), Nancy Igboji (cook), Denise Herr (pottery registrar), Warren Trenchard (computers and photography), Joris Peters, Angela von den Driesch, and Nadja Pöllath (paleozoology), Rhonda Root (artist), and Gloria London (ceramic technology). An affiliated survey was directed by Gary Christopherson, assisted by Tisha Entz and Margaret Dew.

our team may have excavated a house used similarly in Fields A and B (Figure 3). If so, it is the first such excavated domestic dwelling known to us with a shrine as an integral part of it.

In earlier seasons the northern half of a well-preserved building was found in Field B, called Building A (Figures 4-5). It dated to the time of the Judges (the Iron Age I, about 1200 B.C.). This season we excavated the remaining portions of the building in Field A. The first room at the front of the building (Room 1) seems to have functioned domestically. A ring of stones defined a small hearth in the middle; two small bins were laid against the south wall, while another one was located next to a pillar base along the north wall. A lower millstone (quern) lay on the floor near the hearth. Hundreds of broken pieces of pottery, including small jars and jugs, were strewn about the floor south of the hearth. All these finds suggest domestic activities in the house.

Domestic finds were also made in Room 3 (the westernmost room), where about seven large jars leaned against the north wall. These types of jars, called "collared pithoi" due to the distinctive raised molding at the base of the neck, are typical of highland village sites. A platform in the southwest corner may have held a ladder for access to the second story.

Although situated between signs of domestic use in Rooms 1 and 3, Rooms 2 and 4 produced finds that suggest cultic activities. Although we need to emphasize that cultic interpretations must be tentative, most archaeologists would have little hesitation in describing our finds as religiously significant. Room 2 was paved with flagstones and sheltered a smooth, rectangular standing stone set upright against its west wall. The stone showed no tool marks that could have given it its present shape.[3] Natural deposits of calcium smoothed its exterior. Such standing stones are almost universally regarded as symbols of a deity.[4] Directly in front of the standing stone, but lying down, was a similar but thicker natural stone covered with a similar calcareous deposit. It may have been used as an altar associated with the standing stone.

Room 4, jutting to the south like a small alcove, contained eight mysteriously arranged stones that were similar to, but smaller than, the two stones in Room 2. Seven uncut but smooth stones lay side by side along the south wall of the alcove, while another leaned upright against the wall. Although these stones are not as well shaped as the standing stone in Room 2, they are nevertheless similar to standing stones found

[3]R. W. Younker, L. G. Herr, L. T. Geraty, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1992 Season," 205-238.

[4]Compare the two standing stones and two incense altars in the most holy niche at the Arad temple to YHWH. M. Aharoni, "Arad: The Israelite Citadels," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 84.

in cultic situations elsewhere.[5] Why seven of the stones were lying down is uncertain. The row of stones separating them from the surface to the north must be removed to see whether the stones were intended to be lying down or had originally been upright. Likewise, we cannot profitably speculate on why there were eight stones (seven plus one). The stones were found at the end of the season and could not be as fully defined as we would have liked.

More broken pottery was found on the surface east of Room 1. Although no walls have yet been found in this location, the presence of three pillar bases suggests it may be another room and not the exterior of the building.

Field A was also noteworthy for finding three other phases of Iron I construction, but they consisted mostly of wall fragments and small patches of surfaces. More excavation will have to be done in the southern parts of this field before we can interpret the finds with confidence.

Field B: The Late Bronze Age Public Building and Later Structures

DOUGLAS R. CLARK AND KENT V. BRAMLETT
Walla Walla College and the University of Toronto

Although one of the aims of Siegfried Horn's initial excavations at Hisban (biblical Heshbon) had been to discover the Amorite city of Sihon mentioned in Num 21, Late Bronze Age deposits (ca. 1550-1200 B.C.) eluded the excavators. Remains from the period are rare everywhere in Jordan, especially the central and southern parts of the country. Imagine our surprise when, in 1998, we began to excavate two rooms of a building that contained nothing later than LB pottery (Figures 6-7).

This season the floors of the building were finally reached, but only after we had carefully dug through 3.5 m (about 12 feet) of debris below the top of the highest wall. This makes it the best-preserved LB building anywhere in the southern Holy Land. Moreover, the walls, at least 1 meter thick and constructed of nicely hewn stones (some in the rough shape of bricks), reflect a more important function for the building than mere domestic use. The floors of the two rooms were made of beaten earth with a step up to Room 2 (the western one) from Room 1. Unfortunately, no finds, except a bone lying on the surface of Room 2, emerged to help us determine a function for the building or the rooms. However, a doorway in the north wall of Room 1 probably leads into another part of the building, so future seasons may be able to find more clues. The destruction debris which filled the rooms was

[5]Although later in time and somewhat smaller, the row of standing stones in the Iron II gate at Dan comes to mind. A. Biran, *Biblical Dan* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, 1994), 204.

only partially burned, but included clays and silts from the ceiling and roof, as well as masses of decayed bricks and hollow spaces, perhaps from wooden beams which have since rotted away. The massive amount of destruction debris implies at least one more story of bricks above the presently preserved stone structure.

Finds were rare in the destruction debris too, but a Mycenean pottery sherd dates the destruction to the Late Bronze Age. The rest of the pottery suggests a date in the fourteenth and early thirteen centuries B.C. The inhabitants seem to have reused the fortifications built at the end of the Middle Bronze Age (sixteenth century B.C.). Indeed, the inhabitants may have been the same group of people. If so, they may be identified with the Canaanites or Amorites whom the Bible identifies as the inhabitants of the land prior to Israel's arrival. However, to connect the remains at 'Umayri with Sihon of Heshbon is not proper until much more evidence is at hand.

Elsewhere in Field B, a series of surfaces was found outside Building B, the four-room house (Figures 8-9). They may have belonged to a roadway or open space outside the houses in the area. Refinements to the Iron I phasing were also accomplished, showing that in its original phase Building B had no south wall for its courtyard (Figure 10, minus the stone wall at left). There was thus a broad entrance to the house from the south. Later, the south wall was constructed, enclosing the courtyard but retaining an entrance at the southeast corner (Figure 10). This entrance probably led to a large refuse pit that contained over 15,000 bones, mostly from the edible portions of various types of animals. However, the pit also contained two lion bones and one example from an Asian brown bear, a relative of the North American grizzly bear and the only species of bear known from the Holy Land in antiquity. The presence of pig bones, representing about 4 percent of the total, is of interest given biblical and other prohibitions concerning pigs.

The last of the late Iron II building fragments from about 600 B.C. was removed this season. It consisted of a row of three segmented columns with crude stone walls, or "quoins," between. In a previous season a large holemouth pithos had been removed from the eastern room of this building. This season, a second pithos, completely preserved (Figure 11), was found buried deep in the ground, with the floor of the house running up to its very top. Unfortunately, nothing was found inside the vessel except the bones of a small rodent unable to get back out once it had fallen in. Indeed, because the mouth had been covered with a large pottery sherd, the vessel was found completely empty with no earth inside. Iron I strata are now exposed in this area.

Technical construction workers helped us reconstruct part of Building B for the benefit of visitors. They did so with low maintenance, yet reasonably authentic, materials. Thick wooden posts were erected to support thick wooden beams constructed horizontally as rafters to hold up the ground-floor ceiling (also the floor of the second story). Thin wooden poles were laid over the rafters in the western part of the building and tightly secured atop the beams, then soaked in a sealant to protect them from rot. The eastern part of the house remains open, with only the posts and rafters visible. Canes from the Jordan Valley were coated with sealant and lashed to the wood below. A layer of cement about 15 cm thick (6 inches) was poured on top. The cement was colored and textured with soil from the surrounding fields to give it the look of hard mud. "Mud bricks" made of cement mixed with soil were fabricated in metal forms and placed above the walls as they would have been in antiquity. Only five courses of bricks were laid. The purpose of the reconstruction is to give visitors an idea of what the house would have looked like. A portion of the perimeter wall, against which the house had been built, was also reconstructed with stone to provide a sense of how people lived in an early Iron I town. Standing on top of the house and looking down at the fortification system, including the rampart and moat, gives one a feeling for the strength of ancient fortification systems. Workers also cleared out the moat at the bottom of the fortification system. The result is a dramatic view of the site from the west. 'Umayri is rapidly becoming an interesting site for tourists to visit.

Field H: Late Iron I Floors and Iron II Structures

DAVID BERGE
Hebrew Union College

Field H is located at the southwestern corner of the site and was originally laid out to unearth the southern part of the large Ammonite administrative complex from the end of the Iron II period. This was largely accomplished in previous seasons. Although most of the research questions for the summer of 2000 comprised the testing of small areas, making many of the finds fragmentary, there were three features which were of more general interest.

A short segment of a very thick wall, ca. 2.5 m wide and dating to the early Iron I period (ca. 1200 B.C.), was found at the western edge of the site (Figure 12). It ran parallel to the early Iron I perimeter wall known from Fields A and B farther north after it had curved into the town (Figure 3). It is possible, therefore, that the two walls form an opening or gate complex. We cannot be certain of this suggestion, but future excavation should be able to

confirm or disconfirm it. Only a few gates from this time period have been found in the Holy Land.

Earlier we had found the largest room of the administrative structure and traced a splendid plaster surface throughout the room. This season, when we began to excavate beneath the surface, we noticed that the plaster did not seal against the walls of the room, but instead was cut by foundation trenches for the walls. This meant that the plaster floor was earlier than the administrative complex. Several layered surfaces were found in the room, all cut by the later walls. The earliest (lowest) surface we encountered was made of tightly packed cobblestones. It may have been part of a major building for which only one wall has been found. But we have cleared only a small portion of the pavement, ca. 2.5 x 4 m in size. The pottery suggests that it belonged to the late eleventh to tenth centuries B.C. The subsequent surfaces probably belonged to the same building as it was altered through time.

The surface above the cobbles, also dating to the late eleventh to tenth centuries, contained an extensive layer of smashed pottery, including jars and smaller vessels. Mixed in with the pottery were fragments from a cultic stand (Figure 13). Not enough of the vessel has been found so far to suggest how it looked in its entirety, but it may have been a ceramic shrine model that supported an incense burner. Flanking one of the openings and facing each other were two tall human figurines, one with what appears to be a male head, and both having bodies with a single breast, the outer one as they would have faced each other in the stand. Not enough research has been performed as yet to comment on these apparent hermaphroditic forms. Nearby, in 1998, we found fragments from one or more life-sized human statues, including an eye, an ear, a chin, a shoulder, parts of arms. Although from a later phase, the objects were in an obvious secondary deposit—that is, none of the pieces could be found to fit together. They could have originally come from the same deposit as the cultic stand or from another cultic deposit. Indeed, the shoulder piece had an opening much like the opening flanked by the figures from this year. Although other more mundane artifacts were found on the same surface, the cult stand would seem to suggest a religious function for this area of the site.

Into the early Iron I wall described above, the inhabitants of the late Iron II and early Persian settlement (ca. 550 B.C.) dug out a small storeroom ca. 1.5 x 2 m in size. When they encountered the wall, they carefully pulled out the boulders to form their chamber (Figure 12). One of the boulders proved too large and too deep to remove. It was chiseled out to form the southwest corner of the chamber. Fragments of jars found in the bottom of the room suggest its function as a storeroom.

Field K: The Early Bronze Age Dolmen

ELZBIETA DUBIS
Uniwersytet Jagiellonski, Krakow, Poland

A dolmen was uncovered in the 1994 season with twenty burials and copious objects inside, including complete pottery vessels and jewelry from EB IB (ca. 3000 B.C.).[6] This year it continued to produce interesting results. Dolmens, structures made out of very large stones (Figure 14), are found throughout the Mediterranean basin, but none has produced any significant finds. Thus, although thousands were known when ours was discovered, it went a long way toward explaining the mysteries of their function and date. Even though our dolmen lacks the typical capstone of most structures, it was preserved with the burials intact because it was built on a slope and had been buried in debris washed down from the settlement above. During the 1996 and 1998 seasons the dolmen also produced multiple exterior plastered and semiplastered or pebbled surfaces which dated to the same period. This is the first time in the entire Mediterranean basin that patterns of use have been associated with the exterior of a dolmen. We counted seven layered surfaces.

This season four squares were laid out surrounding the dolmen, to trace the extent of the exterior surfaces and to see if they could be associated with other structures or features. Work in 1998 had traced the primary surfaces at least 8 m away and had discovered a cobble hearth, a stone table or platform, and the bottom part of a large EB storage jar embedded in one of the surfaces.

Generally the farther we proceeded from the dolmen the weaker the surfaces became, and we found no evidence for associated structures. The surfaces gradually disappeared. In the two squares to the east of the dolmen we discovered very well-made plaster floors. The surfaces also incorporated bedrock, as we had discovered in previous seasons. For the first time, we examined the area immediately south of the dolmen and found a flat area of bedrock, apparently used as a surface, because the sharp areas of the bedrock had been worn somewhat smooth. One square to the northwest, about 12-16 m away, produced the weak remnant only of one surface, and that one soon disappeared. Apparently the ceremonial activities associated with the dolmen were performed completely outside and relatively close to the structure.

It is tempting to tentatively suggest that the dolmen we found in Field K, and perhaps all dolmens, could be part of the social system of the people whom even the Bible refers to as ancient, the *repha'im* and *nephilim*. The former is a term meaning "the healthy ones" and seems to be used by a few Ugaritic texts to refer to dead people.[7] The latter, "the fallen ones," refers to

[6]Herr et al. 1996:75-76.

[7]W. T. Pitard, "The *Rpum* Texts," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, ed. W.G.E. Watson and

the people of the distant past. The biblical usage for both terms seems to suggest people of renown who lived (and died) long before Israel arrived in Canaan, the "heroic age," so to speak. Because the dolmen seems to reflect the celebration of important people in the Early Bronze Age, when the largest cities and towns were built throughout ancient Palestine and long before the arrival of Israel in Canaan, it is possible the dolmens may have reminded Israel of these legendary people.

Field L: The Southern Edge

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Wesley Theological Seminary

One of our goals from the beginning of excavation at 'Umayri in 1984 was to examine a shallow topographic depression near the center of the southern edge of the site (Figure 2). On either side of the dip the wall lines of the apparent fortifications are clearly visible with large boulders to the west and a wide line of smaller stones to the east. Ground-penetrating radar produced anomalies that seemed to suggest the presence of a casemate wall to the west of the dip. We began excavations here in 1998 with three squares and discovered remains of a Hellenistic structure on top of the late Iron II/Persian buildings and surfaces. This season we opened two new squares and deepened one begun in 1998 in hopes of delineating the Hellenistic structure more fully. Excavated Hellenistic structures are relatively rare in Jordan.

The most extensive Iron I remains emerged 5 m downslope (south) and parallel to the lip of the site. Builders erected a narrow (.63-.73 m) two-row wall preserved to a height of 1.15 m. The stones were very neatly laid in a "tight" masonry style. Artifact-poor fill behind the wall contained nothing later than late Iron I ceramics. The absence of living surfaces associated with the wall suggests that it functioned as a terrace.

Several walls from the late Iron II/Persian period were in line with walls of the same date found in 1998. They were also reused when the builders of the Hellenistic period constructed their buildings. These walls were not excavated this season.

The Hellenistic structure was our primary goal this season and we succeeded in exposing a large room or courtyard measuring about 5 m wide by at least 12 m long (the northern wall has not yet been found). Two surfaces were used with the room, one on top of the other. The lower floor produced many ceramic objects, including several hand-made juglets (Figure 15). The upper surface seems to have converted the western wall of the room into a support wall for a portico facing west, because around one of the pillar bases

N. Wyatt, Handbuch der Orientalistic, Abteilung 1: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, Band 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 259-269.

were found four Hellenistic lamps (Figure 16). Other features, such as possible bins, existed to the east of the room, but more needs to be excavated before they are understood clearly. This building seems to have been part of an isolated farmstead whose inhabitants cultivated the area. Elsewhere in our region, especially at Hisban, the ruling group seems to have been the Hasmonean dynasty in Jerusalem.[8] Future seasons will see further clearing of the building.

[8] W. K. Vyhmeister, "The History of Heshbon from the Literary Sources," in *Hesban 3: Historical Foundations: Studies of Literary References to Hesban and Vicinity*, ed. L. T. Geraty and L. G. Running (Berrien Springs: Andrews University/Institute of Archaeology, 1989), 1-24.

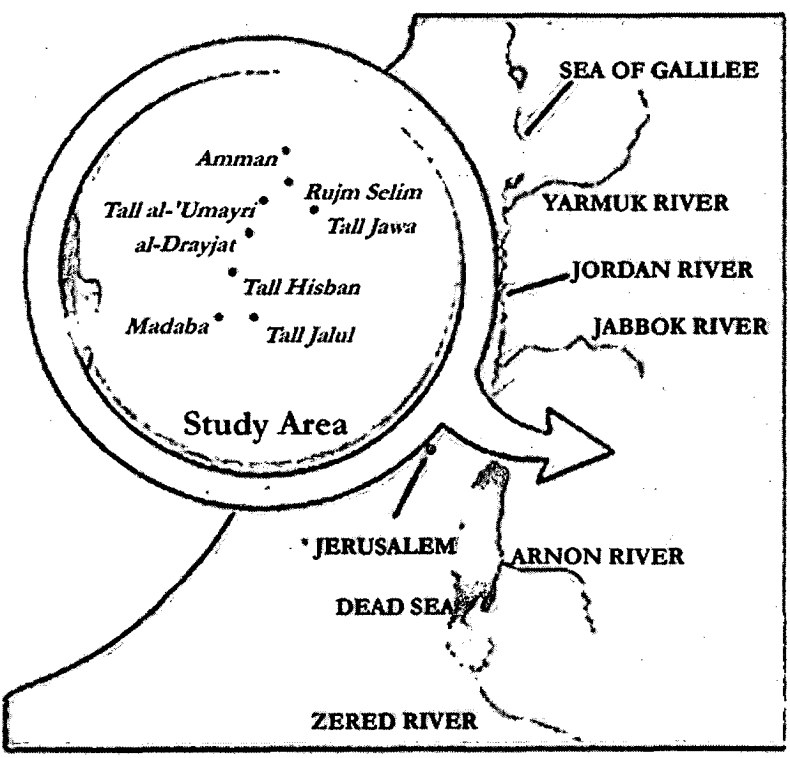

Figure 1. Madaba Plains Project region including Tall al-'Umayri.

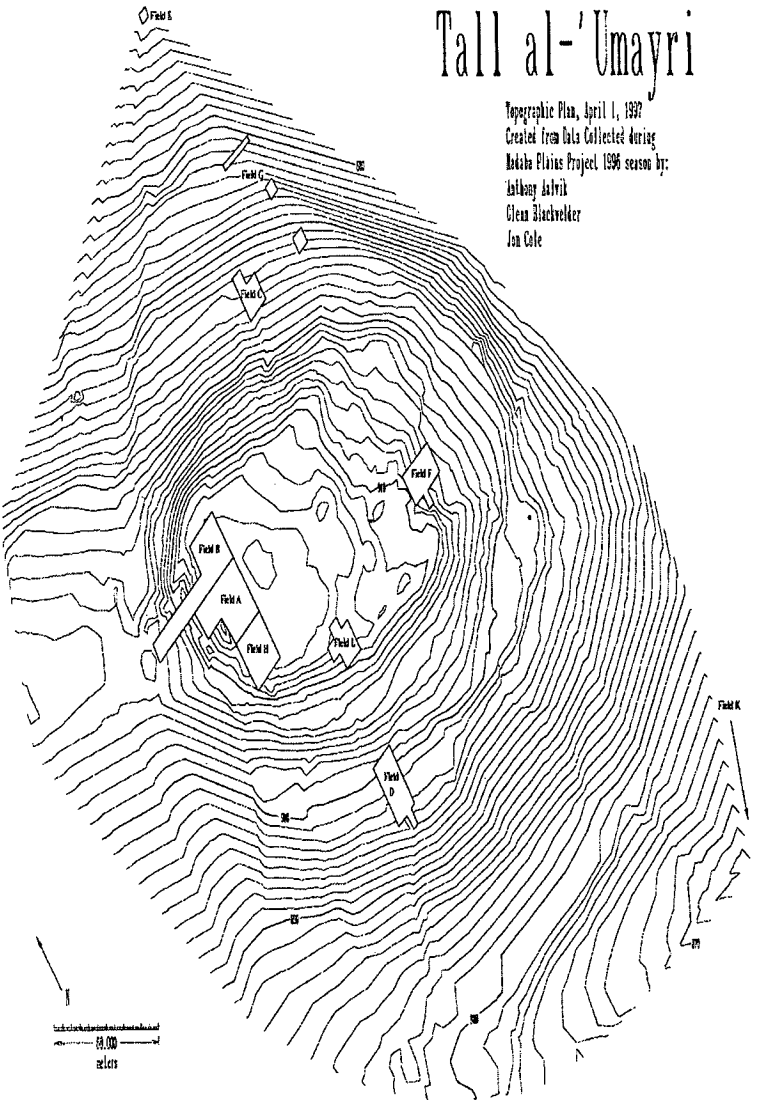

Figure 2. Tall al-'Umayri: Topographic map with fields of excavation through the 2000 season.

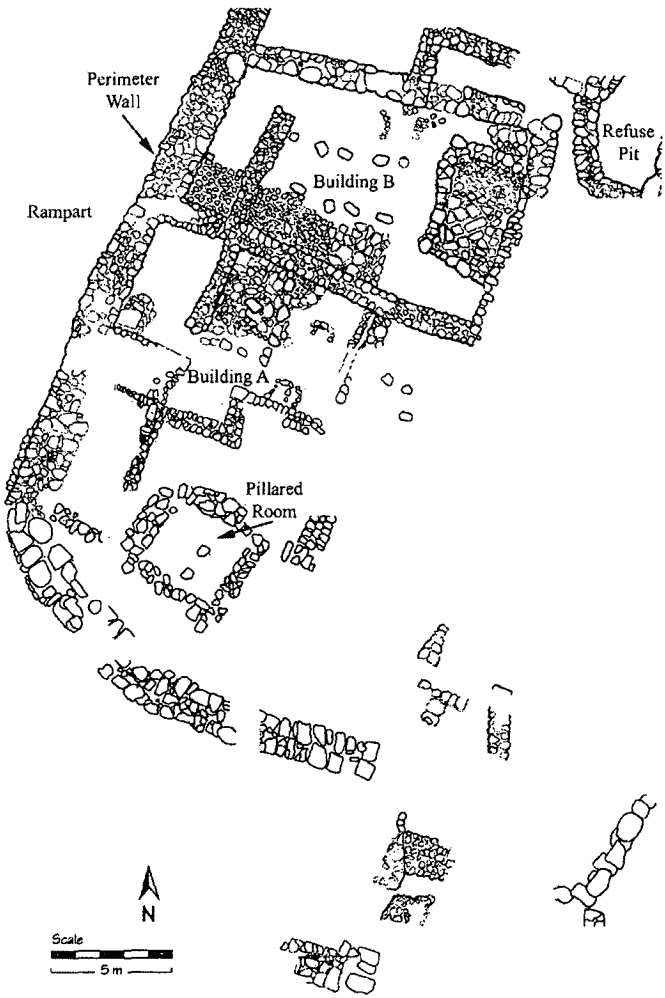

Figure 3. Tall al-'Umayri: Overall plan of the late LB to Iron I remains in Fields A, B, and H. Most of the architecture is from the earliest phase (LB/Iron I) but the Pillared Room and the wall fragments to the west of it are later in Iron I.

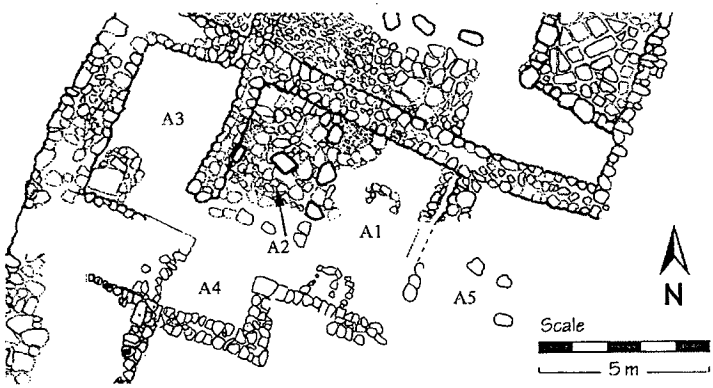

Figure 4. Tall al-'Umayri: Plan of Building A from the LB/Iron I period located in Fields A and B. The perimeter is at far left.

Figure 5. Tall al-'Umayri: Photo of Building A from the south.

Figure 6. Tall al-'Umayri: The two rooms of the LB building in Field B viewed from the north.

Figure 7. Tall al-'Umayri: Looking from the western room of the LB building in Field B through the door, illustrating the excellent masonry and preservation of the walls. The upper courses were consolidated with cement in 1998 to protect the walls from destruction.

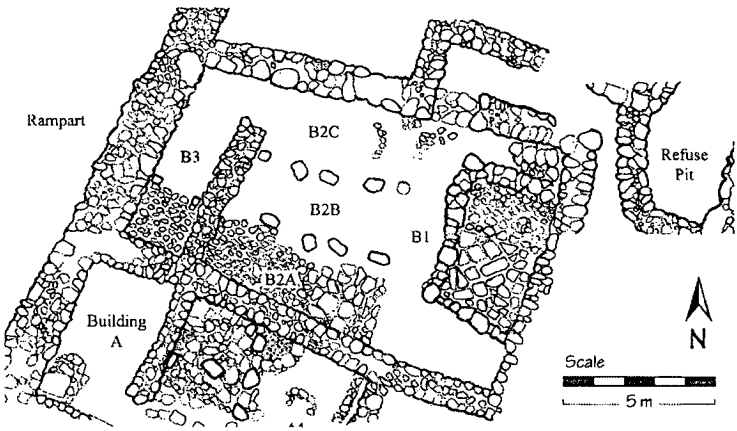

Figure 8. Tall al-'Umayri: Plan of the LB/Iron I four-room house in Field B.

Figure 9. Tall al-'Umayri: LB/Iron I four-room house in Field B, looking west. The broad room is barely visible at the back.

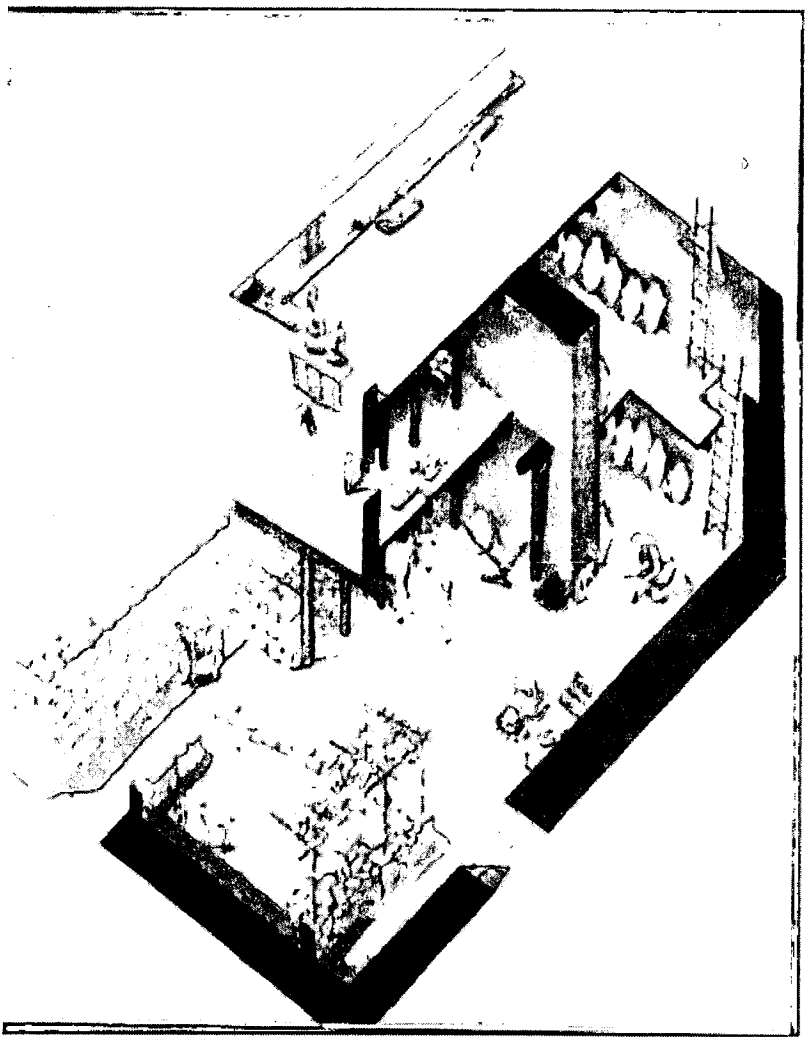

Figure 10. Tall al-'Umayri: Artist's reconstruction of the four-room house in Field B based on the finds made on the floors and in the destruction debris (Rhonda Root, artist).

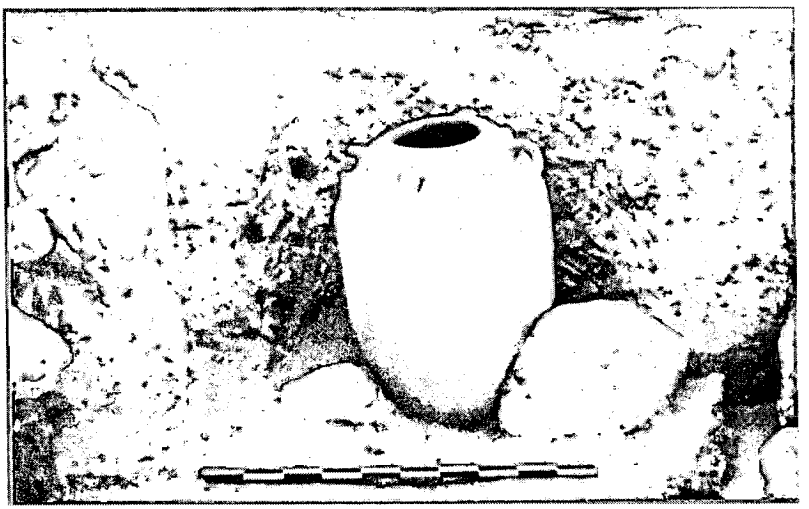

Figure 11. Tall al-'Umayri: Late Iron II holemouth pithos sunk into earlier earth layers, including the foundation pit surrounding the vessel. The original surface (at left) ran up to the mouth.

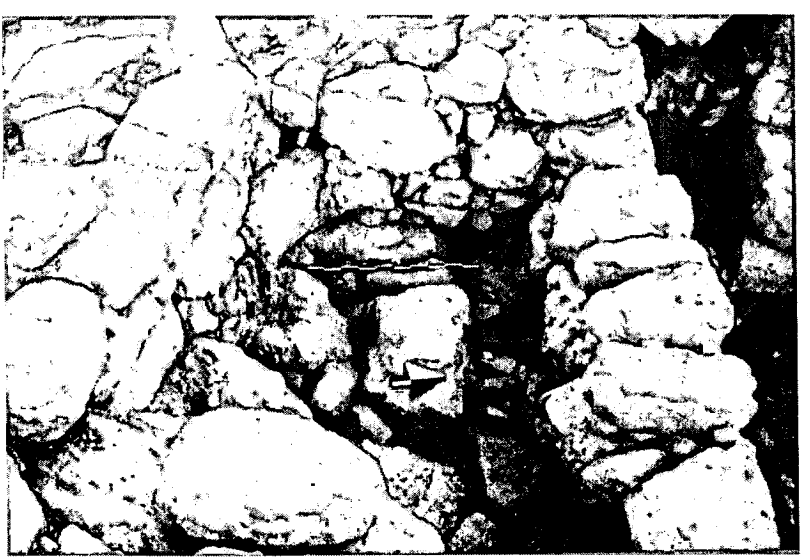

Figure 12. Tall al-'Umayri: Thick early Iron I wall (left and under the meter stick) in Field H that paralleled the perimeter wall after it had turned east (see Figure 3). A small storage chamber was carved out of the wall and a new northern face was built on to the right of the meter stick.

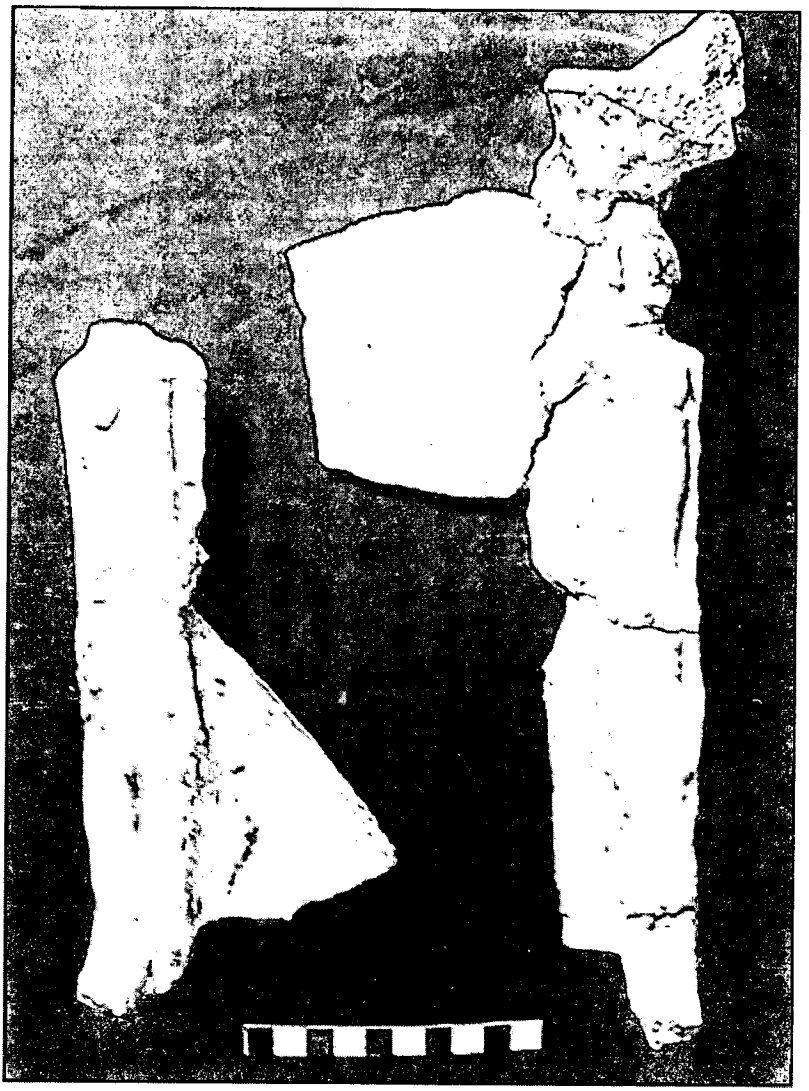

Figure 13. Tall al-'Umayri: Some of the fragments from a ceramic cult stand found on a late Iron I floor in Field H. The figures originally faced each other across an opening.

Figure 14. Tall al-'Umayri: The dolmen and surrounding surfaces in Field K. Note the very fine plaster surface in the center.

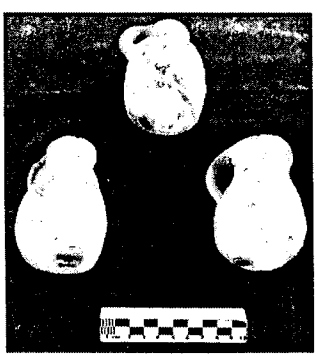

Figure 15. Tall al'Umayri: Three complete, handmade Hellenistic juglets from Field L. Several other more fragmentary examples were found.

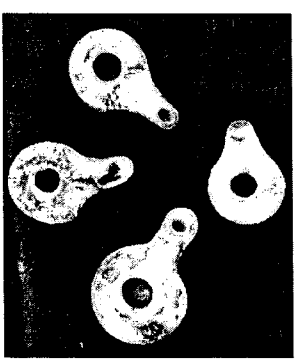

Figure 16. Tall al-'Umayri: Four Hellenistic lamps from Field L.

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IN SEARCH OF THE "CITY WHICH IS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE VALLEY"

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In connection with the description of Transjordanian territory in the area of the Arnon river (modern *Wadi al-Mujib*), an unnamed city is mentioned several times in the Bible (Deut 2:36; Josh 13:9, 16; 2 Sam 24:5). This location is described as the "city which is in the middle of the valley." Each time, this city is associated with Aroer, which lies on the northern bank of the deep Arnon gorge. While ancient Aroer has been identified with *Arair*, 3 km southeast of Dhiban and 4 km east of the Madaba-Kerak highway,[1] the identification of the "city which is in the middle of the valley" remains uncertain.

The close association of the unnamed city with Aroer has led to the conclusion that it must be a "suburb" that was situated near ancient Aroer in the middle of the Arnon valley or somewhere near the river. It might have protected the water supply of Aroer.[2] Several sites in the vicinity of *Wadi al-Mujib* have been suggested. Martin Noth proposed *Khirbet al-Chuschra*, west of Aroer, 2 km east of the mouth of the Arnon.[3] East of Aroer, at the juncture of *Wadi es-Saliyeh* and *Wadi es-Sa'ideh*, lies *Khirbet al-Medeineh*, one of five *Medeinehs* in the wider vicinity of *Wadi al-Mujib*.[4] Already A. Musil, followed by F.-M. Abel, suggested that this site should be identified with the anonymous city.[5] Another *Khirbet al-Medeineh*, the

[1]E. Olávarri, "Sondages à 'Arô'er sur l'Arnon." *RB* 72 (1965): 77-94; idem, "Fouilles à 'Arô'er sur l'Arnon." *RB* 76 (1969): 230-259; idem, "Aroer (in Moab)," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta), 1: 92-93.

[2]Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 117; Zecharia Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible: The Tribal Territories of Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 260-261, n. 338; Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, JPS Commentary Series (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 418.

[3]Martin Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, vol. 7, Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1971), 79.

[4]See J. Maxwell Miller, "Six Khirbet el-Medeinehs in the Region East of the Dead Sea." *BASOR* 276 (1989): 25-28. The sixth *Medeineh* is located in the area of *Wadi al-Hesa*.

[5]A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 1, Moab: Topographischer Reisebericht (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1907), 329-330, 332-333, n. 1; F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris: Gabalda, 1967), 2:351.

one furthest to the west on the northern edge of the Kerak plateau, west of the "Kings' Highway" and overlooking a tributary of *Wadi al-Mujib*, has been investigated and proposed by U. Worschech in connection with his survey of the northwestern *Ard al-Kerak*.[6] K. A. Kitchen and R. S. Hess, for instance, considered yet another *Medeineh* on *Wadi en-Nukheila/ Wadi el-Lejjun*.[7]

More recently, J. M. Miller, followed by J. A. Dearman and U. Worschech, have suggested identification of Ar/*Khirbet al-Balu'* with the "city which is in the middle of the valley."[8] The prominent site of *Khirbet al-Balu'*, with its extensive Iron Age ruins, is situated at the other end of the ancient *Wadi al-Mujib* crossing that began at Aroer, climbing down the northern bank of the wadi, following the canyon bed eastward into the southern arm of *Wadi al-Mujib* (*Wadi en-Nukheila*) to the *Wadi esh-Shkefeyat* junction, and then following this wadi upward to *Wadi al-Balu'* and *Khirbet al-Balu'*.[9] Proponents of this theory stress that difficulties in regard to a possible identification "would be lessened considerably if the river in question included not only the main branch of the *Wadi al-Mujib* but its main southern tributaries, the *Wadi al-Balu'a* and *Wadi el-Lejjun*."[10] Since *Khirbet al-Balu'* is situated on a plateau that is surrounded by two tributaries of the Arnon River, one could conclude that *Khirbet al-Balu'* is a city *in the middle* of the Arnon River.

In spite of the various possibilities, there has been no definitive solution to the problem of identifying the "city in the middle of the river." *Khirbet al-Chuschra* and all of the *Khirbet al-Medeinehs* are too far away from Aroer in order to be closely associated with it as the biblical text suggests. It is true that *Khirbet al-Balu'* marks the other end of the Arnon crossing between Aroer and the central Moabite plateau, and thus can be associated with Aroer. However, to define the location of *Khirbet*

[6]U. Worschech, U. Rosenthal, and F. Zayadine, "The Fourth Survey Season in the North-West Ard el-Kerak, and Soundings at Balu, 1986," *ADAJ* 30 (1986): 285-287, 290.

[7]This site is also called *Khirbet el-Medeineh* (north) to distinguish it from *Khirbet el-Medeineh* (south), which lies about 5 km south of it. E. Olávarri proposed the name *Khirbet Medeinet el-Mu'arradjeh* for this site. See further E. Olávarri, "Sondeo arqueológico en Khirbet Medeineh junto a Smakieh (Jordania)," *ADAJ* 22 (1977-78): 136-49; idem, "La campagne de fouilles 1982 à Khirbet Medeinet al-Mu'arradjeh pres de Smakieh (Kerak)," *ADAJ* 27: 165-178.

[8]J. Maxwell Miller, "The Israelite Journey Through (Around) Moab and Moabite Toponymy," *JBL* 108 (1989): 595; J. Andrew Dearman, "Levitical Cities of Reuben and Moabite Toponymy," *BASOR* 276 (1989): 58; U. Worschech, "Ar Moab," *ZAW* 109 (1997): 252.

[9]For a discussion on this route, see U. Worschech, *Die Beziehungen Moabs zu Israel und Ägypten in der Eisenzeit*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 18 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 112-117.

[10]Dearman, 58.

al-Balu' as *in the middle of the river* seems a bit contrived.

I propose another site (see Figure 1) that is in close association with Aroer and is situated *right in the middle* of the Arnon River. While on a study tour to the central Moabite plateau with students from the Theologische Hochschule Friedensau in the summer of 2000, my students and I visited *Khirbet al- Balu'* and *Wadi al-Mujib*. Driving through the ancient Arnon River, we left the main road just south of the bridge and followed a little street eastward. We wanted to see the point where *Wadi esh-Shkefeyat* empties into the southern branch of the Arnon, *Wadi en-Nukheila*. Reaching this juncture, we climbed up a little hill to get an overview. Not far above the wadi floor we reached a shoulder that stretches from east to west and has the form of an elongated triangle, with its tip on the western upper part. The entire shoulder is covered with remains of an ancient city, *Khirbet al-Mamariyeh*. While the lower eastern part of the city has suffered from erosion, there are a number of architectural features that have remained visible on the surface. The site is protected by a large casement wall that is traceable on both sides up to the western top of the city. While the eastern end of the city has a breadth of 150 m, the city wall extends at least 300 m on each side. A number of installations and various wall lines and gates can be distinguished. The top of the shoulder is covered by a strong fortress. The pottery seems to indicate that the site may have been occupied during the end of the Late Bronze Age and during the Iron Age. Since we were not on an official archaeological expedition, we could not further investigate the site.

It appears that the site just described has not been mentioned before in the various surveys and archaeological expeditions that have studied this area in the last century. Therefore, it has not been included in the list of possible candidates for the "city in the middle of the valley." However, its location best fits the biblical description. It is situated almost opposite Aroer. Overlooking the juncture of *Wadi esh-Shkefeyat* and *Wadi en-Nukheila* (Figure 2), it guards the river crossing and commands an important strategic position. The size of the site suggests that it was a place of some importance. Whoever occupied this city controlled the crossing southward to the central Moabite plateau or northward up to the plateau around ancient Dibon. Further archaeological investigation is planned for the summer of 2002.

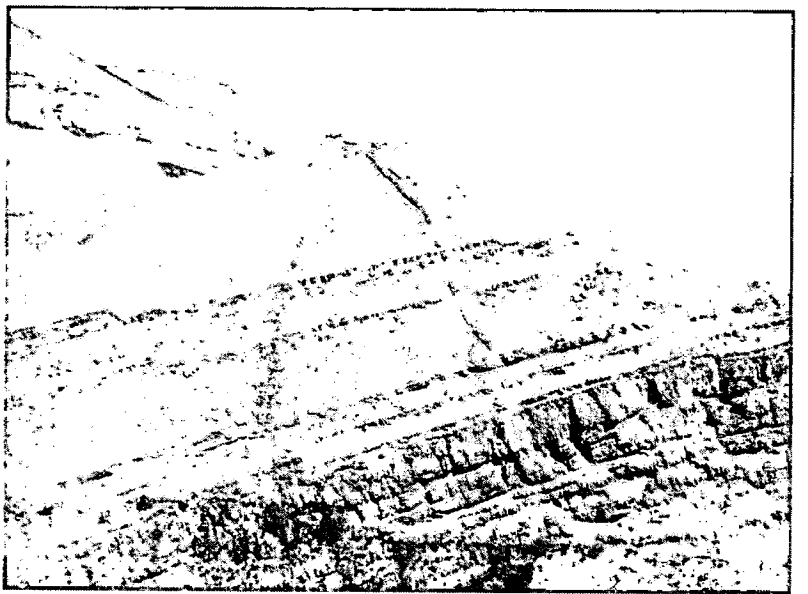

Figure 1. *Khirbet al-Mamariyeh*, proposed site for the "City Which is in the Middle of the River."

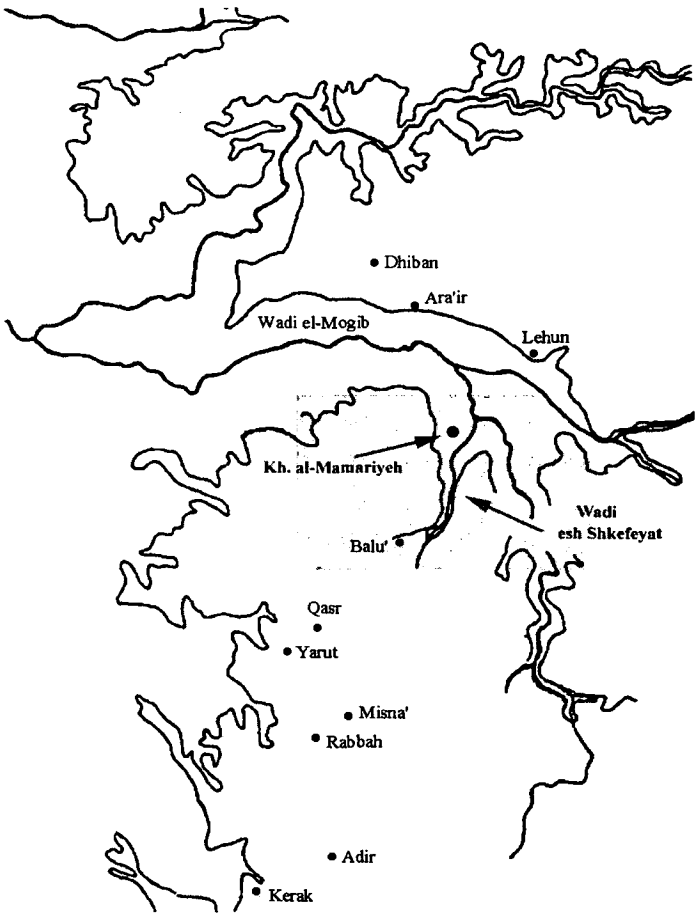

Figure 2. Location of *Khirbet al-Mamariyeh* in *Wadi al-Mujib* (or *Mogib*).

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

THE BANQUET TYPE-SCENE IN THE PARABLES OF JESUS

Name of Researcher: Fazadudin Hosein
Advisor: Robert M. Johnston, Ph.D.
Date Completed: December 2001

Biblical narratives abound in ancient literary and oral conventions. One such convention is the type-scene. The study of the type-scene originated in 1933 with Walter Arend, who studied compositional recurrent patterns and variations in the epics of Homer. Later, the study was developed by Robert Alter in his treatment of biblical narratives. The type-scene was a narratorial device used by ancient orators and writers in which traditional elements of repetitive compositional patterns were told and retold in innovative ways to an audience, raising their expectation and sometimes causing surprise. Conventional elements that made up the type-scene were catchwords, motifs, characters, and themes. This study investigated the banquet type-scene in the parables of Jesus in order to discover whether Jesus, and by extension, the Gospel writers were in dialogue with the fixed literary and oral banquet type-scene convention of their time.

Narrative criticism provided the framework for the study. Though narrative criticism implies a synchronic approach (the text in its final form) to the exegetical task, the diachronic approach (the text in its historical evolution) was also employed, demonstrating that both approaches are complementary. Banquet narratives, banquet images, and general information about banquets in antiquity (ca. B.C.E. 1500 to 300 C.E.) were examined in Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, Assyrian, Ugaritic, Greco-Roman, OT, Jewish Intertestamental, NT, Early Christian Noncanonical, and Rabbinic literature of Tannaim. It was discovered that at the time of Jesus all banquet-type scenes bore two basic structural elements: the preparation of a banquet and selective invitation. From that point in the structure, the plot of the banquet type-scene branched off into three other plot sequences resulting in the Eminence of Guests type-scene, the Guests and Host Response type-scene, and the Wise and Foolish type-scene.

Seven parables were amenable to the banquet type-scene analysis: the Ten Virgins (Matt 25:1-13), the Narrow Door (Luke 13:24-30 [cf. Matt 7:13-14]), Places at a Feast (Luke 14:7-11 [cf. Matt 23:6 = Mark 12:39 = Luke 20:46]), the Choice of Guests (Luke 14:12-14), the Great Supper (Matt 22:2-10 = Luke 14:15-24 // *Gos. Thom.* 64), the Wedding Garment (Matt 22:11-14), and the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32). The type-scene analyses of these parables revealed similar conclusions, especially in terms of their themes, to their diachronic critical analyses. This testified to the mutual relationship that exists between the historical and literary approach to the study of the Scripture.

The common theme shared by the parables was exclusion/inclusion: exclusion from and inclusion into God's eschatological banquet. Exclusion from the kingdom was the inevitable fate of those who rejected Jesus' invitation: the unbelieving Jewish people, opponents of Jesus (especially the leaders), and the

unprepared disciple. Inclusion in the kingdom meant acceptance and honor for the Jewish outcasts, the despised Gentiles, and the faithful disciple. In Matthew's program the emphasis was exclusion; in Luke's inclusion.

The study showed that Jesus interacted with the banquet type-scene convention of his day and used it in inventive ways to teach his message in the context of his ministry and mission. The study also showed that the Gospel writers used the banquet type-scene in deliberately creative ways to emphasize themes commensurate with the theology and audience of their respective Gospels. The study demonstrated the value of type-scene analysis as a literary tool for an approach to the exegetical task.

Andersen, Francis I., and David Noel Freedman. *Micah: A New Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 24E. New York: Doubleday, 2000. 637 pp. $42.50.

Francis I. Andersen has retired as Professorial Fellow in the Department of Classics and Archaeology at the University of Melbourne, Australia. David Noel Freedman (Professor of Hebrew Bible, University of California, San Diego) has been the general editor of the *Anchor Bible* (AB) series from its very inception. Both are literary giants in the field of OT studies. Their combined efforts and expertise have produced one of the most comprehensive commentaries on Micah to date. (The same is true of their earlier AB volume on Hosea.) It follows the highly respected standards of the AB series: precise translation, extended discussion in constant dialogue with other scholars, reconstruction of the historical background of the text, and a description of the authors(s) and original recipients of the message.

A few pages (xvii-xxi) deal with preliminary elements, such as events and kings featured by the eighth-century prophets, maps, and abbreviations. The Introduction (3-29) presents such issues as Micah's place among the Minor Prophets, the texts and translations, literary units, traditional divisions, and organization of the book of Micah. In an extended discussion of Mic 1:1 (103-129), the authors indicate that Micah shares editorial qualities with other eighth-century prophets: the use of an introductory oracle, the identification of the prophet, dating of his activity, the mode of divine revelation, and subject matter. They believe that this "suggests a common editorial policy, even the same editorial pen" (128).

Andersen and Freedman organize their commentary around "a collection of oracles that have been arranged in three 'books'" (16). They are called "books" because each of these chapters is structured and unified around a common theme so as to render it a distinct literary unit. The first of these, covering 1:2-3:12, is called "The Book of Doom" (130-391). Divided into several subunits, its central theme is judgment that is directed against Samaria and Jerusalem. It is comprehensive in nature and scope. But while condemnation and punitive action are dominant, these are not the final words. Judgment is intended to bring a wayward people back into covenant relationship with God. Indeed, "embedded in these judgment speeches . . . is an oracle of hope (2:12-13)" (254). It is a promise reserved for the remnant of Israel.

Micah 4:1-5:14 constitutes "The Book of Visions" (392-499). From the outset, Andersen and Freedman point out that "the unity of this section . . . , its literary character, the history of its development, and its original setting are difficult to determine" (392). By establishing its literary structure Andersen and Freedman suggest that the overarching motif of these visions is the universal sovereignty of YHWH. "Yahweh dominates chapter 4 and no human agent is conspicuous" (471). In chapter 5, "the act of raising up a deliverer [is] exclusively an act of God" (477). His rulership is not limited to the present, but extends to the distant future, even to the "end of days." This eschatological emphasis is seen in the code word *wəhāyāh* ("and it will come about"), which is the organizing principle of chapters 4-5.

"The Book of Contention and Conciliation" comprises Mic 6:1-7:20 (500-601). In

the contention, we have the classical elements of a covenant or prophetic lawsuit. Chapters 6 and 7 reverberate with the ominous tones of judgment and threat, but YHWH's *ḥesed* ultimately ensures triumph in that the remnant is reconciled with God. Chapter 7, celebrating God's unqualified forgiveness (7:18-20), is the "eschatological climax" of the book (562). The commentary concludes with useful indices of authors, subjects, biblical and other ancient references, and languages (606-637).

This work is commendable on several fronts. First, in their analysis of the book, the authors follow a systematic (and therefore clear) organizational formula: a concise introduction to each "book," translation of each literary section, an introduction covering the main issues of that section, and extensive notes and commentary on each unit, providing extensive treatment of key words and themes. Second, the commentary evidences excellent research and consistency. The bibliography (33-99), which the authors claim "does not attempt a complete listing of the literature on the book of Micah" (33), is a virtual goldmine for anyone conducting research on this biblical prophet. In-text citations allow the serious student to pursue further investigation. Third, by emphasizing language analysis, Andersen and Freedman have continued the rich tradition of the AB commentary series. An example of this, as briefly outlined on page 392 (and developed in the pages beyond), is the chiastic structure of chapters 4-5 (Book 2), based on the key word *ʿattah* ("now").

The division of Micah into three books brings freshness to the heretofore stultified debate regarding the structure of the book. But it is precisely here that this commentary also demonstrates some measure of weakness. Andersen and Freedman claim that there is a central theme that forms the literary backbone of each "book" in Micah. They also acknowledge the presence of subthemes in each "book." But they do not clearly indicate how these subthemes are linked to the central theme to produce a unifying principle that gives each section its defining character as a "book."

While Andersen and Freedman pay attention to the importance of the LXX in Micah studies (see their concise, but informative discussion, "The Texts and Translations of the Book of Micah," 3-5), one would have expected some transliteration and translation of that important textual witness such as is provided for the MT. Without this, it is difficult for the inquiring reader to evaluate the quality of the Greek translation (5).

At times Andersen and Freedman indulge in speculation. Such is the case with their suggestion that the eighth-century prophets "were edited in conjunction or succession by the early seventh century to constitute a kind of proto-corpus of prophetic writings" (105) such that "the original collection had four books, one for each of the four generations of eighth-century prophets in chronological order—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah" (ibid). Andersen and Freedman simply have not produced the evidence to support such a claim.

I believe that this commentary is highly informative and useful for the person who has a good grasp of biblical Hebrew and a firm command of English. I do not think that the target of the general editors is met in this volume, namely, that the AB series "is aimed at the general reader with no special training in biblical studies" (ii).

Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies KENNETH D. MULZAC
Silang, Cavite, Philippines

Blenkinsopp, Joseph, ed. *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 19. New York: Doubleday, 2000. 524 pp. Cloth. $50.00.

Joseph Blenkinsopp has been at the University of Notre Dame since 1970, where he is the John A. O'Brien Professor Emeritus of Biblical Studies. He is a seasoned scholar, known for such works as *The Pentateuch*, vol. 5 in the Anchor Bible Reference Library; *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Westminster, 1983); and *The Pentateuch* (SCM, 1992).

This commentary is the first of three volumes on the book of Isaiah in the Anchor Bible series. It begins with a translation of the Hebrew text (1-70), which the author divides into pericopes and presents in their distinctive styles of either poetry or prose. He later claims, however, that this distinction is somewhat artificial "since it is often impossible to distinguish between rhythmic prose and prosodically irregular verse" (78). Each new section of the translation is clearly demarcated by bold, capitalized letters, with references in parentheses. On a few occasions he amalgamates passages on the same topic. An example of this is seen when he brings together 10:1-4 and 5:8-24 as "A Series of Woes" (11-12).

In the "Introduction" (73-111), Blenkinsopp indicates "that Isaiah's authorship of the sayings is weakly attested" (73) and the book may be a compilation from the Second Temple period, the editorial process having been completed around 150 B.C.E. (84). He allows, however, for "a significant eighth-century-B.C.E. Isaiah substratum" (74) as observed in "a degree of consistency of language, subject matter, and theme throughout Isa 1-39" (ibid.). Despite numerous *hapax legomena* and textual problems, the MT can be trusted, he maintains, especially in light of comparisons with the LXX and texts from Qumran. Indeed, "Next to Psalms and Deuteronomy, Isaiah is the best represented text from Qumran, with at least twenty-one copies" (76).

While specific classifications of genre occur in the book, Blenkinsopp proposes the term "*recitative*" to describe those long discourses which are usually presented as poetry. This term allows for "variations in rhythmic regularity and cadence" (79-80) in the public pronouncements of the prophet.

According to Blenkinsopp, scholarship cannot be absolute in dating the Isaiah texts (86), and while parts of the book may even exhibit striking differences (89), as a whole it has profoundly influenced the NT, particularly the Gospels. Consequently, the identity, beliefs, and practices of Christianity have been deeply affected by the reading and interpretation of Isaiah (95-98).

In sketching the historical context of the book (98-105), Blenkinsopp generally follows the Albright system. He concludes his introductory remarks by featuring such aspects of Isaianic theology as the sovereignty of God, morality and ethical behavior, justice and righteousness, and the remnant (105-111).

The bibliography (115-167), though extensive, is not exhaustive. It is divided into several distinct categories: texts and versions, commentaries (in chronological order), Isa 1-12, 13-27, 28-35, and 36-39.

The bulk of the commentary deals with "Translation, Notes and Comments" (169-489). This is divided into four distinct sections: Isa 1-12, 13-27, 28-35, and 36-39 (as reflected even in the bibliography). Blenkinsopp had earlier contended that much of the material "could not have been authored by Isaiah ben Amoz whose

name is on the title page" (82). In fact, all of chapters 1-39 are "a collection of compilations . . . each with its own history," showing diversity in "style, content, origin and date" (ibid). His approach to each section is identical: a general introduction to the section, bibliographic references for each pericope (though only the last names are given), translation of the pericope (rendered exactly as that which occupies the first seventy pages of the commentary), notes on the translation, and, finally, commentary on the pericope.

Several notable characteristics may be readily observed in this section. There is an emphasis on linguistics, especially with exact translation and comparison with the textual witnesses, such as the LXX, Syriac, Vulgate, and 1QIsa. Blenkinsopp deals with the connections between Isaiah and other prophetic literature. For example, Blenkinsopp demonstrates the harmony of thought between Isaiah and Amos regarding the ostentatious display of ill-gotten wealth gleaned from the oppression of the poor (201). There is valuable stress on interconnected themes in Isa 1-39, e.g., the themes of Zion (191) and of divine holiness, both of which seem to be woven throughout the book. Blenkinsopp believes that the latter theme, as expressed in the title "Holy One of Israel," certainly "confers a certain impression of unity on the book" (225). Each pericope is discussed as a whole, with attention occasionally drawn to specific verses. Finally, Blenkinsopp engages in dynamic dialogue with other scholars and recognizes dialogue between Isaiah and the rest of the Bible.

There are certain weaknesses in this volume. It is surprising that in discussing Isaianic theology, Blenkinsopp is virtually silent on such significant issues as judgment, salvation, and eschatology. It is true that there are the ominous tones of punitive action (e.g., 2:6-22; 10:15-19; 21:1-10), but there is also the call for repentance and the assurance of forgiveness and salvation (30:19-26; 32:15-20). Judgment and salvation are two sides of the same coin, and these factors should be included in the discussion of Isaianic theology as a matter of course. The translation (1-70) seems to be topically arranged, which may be rather confusing in some places, especially for the target audience of the series, namely, "the general reader with no special formal training in biblical studies" (ii). This problem is evident in the following arrangement: 5:1-7; 10:1-4 and 5:8-24; 9:7-20 + 5:25; 5:26-30; then 6:1-13. The author is not clear as to the reasons for such a disjointed arrangement. He should have been more careful in following his own advice "to resist the temptation . . . to impose more order on the book than was ever intended" (211-12). While the divisions of chapters 1-39 are useful, Blenkinsopp is not convincing in his reasons why each is a distinct section. He argues that while the first section (chaps. 1-12) "gives the impression of having been planned as a distinct unit, it is also connected thematically and linguistically with other parts of the book" (171), but these connections are not clearly defined. Finally, the author loses clarity by failing to focus attention on the structure of the text, which enables the interpreter to determine the direction of the biblical book, to see how the parts fit into the whole, and to understand how the plot flows from one point to another. Nevertheless, this is a useful commentary that makes a significant contribution to Isaiah studies.

The commentary closes with three useful indices: subject (491-500), biblical and other ancient references (501-522), and key Hebrew terms (523-524).

Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies KENNETH D. MULZAC
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Block, Daniel I. *The Gods of the Nations: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern National Theology*, 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000. 176 pp. Paper, $17.89.

Daniel Block, dean and professor of OT at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, presents an overview of the relationship between Ancient Near Eastern nations and their deities in comparison with the analogous concepts in the OT. The basic concern of the book is to compare and analyze interactions within the triad people, deity, and land.

In the first chapter, Block discusses "the origin of deity-nation relations" under two subheadings: the priority of the deity-territory type, and the priority of the deity-people type. According to his investigation, based on Greek, Sumerian, Ugaritic, and Phoenician traditions, extrabiblical sources tended to view their deities as primarily connected with land, and only secondarily concerned with their people. The Israelites, on the other hand, "understood Yahweh to have established a relationship with them as a nation independent of and prior to their association with the land belonging to Yahweh" (32).

The second chapter investigates "the expression of the deity-nation relationship" in the Bible and ANE literature as it surfaces in genitival constructions (e.g., "our God," "my people"), personal names with a theophoric element (e.g., Joshua, Azariah), divine epithets (e.g. *ʾadon* [lord], *melek* [king]), and human epithets (e.g. *ʿbd ʾdd* [servant of Adad], *roʿeh* [pastor]). According to Block, by employing these expressions ancient people expressed their view of deity in terms of a feudal divine overlord, protector, defender, and provider of the people (61). The author recognizes that Israel and the nations had much in common in this respect, e.g., both would accept the worship of outsiders. There is, however, as Block points out, a significant distinction: the gods of the nations would tolerate the worship of other deities by their own people; Israel's God required exclusive allegiance (74).

In the third and fourth chapters, the national territory is presented from the perspectives of divine estate and divine grant, respectively. The former has to do with the relationship of the land to the deity, and the latter has to do with the relationship of the land to the people. Genitival expressions (e.g., "god of the land," "gods of Egypt") and feudal vocabulary (*nahala*, "patrimony"; *yeruša*, "possession"; *ʿahuzzâ*, "property") indicate that an ANE people viewed their land as the realm of their god. Hence, the land as divine estate implied the involvement of the deity in the national defense of the territory and the deity's provision of human leadership for his land. As a divine grant, the land was a gift of the deity to the people and provided the geographic space where the people would enjoy happiness and prosperity. On the other hand, this implied responsibilities, the neglect of which would entail divine judgments such as famine, disease, and, ultimately, loss of the land (101-109).

The last chapter, dealing with "the end of deity-nation relations," has considerably improved upon the first edition (Evangelical Theological Society Monograph Series, no. 2, 1988). By comparing Sumerian and Akkadian accounts of divine abandonment with Ezek 8-11, Block demonstrates that the relationship between a nation and its patron deity may be broken, resulting in the deity's abandoning the land. The author makes the insightful observation that while the

extrabiblical literature tends to focus on the god's change of heart before returning to his or her shrine, the Israelite account emphasizes that God would change the hearts of the people (142).

Though Block provides readers with a valuable tool for better understanding Israel's religion against its ANE backdrop, a few problems need to be addressed. As he recognizes, he employs a deductive approach. He formulates questions and then searches "for answers from whatever source" (114). In this quest for answers, he does not pay enough attention to the historical contexts of the ANE sources and seems to make generalizations on the basis of scanty evidence. Thus, in order to reconstruct the ANE theology, he gathers data originating from different historical periods, genres, and cultures. The legitimacy of this eclectic approach is doubtful, and the overall picture seems to be an abstraction made possible by a kind of proof-text approach.

Overall, the book gives the impression that it is an apologia emphasizing the superiority of Israel's religion against its Ancient Near Eastern counterparts. This may not sound politically correct in this postmodern age of pluralism and relativism, in which many scholars tend to place every cultural phenomenon on the same ethical and moral level and to avoid any value judgments on cultures or customs. However, once it is understood that the author is an evangelical, who takes for granted the reliability of the biblical records and accepts the value judgments made by the Bible writers themselves regarding their surrounding cultures, his approach becomes understandable.

Despite some methodological deficiencies, this work provides a useful contribution to ANE theology in general. Aspects of detail to be commended include the extensive footnotes and a selected and updated bibliography, which provide additional information about significant details and sources. Indices of Scripture, extrabiblical materials, authors, and subjects also make this work helpful for consultation on specific topics. The publishers are to be commended for the fine quality of printing and exclusion of typographical errors.

Berrien Springs, Michigan ELIAS BRASIL DE SOUZA

Conn, Harvie M., and Manuel Ortiz. *Urban Ministry*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001. 527 pp. $29.99.

At the time of his death, in 1999, Harvie Conn was emeritus professor of missions at Westminster Theological Seminary. He had edited the journal *Urban Mission* for ten years, and had authored two other books, *Evangelism: Doing Justice and Preaching Grace* and *Eternal Word and Changing Worlds*. Harvie was one of the foremost proponents of and authority on urban mission. Manuel Ortiz, coauthor and professor of ministry and urban mission, authored *The Hispanic Challenge* and *One New People* published by InterVarsity.

Conn was a frequent speaker at professional meetings and a serious proponent of socially responsible mission. This book represents his wealth of experience in doing and teaching. Manuel Ortiz speaks of his willingness to submit himself to Conn's demands of time and style, and, upon the death of Conn, completed the final chapters.

Urban mission has never been highly popular among conservative Christians,

who have struggled with an antiurban bias that views cities with fear and suspicion. It is important to remember, however, that many of the writers of Scripture lived in urban centers. Moses was raised in urban Egypt. David created the urban reality of Jerusalem, where most of the other prophets lived and wrote. Daniel and Ezekiel were thoroughly urban as were Ezra and Nehemiah. Jesus lived and ministered in largely urban Galilee, Paul planted urban churches and John wrote the book of Revelation to seven urban churches. The authors wrote out of the conviction that God desires the church to address the serious and forgotten needs of the cities with biblically consistent principles and strategies.

Conn and Ortiz begin (chaps. 1-3) by placing biblical principles and strategies within a proper historical context by developing a broad, global perspective on urban history and demographics.

The second section of the book examines God's historical urban concerns. These chapters (4-7) address the historic arguments of cities as evil and as the means of reflecting God's missionary purpose. Chapters 5 and 6 are a survey that seems directed toward the typically rural, village-oriented conservative Christian, helping this person to understand that the Bible is clearly urban in its style and orientation. In the mind of the reviewer, the material on the OT deserves more attention than it receives. In chapter 7 the authors make a good case for the Christian transformation of cities through the practice of *kerygma*, *koinonia*, and *diakonia*.

Part 3 of the book seeks to achieve an understanding of what is meant by the terms "city," "urban," and "urbanism"; the place of religion in the city; and the city as a power factor and geographical center, related to its immediate and global environments. Chapter 8 is particularly useful as it looks at the city as both a place and a process, while chapter 9 notes the frequent inability of Christians to consciously see the religious motifs of urbanism, or the urban style of understanding and relating to the transcendent.

Chapter 10 may be disturbing to many evangelical Christians, particularly Seventh-day Adventists. In its treatment of power as an urban reality, the authors are favorable toward Pentecostal realities in most of the cities of the world. These churches have discovered or grasped a connection between urbanism and Christianity in a style of worship that clearly brings the urban concept of power into the church.

In the remaining chapters of Part 3, the authors examine the city as a regional center and change agent. They then note various ways in which the church is successfully dealing with these factors. The authors particularly study the recent development of megachurches, the house church, and cell group movements.

Part 4, "Developing Urban Church Growth Eyes," is a serious invitation to the urban practitioner to recognize the usefulness of the social sciences. In this matter the urban church planter must, as an agent of transformation, be careful to maintain a biblical perspective and a clear goal for the church.

Part 5 assists the reader in the application of the social sciences, understanding and working with such factors as people groups, migration, poverty, and ethnic church planting. The chapter on "Spiritual Warfare in the City" (chap. 19) is particularly useful for the western-trained practitioner.

The sixth part of the book explores the needs for contextualized urban leadership. Urban mission and ministry differ from rural and suburban mission and ministry because of a number of cultural factors that often bother and even frighten nonurban peoples: cultural diversity, the media, commercialization, the tempo, and the systemic complexity are just a few of these cultural factors. Due to these factors, it is often necessary to train nonurban peoples in the same way people are trained for a cross-cultural mission appointment. This section explores criteria for leadership, the curriculum for training urban and mentoring leaders, and for mobilizing and equipping urban laity.

The book is broad and fast-paced. The authors have attempted to cover and interrelate many serious and important factors of urban mission in one book. While the book is broad in its coverage, it has not lost a serious concern for the particulars. The thirty-seven-page bibliography is exhaustive and worth the price of the book itself.

Andrews University BRUCE CAMPBELL MOYER

Crapanzano, Vincent. *Serving the Word: Literalism in America from the Pulpit to the Bench.* New York: New Press, 2000. xxvi + 406 pp. Hardcover, $27.95.

Serving the Word studies the literalist reading of two basic foundation texts of American society, the Bible and the U.S. Constitution. Literalism is characterized by understanding texts according to their "literal," "plain," and "self-evident" meaning. Of course, anyone who spends much time among diverse communities doing "literal" readings of these texts will find what Crapanzano found, that the plain sense of the texts is not universal and uniform. A large part of Crapanzano's study details the various ways in which plain sense varies among those seeking a literalist reading. This study generally takes a negative stance on the use of literalism in either the church or the courts.

The book is divided into two halves: three chapters devoted to Bible literalism among evangelicals, followed by four chapters on "conservative" American jurisprudence. While these are characterized by similar forms of literalism, an introduction and conclusion attempting to relate the two types meets with limited success because too much of a divide is left between them. The book has an incomplete feel, as if Crapanzano lost himself in detail and didn't comprehend the shape of the larger picture. However, the detail is readily accessible through the index.

Crapanzano finds one important theme running through both literalist endeavors: confidence. Evangelicals seek confidence in their understanding of God and salvation. They seek to have a stable foundation for understanding their place in the universe. Likewise, the whole legal community, which in its broadest sense includes the entire population of the country, seeks confidence in the interpretation of law. This confidence produces stability, which means that we can go about our business knowing what conduct the government regulates and how much freedom we have in our public and private affairs. But this theme is not fully realized in the conclusion of *Serving the Word.*

The author never fully recognizes the populist nature of the phenomena that he is studying. The literalist method is a populist protest against the power of

oligarchies seeking to control our lives, and against the traditions that warp the plain meaning of foundation documents. The literalist ideal is direct access to the text. The Bible is not to be interpreted only by church prelates and theologians, but by every layman. Remember the ploughboy who, Tyndale claimed, would know the Bible better than the bishop. Such Bible populism runs deep and broad throughout American evangelical churches.

The same kind of populism insists that the U.S. Constitution can be interpreted by anyone who bothers to read it and can find plain sense in its text. Here the enemy oligarchy includes judges, law professors, and especially the nine Supreme Court justices, who are seen as perverters of the plain sense, legislating from the bench and forcing the text to say things it does not intend. The appeal of literalism to the American electorate is populist, and the methods of literalism are taught in evangelical congregations. Populism is political, for in America the electorate is where much of the power lies. Conservatives have repeatedly mobilized significant sectors of this electorate on issues regarding the way in which the Constitution is applied in the courts. Once again, Crapanzano has provided the details, but does not comprehend the larger picture.

Other points indicate Crapanzano's failure to integrate the two halves of his book. In discussing Constitutional literalism, he states that fundamentalist interpretation of Scripture is removed from "corrupting influences of any particular context of application," a luxury which lawyers and judges do not have (243). But the first half of his book is filled with examples where fundamentalists and other evangelicals struggle precisely with application of the Bible to specific contexts. Their struggles have many interesting similarities to Constitutional law.

Crapanzano's book is an excellent compendium of examples of literalism in the churches and the courts. As such it serves as a helpful resource. But ultimately his book fails to integrate the subject matter. If we wish to understand today's conservative movement in the U.S. courts and the evangelical churches, *Serving the Word* provides an important introduction. However, the reader is left to write most of the conclusion.

Madison, Wisconsin JAMES E. MILLER

Dunn, James D. G., ed. *Paul and the Mosaic Law.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. xi + 361 pp. Paper, $35.00.

This collection is an all-English-language edition of papers presented at the third Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism in September 1994 and was originally published untranslated by Mohr-Siebeck in 1996. In the Introduction, Dunn states that the purpose of the symposium was to further discuss Paul's attitude to the Jewish law in light of the continuity-discontinuity discussion initiated by Sanders (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism*), Limbeck (*Die Ordnung des Heils*), and his own "new persepctive." The logic of the volume's organization is not immediately apparent. One would expect that since only Galatians, Romans, and 1 & 2 Corinthians are being discussed, papers relevant to these books would be grouped together. Even a thematic organization would have been helpful. Nonetheless, the unnumbered chapters are replete with rich material that quickly acquaints the reader with the status of the current debate.

The first two chapters provide general information. In chapter 1 ("The Understanding of the Torah in the Judaism of Paul's Day: A Sketch" [7-23]), Hermann Lichtenberger provides a concise survey of the references to "torah" in the Qumran literature, the LXX, the Pseudepigrapha, Philo, and Josephus. He maintains that the literature refutes any notion that Torah is the vehicle to salvation. The second chapter ("The Attitude of Paul to the Law in the Unknown Years between Damascus and Antioch" [25-51]) contains Martin Hengel's summary of his monograph, *Die Unbekannte Jahre des Apostels Paulus*, in which he hypothetically traces the development of Paul's legal theology in the sixteen years between his conversion and the second missionary journey. Paul, he argues, was "no real antinomian" (29), but approached the law differently than mainstream Jews as a result of his encounter with Christ.

Three chapters are dedicated to the law in Galatians. In chapter 3 ("Paul's Reasoning in Galatians 2:11-21" [53-74]), Jan Lambrecht opposes any notion that Paul endorsed "two gospels" for Jew and Gentile and contends that Paul preached a liberating gospel that transcended both Jewish and pagan systems of worship. Chapter 4 contains the essay of Bruce Longenecker ("Defining the Faithful Character of the Covenant Community" [75-97]), who provides an excellent contribution to the πίστις Χριστοῦ debate, from which he concludes that the covenant community is comprised of those who "fulfill the intentions of the law" even if they do not "observe the prescriptions of the law" (94). Graham Stanton presents the final chapter on Galatians ("The Law of Moses and the Law of Christ" [99-116]), in which he examines all the references to law—both positive and negative—and concludes that the "law of Christ" is actually a redefined version of the "law of Moses." However, he refrains from divulging the contents of the "law of Christ."

Three chapters are devoted to discussing the law in the Corinthian correspondence. In the sixth chapter ("Letter and Spirit in 2 Corinthians 3" [117-130]), Karl Kertlege argues similarly to Stanton, with his thesis that the "Spirit in the gospel erases the death-dealing power of the law, but not the (Mosaic) law as such" (128). Chapter 14 contains Peter Tomson's essay on "Paul's Jewish Background in View of His Law Teaching in 1 Corinthians 7" (251-270), in which he contends that Paul was a law-observant Jew who called for Jewish Christians to keep the "whole law" and gentiles "their minimum set of 'commandments of God'" (269). In the fifteenth chapter ("'All Things to All People': Paul and the Law in the Light of 1 Corinthians 9.19-23" [271-285]), Stephen Barton posits that Paul's attitude to the Jewish law was governed by sociopolitical concerns as they related to the salvation of souls. In other words, Paul's submission to the Jewish sociopolitical culture was not driven by a sense of conviction, but was strictly missiological.

Eight of the seventeen chapters are dedicated to Romans. In chapter 7 ("The Law in Romans 2" [131-150]), N. T. Wright examines the nature of the law and its association with gentiles and concludes that Paul sees the law strictly as a Jewish identity marker that has no significant relevance for gentiles. In chapter eight ("Three Dramatic Roles: The Law in Romans 3-4" [151-164]), Richard Hays agrees that the law identified the Jewish people, but further suggests that it pronounces

judgment on *all* human beings and points to the coming of Christ and the establishing of the covenant community. In chapter 9 ("The Adam-Christ Antithesis and the Law: Reflections on Romans 5:12-21" [165-205]), Otfried Hofius contends that the law—being a negative instrument belonging to the painful Adamic era—became obsolete at the Christ event. In the following chapter ("Hermeneutics of Romans 7" [207-214]), Hans Hubner calls for a hermeneutic of "willing" to supplement the hermeneutic of "knowing" in the interpretation of Rom 7. Chapters 11-13 contain a dialogue between Stephen Westerholm ("Paul and the Law in Romans 9-11" [215-237]; "Response to Heikki Räisänen" [247-249]) and Heikki Räisänen ("A Response to Stephen Westerholm" [239-246]). Westerholm charges that Paul's intention in chapters 9-11 was to detail God's triumph in Christ over the corrupt, created order, apart from any human effort. The citizen of the new order has no obligation to law. Räisänen counters that he has overstepped his exegetical liberties, and defends the continuity of the law. The final essay in the section on Romans appears in chapter 16 ("'Do we undermine the Law?' A Study of Romans 14.1-15.6" [287-308]), in which John M. G. Barclay proposes that Paul saw law observance as an "optional" requirement for the people of God, but remained faithful to choice parts of the Jewish law.

James Dunn brings the discussion to a conclusion with the final essay ("In Search of Common Ground" [309-334]). After offering cogent critiques to each contribution, Dunn "shows his hand" as he stresses the continuity of the law "into the new age inaugurated by Christ" (334). As Dunn forms his conclusions, it is obvious that he is trying to make sense of continuity in light of certain passages that hint at discontinuity. Hence, he muses: "How could Paul *both* claim that the law is holy *and* that nothing is unclean?" (326 [emphasis mine]). He suggests that even Paul was unable to achieve such a synthesis (ibid.).

Dunn's dilemma is obviously shared by the other contributors who support the law's continued relevance. Stanton laments: "We might reasonably wish that he had explained a little more fully what he meant by 'the law of Christ'" (116); Kertledge refers to the 'law of Christ' as the new expression of the Mosaic law, but does not go into detail (128); Tomson never defines the "minimum set of commandments" (269) that gentiles were obligated to keep; Longenecker speaks of those who "fulfill the intentions of the law" (94); Wright observes that "Paul has not worked out in detail . . . exactly what this 'keeping the law' involves" (138); and in his response to Westerholm's rejection of the law's continuing relevance, Räisänen reasons: "Where the issue is that of men responding in faith to God's grace in Christ, some kind of responsive co-operation by humans . . . must be presupposed" (246).

These comments highlight what I believe to be the major flaw in the book: the failure to define what is meant by "law." Given the semantic options for the term νόμος, is it possible that the impasse would be weakened if those in the debate were emancipated from interpretive traditions and dared to view options other than the so-called "Mosaic" law? If Paul's references to "law" are merely viewed through Mosaic eyes, it is only natural that confusion will arise from those trying to see how circumcision, sacrifices, and ceremonial uncleanliness relate to the integrated Christian community. Given the cultic exclusivity of the ceremonial

aspects of the Mosaic law, I can see why Hofius and Westerholm have no problem "throwing out the baby with the bathwater." They tend to operate under the assumption that Christianity started with a moral *tabula rasa*, and the behavioral rules evolved situationally along with the growth of the community. The desire to rid Christianity of the Mosaic law is meticulously demonstrated in Hofius's tunnel-visioned reading of Rom 5, where he totally rejects the overarching context. Yes, "law" does reveal sin, but Paul himself declares that "sin must not reign in the body" (6:11), and only "law" can identify sin (7:7).

The inability to define "law" also helps me to understand why Wright, Kertledge, and Tomson are hesitant when it comes to revealing the content of the "law" that Christians are obligated to keep. As I reflect on their confusion, I can't help but wish that Hengel had placed more stock in his observation that "the first commandment, the law of love, and the ten commandments all had a central role in Paul's preaching" (29). It would also have been beneficial if Tomson had specified the "basic commandments" that comprise "God's commandments" in 1 Corinthians 7:19 (267-68). And how does Kertledge match his comment: "This law finds its new expression as the 'law of Christ' which is binding on Christians" (128), with his earlier statement that views the decalogue as representative of the Mosaic law? (122).

I am somewhat surprised that a project of such scope, prestige, and magnitude contains so many typographical, stylistic, and translation errors. Almost every chapter has items that need correction. Perhaps the lack of editorial finesse can serve as an object lesson for the fact that some things need to be carefully examined more than once. I would suggest starting with the references to νόμος in Paul.

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KEITH AUGUSTUS BURTON

Fahlbusch, Erwin, et al., eds. *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2, E-I. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. xxx + 787 pp. Hardcover, $100.00.

The second volume of the English-language version of the *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon: Internationale theologische Enzyklopädie* is just as encyclopedic and helpful as the first. More than a mere translation, the English version has tailored many of its articles to meet the needs of English readers. In addition, several articles have been added specifically with that readership in mind. Beyond those modifications are updated and expanded reference sections especially aimed at enriching the English bibliographic information. Under the experienced editorship of Geoffrey W. Bromiley, the expanded translation is well adapted for its new market (for a full review of the series, see *AUSS* 38 (2000): 150-152).

The 384 articles of the second volume run from treatments of theologians and theological topics, to discussions of regional churches (e.g., Ethiopia), to introductions of biblical books, to such esoteric subjects as EST and the electronic church. Topics are treated with a multidisciplinary richness that makes *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* a rich resource on most of the topics treated.

Perhaps the subject given the most space in volume 2 is ecumenism and related subtopics. That is not particularly surprising, given the nature of the *Encyclopedia*. Included in this large cluster of topics are "Ecumenical Association

of Third World Theologians," "Ecumenical Dialogue," "Ecumenical Learning," "Ecumenical Mission," "Ecumenical Patriarchate," "Ecumenical Symbols," "Ecumenical Theology," and "Ecumenism, Ecumenical Movement." The last article alone covers almost sixteen double-column pages.

At the other end of the weighting spectrum, the discussion of the electronic church gets less than one page. That page, however, presents a very helpful and insightful analysis of the characteristics and theology of the media church as well as an excellent bibliography.

The treatments of such subjects as ecumenism and the electronic church are helpful and balanced. The same may be said for most of the topics. Thus, if a person is interested in such areas as economic ethics, general ethics, or immortality, the *Encyclopedia* offers a good place to begin study. The same might be said for an overview of topics within a national subgroup such as Christianity in Italy. On the other hand, the weakest articles are those introducing the biblical books. Generally, much more satisfactory treatments may be found in Bible dictionaries or encyclopedias, introductions to the NT and OT, and the preliminary sections of commentaries, works that will nearly always be found in libraries housing the *Encyclopedia*. Perhaps the short shrift given to such introductions is part of the price that has to be paid by a reference work that seeks to be too inclusive. Unfortunately, it is a fact of life that no reference work can be *best* at everything.

That disclaimer aside, however, *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* is an excellent reference work for most of the multitude of topics that it covers. As such, it is a most valuable addition to the rapidly expanding realm of theological reference works.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Fox, Michael. *Proverbs 1-9: A New Translation With Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 18A. New York: Doubleday, 2000. xix + 474 pp. Hardcover, $42.50.

Michael Fox's "Acknowledgments" beguile. As in *Qohelet and His Contradictions* (Almond, 1989), he apologizes for familiarity in the present text. In this case, the familiarity consists of nine articles by Fox, reworked as part of his ongoing research on the first nine chapters of the book of Proverbs. Although Fox is modest, his scholarship is a major contribution to the study of Proverbs.

Apart from preliminary material such as transliteration and pronunciation, principal sections of the commentary are as follows. The introduction surveys Egyptian and Mesopotamian Wisdom Literature before Proverbs, and Egyptian and Hellenistic Judean Wisdom Literature after Proverbs. It also includes expositions on words for "wisdom" and "folly." The second section, which contains the main body of text, presents the translation of and commentary on the first nine chapters of Proverbs. A third subheading appears as "Essays and Textual Notes on Proverbs 1-9," which considers the formation of Prov 1-9 and the origins and voices of personified Wisdom. This is followed by a fourth section entitled "Textual Notes on Proverbs 1-9," which deals with items of special consideration in section 3. The final section features a bibliography of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and traditional Jewish exegetical and modern sources.

Regarding the history of the formation of the book of Proverbs, Fox doubts that "many—if any—of the proverbs were written by Solomon" (56). The sayings disclose a variety of social settings, including the royal court, but should not be thought of as an artificial schooltext for court scribes/teachers. He distinguishes between six divisions in the book's current form, varying in length from almost thirteen chapters (section 2: "Proverbs of Solomon,"10:1-22:16) to twelve verses (section 4: "These too are of the wise," 24:23-34).

Fox assesses the first nine chapters of Proverbs as the climax of the book's development (6), since the function of these chapters is introductory to the work as a whole. He dates the book's final redaction to Persian or Hellenistic times, but he evidently speaks of chapters 10-29 (*terminus ad quem* 587 B.C.E., [6]) when he refers to sixth- or fifth-century wisdom material as being written "after" Proverbs. The first nine chapters were attached to chapters 10-29 in an original "base" text of the prologue and ten lectures (1:1-7:27), except for three interludes consisting of forty-one verses. The three, along with two others (chaps. 8, 9), are subsequent additions by a variety of authors. The text also reflects still later, minor modifications, including peculiarly Septuagint material. Its use of "terminology of importance" is seen as evidence for the prologue's later composition. Its unawareness of the personification or even the reification of wisdom shows that it antedates the interludes.

Fox's meticulous scholarship properly acknowledges the risks of source-critical analysis as a means for establishing original readings and explanation of redactional activity. He criticizes Whybray's procrustean procedure for reducing to uniformity ten theoretically and originally independent bits of text called "instructions," arguing that the repetitiveness and diversity that Whybray pares away in the process need not be proofs of multiple authorship (322). Fox may be self-contradictory, however, when he argues that it "would be unlike" the author of the carefully schematized lectures to disperse the interludes among them (327).

Fox's deprecation of some *mšlym* as being pseudo, or of a more trivial order, is acceptable if modern scholars define the criteria for ancient labeling. The sayings, within the variety of their societal sources (i.e., royal, diplomatic, agricultural, financial), are all reflections of sound and popular wisdom, so that, as conceded by R.B.Y. Scott (*Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, AB, 1985), whether they are two-line couplets or longer discourses and poems, they can be called *mšlym* although they may not be labeled as "proverbs."

Fox emphasizes the book's secularity (7), in contrast to the ethical-religious moralizing so prominent among medieval commentators. Because God is never addressed in Proverbs, a secular/religious dichotomy is somewhat academic. Israel's Wisdom Literature shows its uniqueness within the ANE context, as well as its continuity with general Israelite thought by portraying the fear of God as the transcendent motivation for human behavior (71). Yet, Fox never concedes that the authors of the book of Proverbs, who appeal to this supreme motivation, may well be speaking on God's behalf, even when he understands that the father speaks, not in suggestion, but in *miṣwot* (349). Absence of divine address is explained by the book's didactic tone. The ostensible audience, addressed as much for God's sake as for its own (2:1-5ff.; 3:1-12), is urged to reject evil enticement (1:10) in the knowledge that wickedness brings ultimate destruction (2:21, 22).

Besides, rabbinic religion manifests itself both in the reduced emphasis on Proverbs (7) and in its spiritualized interpretations in medieval Jewish scholarship.

Fox respects the integrity of the book of Proverbs as a male-oriented text (16). He also considers the fact that the voices of both parents are to be heard in the book's instructions (83). He reminds that *tokaḥat* (reproof) is always critical and negative; it may take the form of corporal punishment, but is usually verbal. By way of example, he cites Job's reproof of his friends, whose deceitful speaking will arouse God's anger (Job 13:6-13). However, Fox believes that the *tokaḥat* "does not always presume a past failing" (99).

The thoroughness of Fox's analysis (see, e.g., essays on words for "wisdom" and "folly," though we miss an entry on *yir'at YHWH*), the felicitousness of his critiques (as when Toy "has neatly stated the opposite of the truth" [103]), his competent handling of the sources (particularly the Egyptian sources), his elaboration on the two major tropes of "paths through life" (128) and "life as a banquet" (305), and his subdued logic all assure that this signal work will be treasured by the world of ANE wisdom scholarship for a long time to come.

Andrews University LAEL CAESAR

Gager, John G. *Reinventing Paul.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. x + 198 pp. Hardcover, $25.00.

John G. Gager is William H. Danforth professor of Religion at Princeton University, where he has taught since 1968. His major works are: *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (Oxford University Press, 1983); *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Prentice-Hall, 1975); and *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Abingdon, 1972). He also edited *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford University Press, 1992). It is evident from these titles that Gager has focused his research on the religious and sociological aspects of the NT and its environs.

The twofold thesis Gager tries to develop in *Reinventing Paul* is (a) that the traditional view of Paul—with its perceived center being the notion that God rejected Jews and replaced them with Gentiles as a new people of God—is "wrong from top to bottom" (50), and (b) that in all of his writings, Paul never made an "argument against the Jewish law in relation to Israel and the Jews" (57).

In his introduction, Gager introduces the traditional view and observes a problem that it raises for its proponents—namely, that Paul apparently makes contradictory statements about Israel and the role of the law (4-7). Gager then outlines four approaches that scholars have used to solve this problem and stresses that the last approach has been the major one. It involves subordinating "one set of passages—always the pro-Israel set—to the other [anti-Israel set]" (9).

Disagreeing with the traditional view, Gager lays bare a three-pronged methodology for a more accurate picture of Paul (16). Paul must be understood within the first-century contexts of (a) the Jesus tradition and (b) Greco-Roman Judaism and according to (c) the Greco-Roman conventions of rhetoric. Six presuppositions undergird his methodology (10-13): (a) One can never expect to get to Paul's actual intentions behind the text; (b) the meaning of a text depends

on the text and its readers, and thus Paul's readers may not have received the message he desired to communicate; (c) one must not try to resolve Paul's contradictions in order to rescue him from embarrassment; (d) Paul's extreme importance as a cultural artifact should be recognized inasmuch as his influence has been pivotal in shaping Christianity as a culture; (e) Paul must be heard as a true first-century personality; and (f) modern "translations, dictionaries, and commentaries" are tainted with "preexisting interpretations" (13).

In his first chapter, Gager details the traditional view of Paul and attempts to explain how this view arose and persisted for nearly two thousand years. According to his analysis, it arose from three "tendencies" (36): (a) reading one's own time and culture back into Paul; (b) universalizing Paul's particularist concerns; and (c) distancing Paul from his Jewish background.

Gager uses the next chapter to offer the crux of his new view—namely: Paul had nothing negative to say about Israel, its laws, or Judaism per se and his allegedly negative statements about the law concern only the relationship of the law to the Gentiles and vice versa. Gager bases these proposals on several arguments (50-66), three of which may be noted here: (a) Paul's experience of "conversion" was to a Jew within Judaism; (b) Paul's missionary activities were focused on Gentiles; and (c) for some Jews, Gentiles drawn to Judaism were never obligated to the law in the same way as the Jews were.

To further substantiate his viewpoint, Gager uses his third and fourth chapters to engage two Pauline epistles in which "issues of the law, the Jews, and the new dispensation of Jesus Christ occupy center stage"—namely, Galatians and Romans (16). Thus, in the third chapter, Gager argues that Galatians, as a document written to a Gentile audience, does not address Jews at all. Gager pursues the same line of thought in the fourth chapter on Romans. Although Gager recognizes that, unlike Galatians, Romans actually speaks about Jews (101), he argues that every statement in Romans concerning the law and Judaism is addressed to or applies to Gentiles only. Critical to Gager's presentation in this chapter is his assumption that Paul wrote Romans as an attempt to ward off misunderstandings that resulted from Galatians.

A point that is hinted at in the third chapter and brought to a head in the fourth chapter, particularly with Gager's discussion of Romans 9-11, is that Jesus Christ is the savior of the Gentiles only. The Jews will be saved by God himself, not through Jesus. This point is repeated in Gager's concluding chapter.

I have several criticisms of this work, but I will highlight only two major ones. First, Gager's approach to Paul contains a somewhat self-contradictory element. On the one hand, Gager views Christianity as a nonentity in the first century and sees Paul, along with Jesus and the apostles, as living and working within the framework of Judaism as Jews (e.g., viii, 53-57). On the other hand, Gager sees Paul as addressing only members of the Jesus-movement, whether Gentile members directly or Jewish members (in competition with Paul) indirectly. Paul's statements about the law and Judaism concern "disputes within the Jesus-movement, not with Jews or Judaism outside" (69). It is unclear as to how these two sets of ideas can both be true, especially when Gager himself acknowledges that Paul came into conflict with Jews outside the Jesus-movement

(e.g., 67-68, 148-149) and that disputes within the movement reflected ones occurring more broadly within Judaism (e.g., 61-64).

Second, Gager never appears to engage the Greek texts of Paul in a way that would inductively build his case. Rather, he seems to read the texts simply in the light of his presumed picture of Paul and with heavy reliance upon the works of Krister Stendahl, Lloyd Gaston, and Stanley Stowers.

Despite my criticisms, it should be made clear that Gager raises some important issues. For example: Was Paul's gospel addressed primarily to Gentile and Jewish participants of the Jesus-movement? Was there a double standard in the Jewish community with reference to it so that Jews were obligated to the law one way and Gentiles in another way? Is it possible to read Paul without subordinating one set of statements to another set that apparently contradicts the first? These questions among others urgently call for further investigation. So Gager's new book is a welcome catalyst for further debate on these important points. My qualm is with the way he has chosen to develop these crucial points.

Andrews University P. RICHARD CHOI

Hayward, James L. ed. *Creation Reconsidered: Scientific, Biblical, and Theological Perspectives.* Roseville, CA: Association of Adventist Forums, 2000. 382 pp. Paper, $19.95.

This volume is dedicated to Richard Ritland and takes the side he championed in the controversy over origins, which continues to fester within Seventh-day Adventism. The twenty-seven papers making up chapters in the book were first presented at a 1985 field conference in which Ritland played a leading role. Thus it would be fair to say that *Creation Reconsidered* is as much a product of Richard Ritland as it is of James Hayward, who collected and edited the papers.

Because this is a collection written by different authors in different disciplines, it is not surprising that the contents are as eclectic as the subtitle "Scientific, Biblical, and Theological Perspectives" implies. Chapters range from explanations by Ervin Taylor and P. E. Hare of the reasoning and science behind radiometric and amino-acid dating techniques, to a historical review of interaction between Christianity and geology in the nineteenth century by Gary Land. Theological papers by Richard Hammill and Frederick Harder are juxtaposed with Raymond Cottrell's chapter on the inspiration and authority of the Bible and the extent of the Genesis flood. The opening and closing chapters of *Creation Reconsidered* exemplify the variety of material within the book. The volume begins with a paper by Clark Rowland, who used his background as a physicist to make the case that all knowledge is partial of necessity and the assumption that reality exists must be made if we are to study the world around us. Rowland reasons that the presupposition that God exists is a corollary of this primary assumption. The final chapter, entitled "A Skeptic's Prayers," is made up of two somewhat angst-ridden prayers written by Elvin Hedrick and printed without comment.

Despite the variety of authors involved in making *Creation Reconsidered*, the quality of writing is uniformly good and generally at an easy-reading level for most people. A number of chapters would fit perfectly into any well-written

textbook on the subjects covered. An excellent example of this textbook-like writing would be chapters introducing the geologic column and another discussing plate tectonics, the former written by Ritland and the latter by Hare. The black-and-white illustrations are also excellent, providing an element of graphic interest that complements the text very well. Some of the illustrations were provided by the authors, i.e., reproductions of seismic sections were used by Harold James in his paper on prospecting for petroleum, but the majority are carefully chosen etchings from old books.

With all its strengths, *Creation Reconsidered* is still a collection of papers from a field conference held over sixteen years ago. Where it is not dealing with basic information in geology or other areas, it provides a historical perspective on liberal Adventist thinking at the time and illustrates some of the problems with that thinking. Among these problems is conflation of time and the Flood with the basic issue of creation. The approach taken in *Mere Creation* (Bill Dembski, ed., 1998) seems to be much more logical, as it deals with one issue at a time instead of mixing them all up together. In fact, *Creation Reconsidered* gives very little space to dealing with the core issue of creation. The majority of chapters deal either with geology and problems with short chronology, or with the relationship between science and religion. More accurate titles might have been *The Flood Reconsidered*, *Adventism Reconsidered*, or *Science and the Bible Reconsidered*.

Several chapters are dedicated to critiques of other Adventist scholars' attempts to reconcile the biblical flood and a short chronology with the geological record. Strangely, not a single chapter deals with evidence logically consistent with creation such as biological complexity or the anthropic principle in physics. These arguments for creation are not new, just as the arguments against the literal interpretation of the biblical record of history used in *Creation Reconsidered* are not new, and yet they are given no significant attention in this 382-page book. This is disappointing, as some of the critiques are excellent. For example, P. E. Hare does a fine job of critiquing the interpretation of pleochronic halos as evidence of instantaneous creation. Ritland's critique of ecological zonation theory as an explanation for the ordering of fossils in specific strata masterfully outlines difficulties in the theory. While these chapters are interesting in and of themselves, no significant effort is made to explain what they have to do with the question of creation. The reader is left to assume that any literal interpretations of historical accounts given in the book of Genesis, especially those made by Adventist scholars who take the Bible at its word, are questionable. While it is not stated directly, this seems to be the point, especially when Ross Barnes's arrogant-sounding dedicatory statements about "collective organizational naïveté" and "inescapable conclusions" are allowed to color one's view of the book.

Those interested in the history of liberal Adventist thought concerning the interpretation of Genesis will find this book interesting. Other than this small group, however, it is hard to think of any general class of readers who will benefit from reading *Creation Reconsidered*. Anyone who lived through the seventies and eighties and was involved in the ongoing debate is familiar with the arguments and will find nothing new here. Of course, having everything written down is of some value as it provides a snapshot of the thinking that was going on at the time. During the fifteen years that it took to move from conference to printed volume,

some details may have been added to or deleted from the papers, but the general ideas are still consistent with my memory of discussions at the time.

These papers would be of much greater interest to those studying the way the debate has evolved over time if a brief update were given at the end of each chapter. How have these arguments held up over time? How has new data expanded our thinking? What ideas remain unchallenged? Perhaps, this may be done if a revised edition of *Creation Reconsidered* is ever printed. The predominantly liberal approach taken in this book makes it a bit bland. It would be much more exciting reading if there were both liberal and conservative arguments and critiques. One can only imagine how much more stimulating the original conference and thus this book would have been if prominent Adventists, who have been happy to take Genesis at its word, such as Ariel Roth and Gerhard Hasel, had been thrown into the mix!

Geoscience Research Institute TIMOTHY STANDISH
Loma Linda, California

Heinz, Hans. *Dein Heil bin ich: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Rechtfertigung, Heiligung und Vollendung,* Adventistica: Studies in Seventh-day Adventist History and Theology, Schriftenreihe des Historischen Archivs der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Europa, Theologische Hochschule Friedensau, ed. Daniel Heinz. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000. 223 pp. Paper, $37.95.

The present volume is not a Festschrift, but it is called a Festgabe. It is a gift for the 70th birthday of Hans Heinz and was edited by his son Daniel, the director of the historical archive of Seventh-day Adventists in Europe. Probably the book was labeled a Festgabe because Festschriften are normally written by friends, former students, and colleagues of the person to be honored. In this case, however, Hans Heinz himself is the primary author.

An introduction by Daniel Heinz, in which he reflects on present developments with regard to the doctrine of justification and explains the nature of the book, is followed by twenty-four essays by Hans Heinz, forming three major parts of the work. The first part focuses on justification and the certainty of salvation. The second part emphasizes sanctification and a righteous life, whereas the last section deals with the idea of reward and merit, its relation to justification, and with consummation or perfection.

An appendix by Daniel Heinz follows the body of this work. Relating some aphorisms of his father, he shows Hans Heinz's strong faith in the authority and trustworthiness of Scripture and his faithfulness in confessing its teachings. He believes that theology must be oriented toward practice, but should not falsely accommodate to contemporary trends. As a systematic and historical theologian, Hans Heinz has a keen interest in salvation and eschatology. A short biography is followed by a bibliography of his published works, reaching from 1950 to the present day.

Originally the essays appeared as articles in various magazines and books and were addressed to different audiences, such as church members on one hand and scholars on the other. So they differ in length, style, and content and some of them are easier to read than others. Some are translated from English into German. The

author's distinctive style of writing, which includes Greek, Latin, English, and French words and phrases, often explained immediately, is intriguing for many. Sometimes, however, explanations are missing and the reader is forced to go back to a previous passages in which a definition is provided. These definitions are normally understandable to the general public and are quite helpful. Since the footnotes often contain abbreviations, the list of abbreviations at the end of the book is also helpful. The nature of this volume makes some repetition unavoidable. The present reader did not feel that this hindered the flow of the book's thematic development too much. Furthermore, the different audiences to which the articles originally were addressed do not negatively affect its reading.

Most of the articles address the respective topics from a historical standpoint. The author is interested in Luther and justification, Adventists, and the doctrine of justification by faith, and the Catholic position on justification and merit. However, he also uses a biblical approach and deals with Paul as well as early Jewish ideas on merit. In his competent way, he deals with a broad spectrum of theological terms and concepts, such as justification, grace, certainty of salvation, the righteousness of God, repentance, being born again, love, the law, sanctification, and merit and works. In some cases he applies biblical principles to the situation of the everyday reader and the challenges of our present society. When dealing with the Decalogue, he is not afraid to address issues such as euthanasia, homosexuality, the death penalty, active and voluntary participation in war, and others. He also speaks to current developments such as ecumenical trends and the joint declaration on justification by the Catholic and Lutheran churches. He feels that whereas the Lutherans are moving towards Trent, the Catholics have employed political cleverness in forcing the Lutherans to give in, for instance, with regard to their understanding of sin.

This volume is an excellent and extremely helpful tool to refresh our understanding of salvation. It deals with this crucial topic in a well-balanced and solid way. The current reader can but urge his colleagues to get a copy and read this splendid collection of essays.

Biblical Research Institute
Silver Spring, Maryland

EKKEHARDT MÜLLER

Heller, Jan. *Biblical Dictionary in Seven Languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, German, Hungarian, Czech.* Prague: Vyšehrad, 2000. xxi + 369 pp. Hardback, $10.00.

Jan Heller, professor of OT at Charles University in Prague, has put a treasury of knowledge into this multilingual dictionary, a dictionary tradition which has a rich Bohemian history. The first known work of this type was published in 1598 by Mikuláš Albrecht z Kaménka, who also collaborated in the Czech translation of the Kralice Bible.

Heller's *Biblical Dictionary in Seven Languages* is an expanded and entirely revised fourth edition of a work that first appeared in 1955 for Czech theology students. The scope of its transformation makes it appear to be a new publication: English, German, and Hungarian languages have been added, and the original 1,197 Hebrew words have grown to the present 2,797.

The dictionary is neatly published, with well-defined columns and clear fonts in the various languages. The layout is simple and clear: It is arranged alphabetically according to the Hebrew vocabulary, the words of which are placed in parallel with their Greek, Latin, English, German, Hungarian, and Czech renderings in separate columns. The Hebrew words, except for nouns, are provided with basic grammatical tags in a separate column. In general, the dictionary covers Hebrew terms that occur at least five times in the Hebrew Bible, have clearly ascertainable meanings, and have definable Greek equivalents. Some less frequent words appear, but these include only twenty-three *hapax legomena.*

The dictionary is useful for providing basic Hebrew-Greek equivalents. Where the Septuagint employs a variety of expressions for a particular Hebrew word, the most frequently used Greek term has been chosen as the dictionary's Greek equivalent. While the Greek follows the Septuagint, the dictionary's Latin does not always follow the Vulgate.

The modern languages follow Latin in the following column order: English, German, Hungarian, and Czech. Modern translations are connected with the Hebrew, but not necessarily with each other. The dictionary is followed by helpful alphabetical indices of Greek, Latin, English, German, Hungarian, and Czech words.

Surprisingly, although other terms for "God" appear, the Hebrew column lacks YHWH, the tetragrammaton. Inconsistency also affects pronouns. While pronouns for "I," "he," "she," "we," and "this" are included, the personal pronouns for "you" and "they" and the demonstrative pronoun for "these" are inexplicably absent.

The fact that a given Hebrew word is provided with only one meaning limits the value of the dictionary for deeper study. However, this simplification is an advantage for a student whose language is English, German, Hungarian, or Czech, and who is attempting to grasp the main significance of each Hebrew word. The main strength of this work lies in the usefulness of its parallel presentation for relating Hebrew words to their translations in several languages.

Andrews University JIŘÍ MOSKALA

Knight, George R. *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs.* Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000. 223 pp. Paperback, $9.99.

In his second book of the Adventist Heritage Series, Knight gives an overview of theological development in Seventh-day Adventism from its foundations in early nineteenth-century Millerism to the tensions and polarizations evident at the beginning of the twenty-first century. As the title suggests, this development is seen as a continuing quest for denominational identity, shaped by responses to changing concerns during this 150-year period.

As Professor of Church History in the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University and one who has written numerous books on Adventist history, the author is well qualified to provide a bird's-eye view of the struggles in Adventist theology. His *Myths in Adventism* (1985) and four-volume series on Ellen White (1996-1999) have served to broaden understanding of a key figure in Adventist history. *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (1987) treats the Millerite

foundations of Adventism, while *From 1888 to Apostasy* (1987), *Angry Saints* (1989), and *A User-friendly Guide to the 1888 Message* (1998) explore issues surrounding the battle over righteousness by faith in Adventist theology at the end of the nineteenth century.

A Search for Identity is the first Adventist publication that attempts to deal in a comprehensive way with Adventist theological struggles and tensions over the years. The reason for this omission is probably due to the Adventist sense of "having" the truth, which precludes consideration of change in doctrine over time. The introductory and concluding chapters of *A Search for Identity* highlight the progressive nature of truth and the need for openness to new understandings, a stance that characterized the first sabbatarian Adventists. The publication of such a book is in itself a sign of developing maturity and a secure sense of identity, presaging further openness to discussion of Adventist history, mission, and theology within the denomination.

Knight's overview attempts to show that Adventist theology developed substantially in response to "crises faced by the church and the questions that each crisis generated in Adventist circles" (10). These questions provide the titles for chapters 4-6. Following an introduction to the backgrounds of Adventism, including Millerism (chaps. 2 and 3), chapter 4 is entitled: "What is Adventist in Adventism?" Here Knight outlines the formation of a theological "package" by a group of Millerites after the 1844 Disappointment. Joseph Bates is identified as the one who first placed the doctrines of the Second Advent, the Sabbath, and the Sanctuary in the context of the controversy between good and evil depicted in Rev 11-14 (71). Knight argues that it is the resulting consciousness of being a prophetic people that has primarily given Adventists their identity (203-204).

Chapter 5, "What is Christian in Adventism?" highlights discussion of the proper place of righteousness by faith in Adventist doctrine. Knight argues that the 1888 General Conference session initiated a "course correction" in Adventist theology, restoring basic Christian beliefs that had come to be neglected in the Adventist focus on the law and the Sabbath (91). As perceived by Knight, the real struggle was over authority, as denominational leaders resisted taking the Bible as the determiner of truth, opting rather for expert opinion and tradition as criteria. Chapter 6 deals with the way in which Adventist theology changed in answer to the question, "What is Fundamentalist in Adventism?" The modernist-fundamentalist struggle of the early twentieth century is seen as driving the church unwittingly toward the fundamentalist views of verbal inspiration and inerrancy, and away from the moderate views espoused by the church in 1883 and by Ellen White. In this context, Knight discusses the "crucial" role of M. L. Andreasen and his theology of a last generation of overcomers that vindicate God at the end of time (144-152).

In chapter 7, Knight shows that all of the above questions that confronted the church in earlier periods faced the church again in the last half of the twentieth century. As leaders tried to make Adventism appear more Christian, others reacted by trying to preserve the early twentieth-century form of Adventism, which they regarded as preserving the distinctive aspects of Adventism. The question of the authority of Ellen White and the nature of inspiration again came to the fore.

Knight masterfully presents evidence from primary historical sources to document the reality of change in Adventist understandings of truth. Though the in-

text citations are brief, in accordance with the "aim of brevity" (13), an abundance of detailed information is given on a broad range of debated topics. Thus, while presenting a brief outline of Adventist theological development, Knight provides a veritable catalog of issues that have been discussed by Adventists during their brief history. He covers these topics in his readable style, so that what can be seen in one sense as a reference work is digested almost as easily as a story. We look forward to the envisioned four-volume expansion (11).

The central message of the book is clear—the typical Adventist way of doing theology has led to needless polarization: "Any religious group is in trouble if and when it formulates its theology primarily in opposition to a real or perceived polar position" (200). Knight's suggestion for the opposite kind of study, in which we arrive at theological positions "inductively from the inside of Scripture" (193), is inviting. Such counsel is needed not only by Adventist theologians, pastors, administrators, and laymen, but by all who hold Scripture to be the determining authority.

Berrien Springs, Michigan PAUL EVANS

Morgan, Douglas. *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001. xvi + 269 pp. Hardcover, $32.00.

Adventism and the American Republic is based upon Morgan's Ph.D. dissertation, completed at the University of Chicago under the guidance of Martin E. Marty. Morgan, an assistant professor of history at Columbia Union College in Maryland, has entered relatively untouched territory. While there have been several books and articles related to sectors of his subject matter, the only work that has even remotely sought to cover the field is Eric Syme's *History of SDA Church-State Relations in the United States* (1973).

Syme's work (also based on a Ph.D. dissertation), however, tends to be more of a chronicle of the history of Seventh-day Adventism's relation to the state. Morgan covers much of the same territory, but moves beyond it both in subject matter and the period of time covered. But more significant is the fact that Morgan forcefully argues a very definite thesis. In particular, he demonstrates that it is Adventism's apocalyptic reading of history that has shaped the denomination's involvement with both religious liberty and public issues in general.

The book presents its thesis through six chapters as Morgan shows how the evolving denomination has taken varying stands on public issues across the 150 years of its history. The first chapter (1844-1861) pictures Adventism as an isolated "remnant." The second (1861-1886) shows Adventism taking a more active part in public affairs, while the third (1886-1914) demonstrates that Adventism's activity could at times be a protest against what it considered governmental abuses of power.

The fourth chapter, covering the period from 1914 to 1955, finds a much more sedate Adventism, which, upon gaining a measure of respectability, largely lost its protesting voice while it became much more cooperative with the government. Chapter 5 (1955-1976) witnesses the denomination becoming less firm on the "dividing wall" between church and state, while the final chapter (1976-2000) sees the development of genuine tensions in Adventism as various subsets of

the church have taken different views both on public involvement and on the church's apocalyptic understanding.

Perhaps the best description of Morgan's book is *wide ranging*. He covers an immense amount of territory, generally with accuracy and perception. But like any comprehensive study, this one has its blind spots. Perhaps the most obvious is his characterization of Adventists during the Civil War as pacifists (92) rather than the conscientious cooperators that they were. Related to that issue is the claim that Adventism for the first time faced military conscription in World War I. It is a misreading of Adventist history to claim that "Adventist leaders changed course entirely" (90) in the twentieth century on the issue of military service. Their position was actually a continuation of the cooperative one established in the face of conscription in 1864. Beyond misunderstandings on Adventism's relationship to the military, Morgan's treatment of the latter half of the twentieth century would have benefitted from a more sophisticated grasp of the major developments in Adventism's theological history since the mid 1950s.

Beyond those historical problems, the first footnote about which I got excited enough to check in the primary sources was inaccurate. But the remarkably few weaknesses in *Adventism and the American Republic* do not detract from the book's overall soundness. Even the two historical flaws indicated above do not invalidate Morgan's thesis. He not only proves his point, but does so with a great deal of literary skill and understanding of complex interactions. The book represents a massive achievement in helping us understand the public face of Adventism and how it has been shaped by apocalyptic understanding.

This book is important reading for anyone with an interest in the history of America's church-state relationships and/or Adventism.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Poythress, Vern S., and Wayne A. Grudem. *The Gender-neutral Bible Controversy: Muting the Masculinity of God's Words*. Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2000. xxix + 377 pp. Paper, $19.99.

Whatever the viewpoint of the reader in regard to inerrancy of the biblical text and the modern feminist movement, this book deserves careful and respectful study. The authors have exhaustively compared translations ranging from the more literal to those with more change in form (a chart of the continuum is on p. 79).

After the foreword by Vallerie Becker Makkai, associate professor of Linguistics at the University of Illinois in Chicago, and a brief preface by the two authors, the list of abbreviations refers to the gender-specific versions approved by the authors and the gender-neutral ones that are not acceptable to them. In the first group, "Gender-specific Bible versions," are the KJV (1611), ASV (1901), RSV (1946, 1952, 1971), NASB (1963, 1995), NEB (1970), GNB (1976), NKJV (1982), NIV (1984), REB (1989), NIrV (1998).

In the unapproved list, "Gender-neutral Bible versions," are NRSV (1989), NCV (1987, 1991), GNB, 2d ed. (1992), CEV (1995), GW (1995), NIrV (1995), NIVI (1995, 1996), NLT (1996), NLT, rev. ed. (1996). Under "Culturally adapted imaginative renderings of the Bible" are listed Kenneth N. Taylor's *The Living Bible—Paraphrased*

(1971) and Eugene Peterson's *The Message* (1995). The OT lexicon used is Brown-Driver-Briggs, and the NT one is Walter Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker. CSG refers to the Colorado Springs Guidelines, printed in Appendix 1, "a statement drawn up on May 27, 1997, and later refined." It is a very reasonable set of guidelines, acceptable to everyone. Two books with which the authors argue throughout are D. A. Carson's *The Inclusive-Language Debate: A Plea of Realism* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998) and Mark L. Strauss's *Distorting Scripture? The Challenge of Bible Translation & Gender Accuracy* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1998).

Chapter 1, "What's Going on with Bible Translations?" describes the controversy, showing that in the inclusive versions "father" has become "parent," "son" "child," "him" "them," "he" "they." The versions called "gender-neutral" use substitute nouns and pronouns and change singulars into plurals. The authors state that they "are not criticizing the personal motives of the translators" and admit that "where a translation is not the most accurate, it may still capture *some* of the meaning, . . . Moreover, almost always the translation results in a statement that is theologically true" (7). However, for these authors with their inerrancy view, this is not sufficient.

Chapter 2 relates "The Rise of Gender-Neutral Bible Translation," blaming it on the extremes of the feminist movement. Chapter 3, "The Bible: The Word of God," sets forth their inerrancy base, which is close to a dictation idea, although they deny this. Chapter 4, "How to Translate," is an excellent exposition of the process and problems of translation, particularly of the Bible. Chapter 5 is a fine, reasonable discussion of "Permissible Changes in Translating Gender-Related Terms." If the inclusive-language translations had kept to these, in accord with the (later) Colorado Springs Guidelines, there would probably have been no controversy. Chapter 6 presents "Unacceptable Changes That Eliminate References to Men." Chapter 7 to 11 discuss "Generic 'He'." They deal with "Feminist Opposition to Generic 'He'" (chap. 8), and arguments for (chap. 9) and against (chap. 10) avoiding it, and give proof that ordinary people still understand and use it (chap. 11). Numerous examples are given in these chapters as the authors compare translations of various texts. Chapters 12 and 13 discuss "More Issues in Translating Gender: Man, Son of Man, Fathers, Brothers, Son, and the Extent of the Changes," and "More Examples Concerning Man, Father, Son."

Chapter 14 contains "Practical Application Questions." The authors state: "We should also encourage Bible translations to make legitimate, acceptable changes in translation where meaning is not sacrificed and where the inclusion of women could be made more explicit than it has been in the past." They say in parentheses: "The KJV was reliable in its time and is still used by people who are accustomed to it, but now it has become difficult for people to understand if they themselves have not grown up using it." In a footnote they say that "no translation in common use is so bad that people cannot hear from it the message of salvation and be saved" (295).

Chapter 15 is a two-page conclusion. Appendix 1 presents the "Colorado Springs Guidelines." Appendix 2, "Analyzing the Meanings of Words," shows that the Greek word *aner* always means a male. However, *anthropos* (Appendix 5) is very often inclusive of both genders and should be so translated. Appendix 3 is on "The Relation

of Generic 'He' to Third-Person Generic Singulars in Hebrew and Greek." Appendix 4 discusses "The Spectrum from 'He' in a Story to 'He' in a General Statement." Appendix 6 is titled "The Evaporation of an Argument: D. A. Carson's Lack of Evidence for the Unusability of Generic 'He' in English." A scriptural index and an index of persons conclude the volume.

On page 183 the authors speak against producing "niche" translations to meet the needs of various people. Translation of the Bible, which was produced in a patriarchal, male-dominated ancient world, must be accurately done according to their inerrancy view. However, this reviewer would argue that "niche" translations are already here, and they make the Bible much more appealing and meaningful to women today, who, for example, feel repressed by a still male-oriented modern society and are repelled by the overmasculinization of the text in traditional translations. If they can "hear" the divine message in an inclusive-language version, which may be looser in accuracy but still conveys the message of salvation, that is surely better than the alternative of their rejecting the Word completely! This serious work deserves thoughtful reading and study, whatever one's viewpoint.

Andrews University LEONA GLIDDEN RUNNING

Schwarz, Richard W., and Floyd Greenleaf. *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church*, Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2000. 688 pp. Paperback, $21.95.

Light Bearers is a revised and updated edition of Richard W. Schwarz's 1979 book of similar title. Despite extensive revisions, the new author Floyd Greenleaf has tried to retain Schwarz's pertinent thoughts and phraseology(10).

The purpose of the book is to portray the rise and development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The more specific focus of the revised version, however, is to "depict the denomination as a truly global organization" (7) rather than merely from a North American perspective. Thus the new edition looks at the church from a broader scope.

Although there are many similarities with the first edition, the reader will notice some major differences. Greenleaf has divided the content into four parts (instead of the five in the older edition). Part 1, "Origin and Formative Years, 1839-1888" (11-188), deals with the Millerite movement, the Disappointment, and the formation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. This part corresponds to the first and second sections of the earlier book. Most of the original material has been retained with very few changes.

Part 2, "Years of Growth and Reorganization, 1888-1945" (188-384), looks at the expansion of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the organizational reform that was needed because of that growth. It also covers the final years of Ellen G. White, and the effect of the two World Wars on the Adventist Church and its theology. This part includes chapters 13-15 of the earlier edition, plus some condensed material from Sections 3 and 4 of the first edition.

Part 3, "The Globalization of the Church, 1945-2000" (385-604) is where Greenleaf has made major changes and contributions. He has revised and condensed Schwarz's original Section 5, incorporating new material that

constitutes most of this part. Part 3 also includes four entirely new chapters: 28, 31, 32, and 34, which discuss contemporary issues that have faced Adventists since World War II. New "politico-economic philosophies" have forced the Adventists Church to take a closer look at its "message," "membership," and "mission" in the context of its globalization. Readers, especially Adventists, may find some of the issues thought-provoking and challenging. These include, for instance, new methods of evangelism, increasing membership growth outside North America, the need for better-trained pastors and leaders, the new church polity. Greenleaf notes that the election of Jan Paulsen, a Norwegian, as president of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1999, was seen by a majority of Adventists "as a climax to the obvious international trend in the church" (603).

Part 4, "Maintaining a Biblical Message" (605-655), replaces chapters 37 and 38 of the first edition. Here Greenleaf deals with current theological issues in the Adventist Church. After examining the doctrinal controversies that have accompanied offshoot movements (chap. 35), Greenleaf devotes the next chapter to twentieth-century debates over fundamental beliefs, observing that "not a single doctrinal question" is new. Debates are still over issues such as "Ellen White and the nature of inspiration," "righteousness by faith," "the sanctuary," "the biblical account of creation," and "the integrity of church leadership," especially in "financial matters" (627). The only difference from the past, Greenleaf rightly notices, is that now the questions do not arise independently, but are so "intertwined as to be inseparable" (ibid.).

Greenleaf does not just bring debated issues. He gives an important overview of responses made by the Adventist Church to controversial subjects. In the process, he mentions some new books written by Adventist theologians and historians as answers to the above issues. Greenleaf shows that although the Adventist Church has gone through dramatic changes in the twentieth century, the main focus of the church has remained the same: to proclaim its unique prophetic message. This is the reason why, according to the author, the church has grown to a size none of its founders imagined.

Although the author quotes a host of primary and secondary sources, he does not provide documentation (footnotes or endnotes). This major weakness is only somewhat mitigated by the inclusion of suggested readings for further study at the end of each chapter. Readers seeking sources of specific citations may find many of them in the older edition with its extensive endnotes. The work also includes an updated chronology, bibliography, and index.

Light Bearers is intended primarily as a college textbook. The general reader may find some of the material too detailed. Nevertheless, the book is a good source for understanding the Seventh-day Adventist Church and its history.

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Stager, Lawrence E., Joseph A. Greene, and Michael D. Coogan, eds. *The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond: Essays in Honor of James A. Sauer.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000. xvi + 529 pp. Hardcover, $85.00.

Jim Sauer was not only an important and respected scholar within the sphere of Syro-Palestinian archaeology, serving as president of both the American Schools

of Oriental Research and the American Center for Oriental Research in Amman, Jordan; he played an integral role on the team of Andrews University's Hesban excavation, serving as our projects' ceramics specialist for several seasons. To honor Jim, whose distinguished career was cut short on 23 November 1999 by Huntington's chorea, a number of his friends and colleagues contributed forty-five articles to what was intended to be a Festschrift, but sadly became a memorial volume: *The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond: Essays in Honor of James A. Sauer.* As the stature, quality, and breadth of expertise of the contributors testify (the list reads like a Who's Who of Syro-Palestinian and Jordanian archaeology), this impressive volume is a worthy tribute to Jim Sauer's life. Lawrence E. Stager, Joseph A. Greene, and Michael D. Coogan were the editors of the volume, which includes tributes by a string of royal personages, distinguished diplomats, and scholars, including Walter Rast, Raouf Sa'd Abujaber, the Royal Hashemite Court, and Prince Raad Bin Zeid, and letters by Keith Beebe, Adnan Hadidi, John B. Hennessy, Thomas R. Pickering, Stuart Swiny, Joan M. Undeland, and David K. Undeland. Anthony Appa provides a bibliography of Jim's publications.

From the outset, it can be seen that it would be impractical to "review" the articles themselves. Overall, it can be said that the articles reflect the qualities of the distinguished authors who wrote them. The topics covered are wide-ranging. Some articles deal with inscriptions and ancient writings, others with sites—excavations and surveys—while still others with geography, aspects of material culture, archaeological history, and archaeological methodologies and interpretation. The chronological range runs from the Acheulian and Mousterian cultures to Islamic times. For convenience, I will group the essays according to their regional focus.

Articles focusing on Israel and the West Bank include Jeff Blakely's "Petrie's Pilaster Building at Tell el-Hesi," "An Ostracon in Literary Hebrew from Horvat 'Uza" by Frank Cross, "The Canine Conundrum of Ashkelon: A Classical Connection" by Baruch Halpern, "The North Wall of Aelia Capitolina" by Jodie Maness, and "Proto-Urban Jericho: the Need for Reappraisal" by Peter Parr.

Articles focusing elsewhere in the Middle East include "The Problem of the Identification of the City on Ras Ibn Hani, Syria" by Adnan Bounni, "Roman Mummies Discovered at Bahria Oasis" [in the Western Desert of Egypt] by Zahi Hawass, "Old South Arabian Inscriptions in the Harvard Semitic Museum" by John Huehnergard, "Metallurgy in Oman during the Early Islamic Period" by Moawiyah Ibrahim and Ali Tigani Elmahi, "Conceptual Domains, Competence, and *Chaîne Opératoire* in the Levantine Mousterian" by Kristopher W. Kerry and Donald O. Henry, "Why a Hedgehog" by Al Leonard [an interesting discussion of the Late Bronze Age Aegean hedgehog "rhyta"], "Environmental and Cultural Factors in the Development of Settlement in a Marginal Highland Zone" [Muş,Turkey] by Mitchell S. Rothman, "South Arabian Architecture and Its Relations with Egypt and Syria" by Ernest Will, "Prophecy and Poetry in Modern Yemen" by George E. Mendenhall, and "Muhammad as Prophet and Mayor: City Planning from the Perspective of the Qur'an, Hadith, and Islamic Law Case Study: Damascus" by Kassem Toueir.

The majority of articles naturally focus on the archaeology of Jordan, since

this is where Jim Sauer concentrated most of his research and made his greatest contributions. These essays include: "A New Look at Desert Kites" by Alison V. G. Betts and Vadim N. Yagodin, "Transjordan and Assyria" by Piotr Bienkowski, "An Iconographic Detail from Khirbet al-Mafjar: The Fruit-and-Knife Motif" by Ghazi Bisheh, "The Distribution of Thirteenth- to Fifteenth-Century Glazed Wares in Transjordan: A Case Study from the Kerak Plateau" by Robin Brown, "Investigating Ancient Ceramic Traditions on Both Sides of the Jordan" by Douglas R. Clark and Gloria A. London, "Nelson Glueck and the Other Half of the Holy Land" by William G. Dever, "Nabatean Metallurgy: Foundry and Fraud" by Philip C. Hammond, "Exploring the Great Temple at Petra: The Brown University Excavations, 1993-1996" by Martha Sharp Joukowsky, "A Unique PPNC Female Figurine from 'Ain Ghazal" by Zeidan Kafafi, "New Nabatean Inscriptions from the 1996 Survey in the Umm el-Jimal Area" by Nabil I. Khairy, "A Corpus of Bone Carvings from the Excavation of the Esbous North Church (Hesban, Jordan)" by John I. Lawlor, "A Moabite Fortress on Wadi al-Hasa? A Reassessment of Khirbet al-Medeineh" by Burton MacDonald, "Burckhardt-Robinson Features in Nineteenth-Century Maps of the Kerak Plateau" by J. Maxwell Miller, "The Defense of Palestine and Transjordan from Diocletian to Heraclius" by S. Thomas Parker, "Chronology versus Regionalism in the Early Bronze IV: An Assemblage of Whole and Restored Vessels from the Public Building at Khirbet Iskander" by Suzanne Richard, "Return to ᶜAin el-Assad (Lion Spring), 1996: Azraq Acheulian Occupation *in situ*" by Gary O. Rollefson, "Terminology and Typology of Carinated Vessels of the Early Bronze Age I-II of Palestine" by R. Thomas Schaub, "Chancel Screens from the West Church at Pella of the Decapolis" by Robert Houston Smith, "The Late Bronze Age in Northern Jordan in the Light of the Finds at Tell-el-Fukhar" by John Strange, "Some Towers in Jordan" by Henry O. Thompson, "Hesban, Amman and Abbasid Archaeology in Jordan" by Donald Whitcomb, and "Rectangular Profiled Rims from el-Bālūᶜ: Indicators of Moabite Occupation" by Udo Worschech.

There are a number of articles with a broader archaeological focus. These include "Social and Demographic Implications of Subadult Inhumations in the Ancient Near East" by Bruno Frohlich and Donald J. Ortner, "Warfare in the Ancient Near East" by Philip J. King, "Some Byzantine Pilgrim Flasks in the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary Bible Lands Museum" by Nancy L. Lapp, "Reflections on Archaeology and Development" by C. J. Lenzen, "Ceramics, Chronology, and Historical Reconstruction" by Eric M. Meyers, and "'Archaeology' of the Bible and Judaism in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages" by Jeffery H. Tigay.

The volume is nicely produced by Eisenbrauns. The illustrations that were employed are useful and of good quality. Unfortunately, the work does not include a list of illustrations, a general author's index, or a topical index, but it does include a site index. The breadth of topics, the range of their geographical focus, and the high stature of the contributors are a fitting testimony to Sauer's influence and contribution to the field of Near Eastern Archaeology. This volume is a "must have" for any serious student or scholar who is interested in archaeological research in this part of the world.

Andrews University RANDALL W. YOUNKER

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	=	ʾ	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	=	ʿ	ר	=	r			

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	=	a	ֶ	=	e	ֵי	=	ê	ֹ	=	ō	וֹ	=	ô			
ָ	=	ā	ֵ	=	ē	ִ	=	i	ָ	=	o	וּ	=	û			
ֲ	=	a	ֱ ֳ (vocal shewa)	=	e	ִי	=	î	ֳ	=	o	ֻ	=	u			

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	*Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.*
AB	Anchor Bible
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*
ADAJ	*Annual Dept. Ant. Jordan*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
ANEP	*Anc. Near East in Pictures*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
ANRW	*Auf. und Nieder. der römischen Welt*
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews Seminary Studies*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin Amer. Sch. Oriental Research*
BCSR	*Bull. Council on the Study of Religion*
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Expl. Society*
BJRL	*Bulletin, John Rylands University*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BKAT	Bibl. Kommentar: Altes Testament
BR	*Biblical Research*
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Biehefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CH	*Church History*
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum græcarum*
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum indaicarum*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CT	*Christianity Today*
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CurTM	*Currents in Theol. and Mission*
DOTT	*Doc. from OT Times*, Thomas, ed.
EDNT	*Exegetical Dict. of the NT*
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*
EncIS	*Encyclopedia of Islam*
EncJud	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
ER	*Ecumenical Review*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies*
GTJ	*Grace Theological Journal*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HR	*History of Religions*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Ency.*
JAAR	*Journ. American Academy of Religion*
JAOS	*Journ. of the Amer. Or. Society*
JAS	*Journ. of Asian Studies*
JATS	*Journ. of the Adventist Theol. Soc.*

Abbreviations (continued)

JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangel. Theol. Soc.*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JMeH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JMES	*Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS	*Journal of Palest. Orient. Soc.*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRAS	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the NT*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRT	*Journal of Religious Thought*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR	*Journal for the Scien. Study of Religion*
JTC	*Journal for Theol. and Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LW	Luther's Works, American Ed.
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
MQR	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New Internl. Commentary, NT
NICOT	New Internl. Commentary, OT
NIDNTT	*New Inter. Dict. of NT Theol.*
NIGTC	New Internl. Greek Test. Comm.
NKZ	*Neu Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRT	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*
NTAp	*NT Apocrypha*, Schneemelcher
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
ODCC	*Oxford Dict. of Christian Church*
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia* (Rome)
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
OTP	*OT Pseudepigrapha*, Charlesworth
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	*Patrologia Græca*, Migne
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, Migne
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*
QDAP	*Quart. Dept. of Ant. in Palestine*
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'arch.*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RechSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
REg	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS	*Religious Studies*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR	*Revue d'hist. et de phil. religieuses*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL	*Religion in Life*
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RR	*Review of Religion*
RRR	*Review of Religious Research*
RSPT	*Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*
RTP	*Revue de théol. et de phil.*
SA	*Sociological Analysis*
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
Sem	*Semitica*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SMRT	*Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought*
SOr	Studia Orientalia
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Studies Series
ST	*Studia Theologica*
TD	*Theology Digest*
TDNT	*Theol. Dict. of the NT*
TDOT	*Theol. Dict. of the OT*
TEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGI	*Theologie und Glaube*
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TT	*Teologisk Tidsskrift*
TToday	*Theology Today*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TWAT	*Theo. Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
TWOT	*Theological Wordbook of the OT*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WA	Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wissen.*
ZDMG	*Zeitsch. des deutsch. morgen. Gesll.*
ZDPV	*Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Vereins*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZHT	*Zeitsch. für historische Theologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT	*Zeitsch. für katholische Theologie*
ZMR	*Zeitsch. für Mission. und Religion.*
ZNW	*Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wissen.*
ZRGG	*Zeitsch. für Rel. und Geistegeschichte*
ZST	*Zeitsch. für systematische Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissen. Theologie*