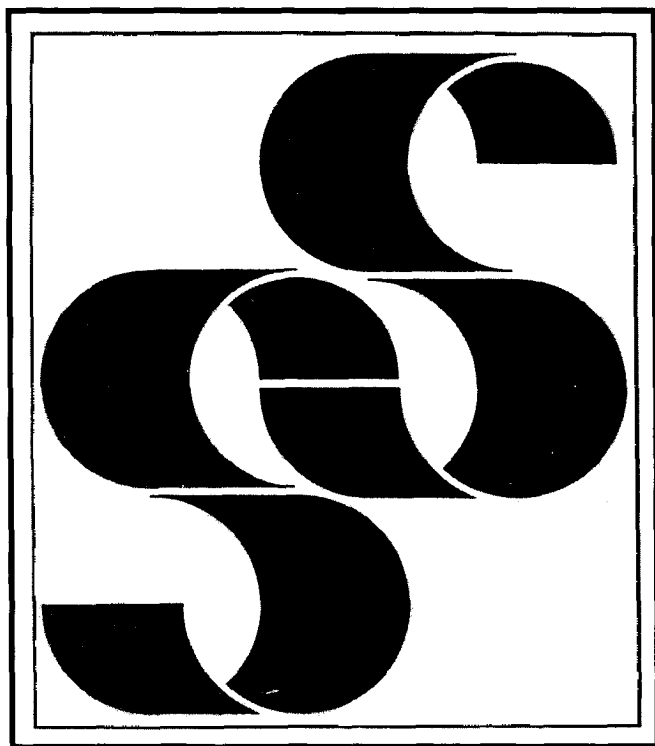


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WITH THIS, IT'S 40 VOLUMES

In recognition of the 40th birthday of *AUSS*, a brief historical sketch by Karen Abrahamson pays tribute to those who launched the journal and those who have kept it going until now. Also for this Ruby Anniversary, we break with our usual practice in order to include pictures of the past editors and the present editorial staff.

Opening the article section of this issue is a mini-symposium on women in the OT. We are indebted to David Merling and Heidi Szpek for gathering these articles and doing initial editing. Some of them were originally presented at a Midwest Regional Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. Four more of the same group will be published in *AUSS* Spring 2003.

Karen Abrahamson, editorial assistant and office manager at *AUSS*, has been working for months on a complete overhaul of the *AUSS* web page. By the time this issue reaches readers, you should be able to click on < www.auss.info > and find a fresh new home page which Karen designed, backed up by a relatively full-service website, including a complete index for volumes 1-40, authors' guidelines for articles and book reviews, provision for online subscribing, and other information. Hopefully it won't be 40 years before the next web page update! (Karen agrees). JM



AUSS 2002: Back Row: F. Edgar Nunes, Jerry Moon, Ross Winkle, Roy E. Gane. Front Row: Leona G. Running, Karen K. Abrahamson, Madeline Johnston.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF
ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES
1963-2002

They say that time flies when you're having fun. And the years have flown by since *AUSS* first emerged on the scholarly publication scene in 1963. Editors have come and gone, technology has changed, but articles continue to arrive from around the globe. Regarding technology, Leona Running likes to recount how, in the "good old days," the journal was prepared on a typewriter, packaged, and the only copy shipped to Brill Publishing of the Netherlands. Running recalls how the staff would pray that the sole copy would reach the printers safely. In those days, photocopies, fax machines, and computer disks were nonexistent. Incredibly, not one manuscript was ever lost in transit.

Founding editor Siegfried H. Horn noted in *AUSS* volume 1 that throughout its then nearly 30 years of existence, the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary "has had no regular outlet for articles of a scholarly character written by members of its faculty, students, and alumni." Thus, "there has been a growing sense of need for a suitable journal sponsored by the Seminary. This new publication, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* is launched to meet this need."¹

He and his associates, Earle Hilgert and Douglas Walther, envisioned a scholarly publication that would provide up-to-date theological scholarship in "Biblical linguistics and its cognates, textual criticism, exegesis, Biblical archaeology and geography, ancient history, church history, theology, philosophy of religion, ethics and comparative religions."² Scholars from around the world were invited to participate in this new venture "regardless of . . . creed," with articles accepted in English, French, or German.

The table of contents from volume 1 is impressive. Not only were the authors of that first volume representative of the larger international community (Swiss, Australian, German, Korean, and American), but they also came from prestigious backgrounds. For instance, E. R. Thiele unlocked "The Synchronisms of the Hebrew Kings." Kenneth A. Strand, a versatile scholar of church history and theology, would later become editor of *Seminary Studies* and the second most prolific writer for the journal (exceeded only by William Shea of the Biblical Research Institute, retired). William B.

¹Siegfried H. Horn, "Introducing *Andrews University Seminary Studies*," *AUSS* 1 (1963): 3.

²*Ibid.*

Bishai of the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, provided commentary on "Sabbath Observance from Coptic Sources." Desmond Ford, a young Australian scholar, in his article "Ethics, Chaos, and Cosmos,"³ anticipated the influence of existential thought on what would later come to be called the postmodern generation when he noted that "the dominant conceptual myths found in literature today are (1) Voyage, (2) Hell, (3) Isolation, and (4) Doubt," and in his agreement with Dostoevsky that the source of this crisis lay in the lack of "agreed-upon ethical values."

The first two volumes were each a single issue of 168 pages. With volume 3 in 1965, the frequency increased to two issues per year, of about 100 pages each. Throughout the years, the editors of *Seminary Studies* have continued a tradition of presenting current and relevant scholarship that spans the theological encyclopedia, presented not only by theologians within the Adventist community, but also by others sharing similar views of Scripture. While the overall purpose of the journal, as articulated by the founding editor, has been to provide a particularly Seventh-day Adventist forum,⁴ *Seminary Studies* has been pleased to also feature other scholars such as Walter C. Kaiser Jr. (Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary), Elmer A. Martens (Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary), Bruce Waltke (Regent College), Josephine Massyngbaerde Ford (University of Notre Dame), Gregory K. Beale (Wheaton College), and Steven Moyise (University College, Chichester, England). These, and many others like them, help to inform our readership on the latest debates and issues in a wide variety of fields of study.

This commitment to excellence has been the goal of each editor, who has brought his or her unique style and strengths to the journal. Siegfried H. Horn (founding editor, 1963-1974), who exhibited an unbending Germanic devotion to academic rigor, was an adventurer. Among his many and diverse ventures, he served as a minister in Holland, and in 1932 accepted a post as a missionary in the Dutch West Indies. During World War II, he was interned as a political prisoner of war for nearly seven years. During his imprisonment, he taught Greek, Hebrew, and other courses to his fellow prisoners, and prepared book manuscripts for later publication. When released at the end of the war, Horn continued his education, earning a Ph.D. in Egyptology from the Oriental Institute in 1951.⁵ He subsequently laid the foundation for a strong Seventh-day Adventist presence in the field of middle eastern archaeology. His original



³Desmond Ford, "Ethics, Chaos, and Cosmos," *AUSS* 1 (1963): 33, 35.

⁴Horn, 3.

⁵Nancy J. Vyhmeister, "Siegfried H. Horn: 1908-1993: A Tribute," *AUSS* 32 (1994): 4-6.

excavation at Tall Hisban, Jordan, has grown to three major sites, now known as the Madaba Plains Project, including Tall Hisban, Tall Al-'Umayri, and Tall Jalul.⁶ *AUSS* continues to be the venue for the project's preliminary dig reports.

Kenneth A. Strand (Ph.D. in Church History, University of Michigan) served as editor from 1974 to 1987. In the spring of 1981, he introduced a visual facelift for the journal. The original cover design, from 1963 to 1981, had placed the table of contents on the front, in blue ink on pastel-green cover stock. The new design in 1981 has continued unchanged to the present. Also in 1981, Strand announced an increase to three issues per year, totaling 220-240 pages. In 1988, Strand became co-editor, first with George Knight (1988-1991) and then with Nancy Vyhmeister (1991-1994). Strand brought to *AUSS* the strengths of a truly multidisciplinary expertise. He eventually chaired the



Church History department, but also taught for the NT department and the School of Education at Andrews. His first specialty was the Lutheran Reformation, but he also worked on broader historical-theological issues such as the history of the Sabbath and Sunday; NT exegesis (especially structural analysis of the Apocalypse), other areas of biblical interpretation, and Mediterranean world views. Strand published twenty-three books, edited others, and wrote numerous articles and book reviews. In 1995, the journal published a *Festschrift* in honor of his retirement. In that issue, Nancy Vyhmeister called him "Mr. *AUSS*," a fitting tribute to his years of editorial service.⁷

George R. Knight (Ed.D., University of Houston; co-editor with Strand from 1988-1991) is professor of Church History in the Andrews University Theological Seminary. Both a prolific writer and a popular teacher, Knight specializes in educational philosophy and related issues, American church history, religious liberty, Seventh-day Adventist history, development of Adventist theology and lifestyle, and the relevance of all of these for current issues in the church. His frank appraisals continue to exert a well-known influence on Seventh-day Adventist thought.



Nancy Vyhmeister (Ed.D., Andrews University), began her *AUSS* career as co-editor with Strand from 1991-1994. With Strand's retirement, she became editor-in-chief until her (first) retirement in 2000. Vyhmeister has served at many posts throughout her tenure as an educator. Also an

⁶See the 1998-1999 dig reports in *AUSS* 38 (2000): 9-58.

⁷See *AUSS* 33 (1995): 164.

adventurous person, she served with her husband Werner at posts in South America, the Philippines, India, and the United States. Her specialities include NT, world mission, and, of course, research methods and dissertation writing. She continues to work with doctoral students around the world.



Jerry Moon (Ph.D. in Adventist Studies, Andrews University), current editor of *AUSS*, is also associate professor of church history. His areas of interest include Seventh-day Adventist history, development of Adventist theology and lifestyle, Ellen G. White studies, and the Lutheran and Anabaptist movements of the sixteenth-century Reformation. He is co-editor with Denis Fortin of the forthcoming *Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*.

As the staff at *Andrews University Seminary Studies* reflects on the rewards and challenges of the past forty years, one especially bright light is that of former associate editor (and current copy editor and ANE- and modern-language specialist), Leona Glidden Running (Ph.D. in Semitic Languages,



Johns Hopkins University, 1964). As *AUSS* celebrates forty years, Dr. Running also celebrates forty years with *AUSS*. She is not only a distinguished ANE scholar (as well as a student and biographer of W. F. Albright), but also bears the distinction of being the first woman professor in the Andrews University Theological Seminary. At the conclusion of spring semester 2002, she retired again from teaching, but continues her expert editing for *AUSS* and other entities as well. We greatly appreciate her support and encouragement, along with her many hours of careful copy editing.

The editorial team at *AUSS*, with the support of authors from around the world, commit ourselves to upholding the tradition of excellent biblical scholarship.

kka

GENESIS MATRIARCHS ENGAGE FEMINISM

JO ANN DAVIDSON
Andrews University

Modern feminist writers exhibit a profound disdain for OT patriarchy. This patriarchal system, they argue extensively, is the major influence behind all subsequent repression of women.¹ Rightly drawing attention to the pain and inequities that women are still forced to bear, they are correct that these grievous matters need to be addressed and resolved. However, in the extreme feminist view, nothing will change as long as patriarchal religions such as Judaism and Christianity exist, for these systems force women into subservient positions. The language in feminist literature is forceful, bitter, and uncompromising. To bolster their position, feminists regularly link their discussions with descriptions of their own personal experiences of inequity and indignity.² Mary Kassian is blunt:

I am a woman. I have experienced the scorn and prideful superiority with which men have, at times, treated me. I have listened to insults against my capabilities, my intelligence, and my body. I have burned with anger as I have wiped the blood from a battered woman's face. I have wept with women who have been forcefully, brutally raped—violated to the very core of their being. I have been sickened at the perverted sexual abuse of little girls. I have boycotted stores which sell pornographic pictures of women. I have challenged men who sarcastically demean women with their “humor.” And I have walked out of church services where pastors carelessly malign those whom God has called holy. I am often hurt and angered by sexist, yes, *sexist* demeaning attitudes and actions. And I grieve deeply at the distortion of the relationship that God created as harmonious and good. As a woman I feel the battle. I feel the sin. *Feminism identifies real problems which demand real answers* (emphasis supplied).³

¹Such as Naomi Goldenberg, Cynthia Eller, Mary Daly, and Rosemary Radford Ruether.

²For example, feminist Carol Christ states: “During my years there, Yale’s president was to make the infamous statement that Yale would never admit women as undergraduates because its mission was to educate 1,000 male leaders each year. But I had not expected this experience. I had come to study truth, and truth was no respecter of gender, I thought” (*Diving Deep and Surfacing: Women Writers on Spiritual Quest* [Boston: Beacon, 1980], xi).

³Mary A. Kassian, *The Feminist Gospel: The Movement to Unite Feminism with the Church* (Wheaton, IL: Good News, 1992), 242. She forcefully argues this point although she is not a feminist herself.

Such offenses against women are horrifying. Feminist complaints are compelling. I am not seeking to make light of the abominable record of the mistreatment of women by men that continues to this day. However, I do wish to question feminist insistence that OT patriarchy is the prime cause of this situation. In this study, I wish to draw attention to textual indicators within Genesis that seem to depict matriarchal existence far more positively than feminism typically acknowledges.

Theological studies in recent decades have brought an increasing emphasis on a close reading and literary study of the biblical texts using a literary approach. This study draws on those methods.

Sarah

Abraham's life has been extensively discussed in biblical studies. His wife, Sarah, though rarely acknowledged on a par with her husband, deserves equal attention. Savina Teubal, after examining the many details of Sarah's life, has proposed that she may have been an early priestess. Teubal argues that if Sarah was a priestess this could possibly help explain the interest Abimelech exhibited in her although she was ninety years old.⁴ It is not possible to confirm this idea textually, but Teubal's discussion does draw attention to the exceptional portrait of Sarah that Genesis presents. The details of Sarah's life in the Genesis narratives are impressive. Sarah is the only matriarch whose age is indicated when she dies, a custom consistently observed with the death of the patriarchs. Furthermore, her burial at Mamre receives extended attention. In the sparse historical style characteristic of the Genesis narrator, it is remarkable that an entire chapter (Gen 23) is devoted to Sarah's death and burial.⁵

To accurately evaluate Genesis matriarchy, these and other details need to be examined. For instance, Abram does not force Sarai to comply with his plan to deceive the king of Egypt by saying that she is his sister. He asks her. Moreover, he takes Hagar as a second wife because Sarah wants him to, and

⁴Savina Teubal, *Sarah the Priestess: The First Matriarch of Genesis* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1984), 110-122.

⁵Ibid. Jack Vancil also notes that "Abraham's effort and negotiations to purchase a burial place for Sarah, as well as the site chosen raises more questions. . . . There is an emphasis on the place of her death as Kiriath Arba, which is identified as the later city, Hebron (23:2). . . . There is no clue whether Abraham was seeking a family burial, and stressing such detail as it does has been observed by many commentators. . . . It is striking too, that after Sarah's death there is very little further told us about Abraham. The marriage to Keturah is told in order to mention Abraham's other tribal descendants, but we do not even know where they lived. Teubal observes: "Of the forty-eight years of Abraham's life after Sarah's death there is no detail whatever. . . . Also, in the remaining part of Genesis, the text is concerned with her descendants, not Abraham's" ("Sarah—Her Life and Legacy," in *Essays on Women in Earliest Christianity*, ed. Carroll D. Osburn [Joplin, MO: College Press, 1995], 2:61-63).

later allows her to expel both Hagar and Ishmael. "Indeed, God defends her demand; and this is not the only time that the Lord acts on Sarah's behalf. In Pharaoh's court, and within the household of Abimelech, God is concerned that Sarah be protected and returned to her husband."⁶

The narrator seems intent that Sarah be regarded as just as critical to the divine covenant as Abraham. The reader finds the unwavering indication that it will be Sarah's offspring who will fulfill the covenant promise—even when Abraham contends with God that he already has a son, Ishmael (Gen 17:18-19; cf. Isa 51:1-2).

Janice Nunnally-Cox suggests that within their social context Sarah and Abraham were equal, allowing her to have a say in their relationship. At times, he even obeyed her. Nor does Abraham abandon her due to her barrenness, and when she died he wept. "Sarah is a matriarch of the first order, respected by rulers and husband alike, a spirited woman and bold companion."⁷

Indeed, this particular era of the biblical patriarchs and matriarchs deserves reassessment, as Teubal rightly insists: "In particular, women have traditionally been depicted as primitive and childish in their aspirations and generally lacking in vision. Fresh study of our female forebears, however, invalidates this view and shows us that the matriarchs were learned, wise women who were highly developed spiritually."⁸

Sarah's life itself demonstrates impressive stature, as we have seen above. Jack Vancil directs attention to the time when Abraham pled with Sarah to misrepresent their marital relationship: "His plea sounds apologetic. Instead of being a proud and overbearing patriarchal figure, Abraham begs Sarah to lie for him." He notes that this type of behavior seems "uncharacteristic for a totally dominant patriarchal society." Although Abraham is a member of the patriarchal period, the biblical text suggests that Sarah maintained some level of authority within the family unit.⁹

When offering hospitality, Abraham is depicted as sharing in the meal preparations along with his wife. Sarah is summoned to prepare the bread (Gen 18:6). Nevertheless, Abraham and his servant are also involved in the preparations for the feast (18:7-8). There are other textual indicators within Genesis that suggest that there is no distinct division of labor by gender during the patriarchal period. For instance, both males and females worked as

⁶Katheryn Pfisterer Darr, *Far More Precious Than Jewels* (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1991), 9.

⁷Janice Nunnally-Cox, *Fore-Mothers: Women of the Bible* (New York: Seabury, 1981), 9.

⁸Teubal, xii.

⁹Vancil, 48-49; cf. Nunnally-Cox, 8.

shepherds.¹⁰ Both genders shared farm chores and the various particulars of family hospitality. Later, both Jacob and Esau were observed cooking.¹¹

Hagar

Hagar is not a matriarch in the covenant line. However, as a part of Sarah's and Abraham's household, she deserves to be noticed briefly in this study.¹² Consider the poignant details recorded in Gen 21 following her and her son's expulsion from Abraham's family. After surveying the narratives that include Hagar, Trevor Dennis decides that this Egyptian slave woman is "more highly honoured in some respects than almost any other figure in the Bible."¹³ For example, the "Angel of the Lord" appeared for the first time in biblical history to this rejected woman (Gen 21:17). He even called her by name! Sarah and Abraham did not grant her this dignity, but typically referred to her only by her status as slave.¹⁴

God did not abandon Hagar or Ishmael in their devastating situation. Rather, he provided for them and promised to make Ishmael a great nation. It is arresting how similar his promise to Hagar and her son was to the one made to Abraham (Gen 15 and 17) regarding the son of promise: "Then the Angel of the Lord said to her, 'I will multiply your descendants exceedingly, so that they shall not be counted for multitude'" (Gen 16:10).

God also spoke to Abraham concerning Ishmael: "And as for Ishmael, I have heard you. Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly. He shall beget *twelve princes*, and I will make him a *great nation*" (Gen 17:20, emphasis added).

The incident of Hagar with the Angel of the Lord is also the only time that a covenantal-type promise is announced to a woman. Trevor Dennis appraises this poignantly:

In only three cases, those of Hagar, Manoah's wife, and Mary in Luke, is the promise of a son made to the one who will be the mother of the child (although Sarah overhears in Genesis 18, the words are addressed to her husband). In only four cases does God make the announcement

¹⁰Rebekah is first seen coming to the well to water animals (Gen 24:11); Rachel is specifically described as "a shepherdess" (Gen 30:9); Jacob serves Laban many years as a shepherd (Gen 31:38).

¹¹Gen 25:29 and 27:31.

¹²In addition, see Philip R. Drey, "The Role of Hagar in Genesis 16," *AUSS* 40 (2002): 179-195.

¹³Trevor Dennis, *Sarah Laughed* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 176.

¹⁴Sarah speaking to Abraham states: "Go in, please, to my slave-girl!" (Gen 16:2b). She does not use Hagar's name, but refers only to her position. Up to this point only the narrator has given Hagar's name.

himself . . . only two women in the entire Bible receive annunciations from God himself, Hagar and the unnamed wife of Manoaah.”¹⁵

It is also noteworthy that Hagar chooses her son’s wife. Moreover, she is also the only woman in the OT, indeed the only person in all of Scripture, to give deity a name. Furthermore, Hagar is the only one in Scripture to use the name El-Roi (16:13a). “It is Hagar’s name for God, and Hagar’s alone. It arises out of, and speaks eloquently of, her own private encounter with him. Others such as Abraham named the place where God spoke to them, but Hagar is the only one to name God himself: “You are the God who Sees Me.”¹⁶ This occasion of naming God is one of the four times when women dialogue with God in Genesis.

Rebekah

Rebekah, the next matriarch¹⁷ discussed in detail in Genesis, also exhibits the same strength of character as Sarah. Sharon Pace Jeansonne compels us to consider that “although she is described as being a beautiful wife for Isaac, [Rebekah] is not appreciated solely for her appearance. Like Abraham, her independence and trust are demonstrated by her willingness to leave her family and travel to a strange land.”¹⁸

The Rebekah narratives portray her as a compelling person in her own right. Narrative techniques, such as dialogue, narrative pace, genealogical notation, and other literary features, suggest the prominence of Rebekah in Israel’s history.¹⁹ Thus, “the most fascinating aspect of Rebekah’s story is its beginning.”²⁰ Her life is detailed from her betrothal as a young woman through her death, and it is developed much more than those of her husband Isaac. “The qualities of hospitality and forwardness which Rebekah displays as a girl carry over into her life as a matriarch. Rebekah’s actions attest to a certain degree of female autonomy in the biblical world.”²¹

Rebekah’s genealogical designation must not be overlooked. In Gen 22:20-24, the genealogy lists the children born to Abraham’s brother

¹⁵Dennis, 68.

¹⁶Ibid., 71.

¹⁷Keturah, Abraham’s wife after Sarah’s death, is mentioned only once (Gen 25) without any of the impressive detail that the Sarah narratives exhibit.

¹⁸Sharon Pace Jeansonne, *The Women of Genesis: From Sarah to Potiphar’s Wife* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1990), 53.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Mishael Maswari Caspi and Rachel S. Havrelock, *Women on the Biblical Road: Ruth, Naomi, and the Female Journey* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 38.

²¹Ibid.

Nahor and his sister-in-law Milcah. Their eight sons are named, but the offspring of these eight sons (the next generation) are included in only two cases, the children of Kemuel and Bethuel. The name of Kemuel's son, Aram, is mentioned only parenthetically (22:21). A specific sentence informs us that "Bethuel begat Rebekah" (22:23). This is striking, for Rebekah is the first and only offspring named. Later, however, the narrative includes mention of her brother Laban.²²

Teubal's cogent analysis also suggests that

if the narration of events following the death and burial of Sarah was truly patriarchal, it would deal with the life and exploits of the male heir, Isaac. Instead, once again the accent is on the role of a woman. Rebekah. About Isaac, her husband, we are told little relating to the establishment of the religious faith. . . . Apart from the incident of the Akedah (the binding of Isaac in which Abraham is commanded to sacrifice his son), we know nothing of the boyhood or youth of the supposed hero. "His" story begins with a detailed account of Rebekah's betrothal.²³

When Abraham directed his servant to find a wife for Isaac, one brief remark in the instructions he gave is also indicative of a woman's status during the patriarchal era. Abraham declares that "if the woman is not willing to come with you, then you will be free from this oath of mine" (24:8). Jeansonne reminds us "that Abraham assumes the woman will have the final say in the matter."²⁴ And, ultimately, it is Rebekah herself who chooses to go with the servant. In fact, in the lengthy narrative of Gen 24, her determination to travel with him was spoken directly by her in the dialogue rather than simply being reported by the narrator (24:58).²⁵ Her father determined nothing, as might be expected in an oppressive patriarchy.

Upon the servant's arrival, Rebekah arranged for his hospitality. He asked for a place in her "father's house," but she arranged with her "mother's house" (v. 28).²⁶ Her father speaks little throughout the entire narrative.

²²Jeansonne, 54-55, argues that even the placement of this genealogy after the account of the testing of Abraham with his son Isaac (22:1-19) emphasizes the importance of Rebekah.

²³Teubal, xv.

²⁴Ibid., 57.

²⁵"But her brother and her mother said, 'Let the young woman stay with us a few days, at least ten; after that she may go.' And he said to them, 'Do not hinder me, since the Lord has prospered my way; send me away so that I may go to my master.' So they said, 'We will call the young woman and ask her personally.' Then they called Rebekah and said to her, 'Will you go with this man?' And she said, 'I will go'" (Gen 24:55-58). In narrative analysis, direct speech is seen to imply the prominence of the person.

²⁶The servant asks: "Whose daughter are you? Tell me, please, is there room in your *father's house* for us to lodge? . . . So the young woman ran and told those of her *mother's house* these things" (Gen 24:23, 28, emphasis supplied). Her father Bethuel is still alive, for he speaks later (v. 50).

Most impressive, however, is the noticeable correspondence of key terms between Rebekah's narratives and Abraham's. As Sternberg notices, haste is a characteristic common to both Rebekah and Abraham: "She made haste and lowered her pitcher[,] . . . she made haste and lowered her pitcher into the trough[,] . . . she ran again to the well" as compared to "Abraham's model of hospitality, 'He ran to meet them[,] . . . Abraham made haste into the tent [,] . . . Abraham ran to the herd[,] . . . he made haste to prepare it' (Gen 18:2-7); . . . the elevating analogy stamps her as worthy of the patriarch himself."²⁷

Moreover, both Abraham and Rebekah leave behind "their country," "their kindred," and their "father's house." Both were "blessed" and "became great." The verbal correspondence between Abraham and Rebekah suggests that "with this blessing the narrator quietly moves Rebecca into the cycle of God's promises to the patriarchs."²⁸

After Rebekah married Isaac and became pregnant, in apparent agony she became anxious and went "to inquire of the Lord" (Gen 25:22). "This phrase is of great importance in the Old Testament. Only the great prophets like Moses and Elisha and the greatest kings of Israel inquire of the Lord. . . . Rebekah inquires and, as a result, receives the oracle from Yahweh which destines her younger son to rule the older."²⁹

The formula used to announced Rebekah's delivery is also highly significant: "And her days were fulfilled that she should give birth" (Gen 25:24). Mary Donovan Turner notes that this formula is used of only three

²⁷Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 138.

²⁸James G. Williams, *Women Recounted: Narrative Thinking and the God of Israel*, Bible and Literature Series 6 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982), 44. Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn concur: "It is she [Rebekah], not Isaac, who follows in Abraham's footsteps, leaving the familiar for the unknown. It is she, not Isaac, who receives the blessing given to Abraham (22:17). 'May your offspring possess the gates of their enemies!' (24:60)" (*Gender, Power, and Promise: The Subject of the Bible's First Story* [Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1993], 73).

Mary Donovan Turner states: "It is Rebekah who, like Abraham before and Jacob after, leaves her home. She travels to the foreign land guided by the blessing for descendants who will 'possess the gate of those who hate them.' The reader of Genesis first encounters this promise for possession (*yab-rash*) in 15:3 where Yahweh seals a covenant with Abraham promising him descendants as numerous as the stars and possession of a land in which they would dwell. . . . It is important to note that although Abraham is guaranteed a son to carry God's promise to his descendants, it is *not* Isaac who next receives the blessing for *possession* of the enemy. It is Rebekah who receives the blessing similar to Abraham as she leaves her family for the foreign land (24:60). The blessing for possession is given one other time, and that is to Jacob as he leaves for Paddan-aram (28:4). Abraham, Rebekah, and Jacob are the ancestors of this promise" ("Rebekah: Ancestor of Faith," *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 20, 2 [1985]: 43-44).

²⁹Turner, 44-45.

biblical women: Elizabeth and Mary in the NT and Rebekah of the OT.³⁰

J. P. Fokkelman observes additional implications of Rebekah's giving birth as he catches subtle nuances in the Hebrew:

Even the constructive infinitive in 26b does not tell us that "Isaac has begot," but only that Rebekah has given birth. This repetition of 24a (*laledet . . . beledet*) makes it clear to us eventually that this pair of children is not so much begot by Isaac as primarily an affair between Rebekah and Yahweh, an affair of the barren woman who receives children with God's help only. The father has been driven to the edge and, after having performed in 21a one action (which expresses his helplessness!), he does not appear again until 26b, again without action. The rounding-off of this story—truly a story of birth!³¹

Fokkelman finds a concentric structure in this scene, which serves to emphasize its prominence:

- A Isaac was forty years old when he took to wife Rebekah (v. 20)
- B Rebekah was barren; prayer for children answered (vv. 20-21)
- C his wife Rebekah conceived (v. 21)
- the children struggled together within her (v. 22)
- D Rebekah asks for—an oracle (v. 22)
- D' Yahweh grants her—an oracle (v. 23)
- C' her days to be delivered were fulfilled (v. 24)
- and behold, there were twins in her womb (v. 24)
- B' birth and appearance of Jacob and Esau (vv. 25-26a)
- A' Isaac was sixty years old when she bore them (v. 26b)³²

Later, following Esau's marriage to two Hittite women, the text informs us that this was a "grief of mind to Isaac *and Rebekah*" (26:35, emphasis supplied). Turner suggests that this inclusion of Rebekah's distress regarding Esau's marriage to pagan women reveals that Rebekah was just as concerned about the covenant line as was Isaac.³³

³⁰Ibid., 48.

³¹J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis* (Amsterdam: Van Gorcu, 1975), 92-93.

³²Fokkelman, 94, continues: "The oracle is central. . . . ABC . . . C' B'A', corroborate once more that we are at the beginning of a story about the new generation and not of a Story of Isaac. They show that it is not Isaac's trial of waiting and the answering of his prayer which constitute the plot, but that the ins and outs of the children's birth are the main point. But the really explosive material, which can lend dramatic force to a story of approximately ten chapters, lies in the kernel which ABC and C' B'A' hold in their grip: God's word of v. 23. What food for conflict is gathered there. . . . [T]he oracle has the power to extend the conflict of the opening passage to the conflict of all of Gen 25-35. Need we wonder that this word of God is poetry?"

³³Ibid., 47. John Murray comments similarly: "Although Rebekah had probably another motive which she had concealed from Isaac when she said to him, 'I am weary of my

Added together, these numerous narrative details force us to admit that the Genesis narrator exhibits far more interest in Rebekah than in her husband Isaac, the patriarch. As Jeansonne argues, this

characterization of Rebekah yields a deeper understanding of her significance. . . . All of these actions are given without a polemical context, and the narrator does nothing to indicate that these were unusual activities for a woman to take. . . . The presentation of Rebekah shows that women in Israel were viewed as persons who could make crucial decisions about their futures, whose prayers were acknowledged.³⁴

A close reading of Genesis places Sarah and Rebekah in roles of individuality and influence. Carol Meyers appears correct in suggesting that patriarchy itself must be carefully defined in the light of its original context.³⁵ She proposes that many of the details recorded in the OT seem to indicate a rather equitable situation between male and female up to the time of the Israelite monarchy. The result of establishing the throne in Israel, she argues, brought great changes to the Israelite patriarchal society, with the former position of the female slowly diminishing from that time on:

Feminists who condemn or bemoan the apparent patriarchy of ancient or other societies may be deflecting their energies from what should be the real focus of their concern: the transformation of functional gender balance to situations of real imbalance.³⁶

life because of the daughters of Heth; if Jacob takes a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these, of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?' (Gen 27:46), there is scarcely room to question that, when Rebekah spoke so disparagingly to Isaac of the daughters of Heth, she had particularly in mind Esau's wives and, though the urgency of her protestation to Isaac was prompted by the need of having Jacob away from the rage of Esau, there was also the deepest concern that Jacob, as the one in whom the covenant promise was to be fulfilled, should not be drawn into the entanglements of Hittite marital alignment" (*Principles of Conduct: Aspects of Biblical Ethics* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991], 41).

³⁴Jeansonne, 69.

³⁵Carol Meyers argues further: "The Hebrew Bible . . . contains some statements that appear to value men more highly than women or to give men certain legal privileges that are not extended to women. From our contemporary perspective, these texts give incomplete evidence of biblical patriarchy. They do not tell us how Israelite women felt about differential treatment. In the context of the specific social and economic structures that characterized ancient Israel, the existence of gender asymmetry, with men accorded a set of advantages apparently unavailable to most women, must not automatically be perceived as oppressive. . . . [There is a] lack of evidence that the Eves of ancient Israel felt oppressed, degraded, or unfairly treated in the face of cultural asymmetry. Gender differences that appear hierarchical may not have functioned or been perceived as hierarchical within Israelite society" (*Rediscovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1988], 34).

³⁶Meyers, 45. Others argue similarly: "The formation of the monarchy was perhaps the most significant change in the millennium-long history of ancient Israel's national existence. Even before socioeconomic analysis became a prominent concern of the study of ancient

Feminists are correct to demand redress for the long-accumulating record of the subjugation of women. But they need to rethink the cause of this repression. As demonstrated in this article, the Genesis matriarchs were not suppressed or oppressed women.

Conclusion

It would be unfair to the portraits of the Genesis matriarchs to argue that they bowed in submission to all men. Although they were respectful toward their husbands, they were also intelligent, willful, and directive within the family unit. Nunnally-Cox rightly concludes: "Far from conforming to a traditional servitude, these women grace the pages of Genesis with their laughter, their sorrows, *their strength, and their power*" (emphasis supplied).³⁷

Thus, I suggest that while feminists have been correct to force attention on the abuse of women inside and outside the church, they have been incorrect in one of their basic assumptions—that OT patriarchy is a primary cause of this long-standing oppression of women. The patriarchal system is a pivotal issue in their understanding of female repression. However, OT matriarchy as exhibited by the textual records of Sarah and Rebekah suggests a different perspective than that implied by feminist literature. If Sarah and Rebekah could engage modern feminism, would they not chide the simplistic castigation of their vigorous position within OT patriarchy?

Israel, scholars recognized the dramatic changes brought about by state formation (A.D.H. Mayes, "Judges," *JOT* [1985]: 90; cf. E. Neufeld, "Emergence of a Royal-Urban Society in Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 31 [1960]: 37). "More recently the establishment of the monarchy as a powerful force effecting widespread changes and as being a watershed event in the creation of hierarchies in ancient Israel has been similarly evaluated" (*ibid.*; cf. N. K. Gottwald, who states: "Hierarchical structure, such as the monarchic states require, means a complete break with the social, political, and economic principles on which tribal society is based" [*The Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 323-325]).

³⁷Nunnally-Cox, 20.

THE ROLE OF HAGAR IN GENESIS 16

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Introduction

Attempts to discern the role of the OT character Hagar, the maidservant of Sarai, have subjected the biblical text to a wide variety of disparate analytical tools. Historical critics, basing their study on source analysis, have sought to dissect the account into elemental parts that originated or were redacted in the Yahwistic, Elohist, and Priestly schools.¹ Form and motif critics have employed the specialized tools of oral tradition and literary genre.² Other scholars have used the tools of literary criticism³ as well as social, economic, and feminist perspectives.⁴ These approaches, however, fail to clarify Hagar's role in the Abrahamic stories. This article will examine the role of Hagar by placing Gen 16 in the context of its surrounding chapters (Gen 15 and 17) as well as analyzing the chapter itself. This twofold approach will provide insight into Hagar's role in the Gen 16 narrative.

¹See, e.g., S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis* (New York: Edwin S. Gorham, 1904); S. E. McEvenue, "A Comparison of Narrative Styles in the Hagar Stories," *Semeia* 3 (1975): 64-80; J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975); A. W. Jenks, *The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions*, SBLMS 22 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977); S. J. Teubal, *Hagar the Egyptian: The Lost Tradition of the Matriarchs* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990); T. B. Dozeman, "The Wilderness and Salvation History in the Hagar Story," *JBL* 117 (1998): 23-43.

²See, e.g., H. Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History*, trans. W. H. Carruth (New York: Schocken, 1964); H. C. White, "The Initiation Legend of Ishmael," *ZAW* 87 (1975): 267-305; R. C. Culley, *Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Narrative* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976); D. Irvin, *Mytharion: The Comparison of Tales from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 32 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1978).

³See, e.g., R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); P. Trible, *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives*, *Overtures to Biblical Theology* 13, ed. W. Brueggeman and J. R. Donahue, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984).

⁴A. Brenner, "Female Social Behaviour: Two Descriptive Patterns Within the 'Birth of the Hero' Paradigm," *VT* 36 (1986): 257-273; N. Steinberg, *Kinship and Marriage in Genesis: A Household Economics Perspective* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 35-86; D. S. Williams, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God-Talk* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993), 15-34; A. O. Bellis, *Helpmates, Harlots, and Heroes: Women's Stories in the Hebrew Bible* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 74-79.

Genesis 16 in Its Context

Hagar's story comprises twenty-nine total verses. Four intervening chapters separate the two parts of the account. The first part (Gen 16:1-16) concerns Sarai, the wife of Abram, and her plan for the conception of an heir, Hagar's resulting "arrogance," and her flight (and return). Sarah's discontent over the rivalry between Ishmael and Isaac, the expulsion of Hagar, and her plight in the wilderness dominate the second part (Gen 21:9-21). Even though the story of Hagar is divided into two chapters, our concern lies in her role as recorded in Gen 16, because Gen 21 functions as a confirmation and affirmation of her role in chapter 16.

Genesis 16 is situated between two covenant episodes. Chapter 15 details the first covenant episode between God and Abram. The chapter begins with Abram's concern over the lack of an heir (15:2-3) as well as God's promise of a son and countless descendants (15:4-6). The chapter ends with the sealing of the covenant. Genesis 17 recounts the second and more explicit covenant. God not only reaffirms Abram's descendants, but also issues a name change (Abram to Abraham). He then binds this new covenant with Abraham and his descendants, adding the promise of the land of Canaan to Abraham's heritage. For Abraham's part, he and his descendants must keep the covenant with the ritual action of circumcision. Chapter 17 ends with the name change of Sarai to Sarah and the circumcision of all the males in Abraham's household, including himself and his son Ishmael.

The main issue that concerns the biblical writer in chapters 15 and 17 is covenant, namely offspring and inheritance (land). In Gen 15, Abram is greatly distressed over the lack of a son. God, however, promises him not only one son but countless descendants. In Gen 17, God tells him that he will be a father of many nations, thus extending the new covenant, which now includes the territory of Canaan, to his descendants. These two covenant episodes are a determining factor for understanding Hagar's role.

Although Gen 15 emphasizes primarily Abraham and his lack of an offspring, from the outset of Gen 16 the emphasis shifts to Sarai and her lack of an offspring. As Gen 16 tells, through her maidservant Hagar, Sarai obtained an offspring. Following Hagar's conception, discord entered the household, leading to Hagar's flight. Following these events, one would expect Hagar to disappear and the biblical text to resume the story of Abram. However, an angel directs Hagar to return to Sarai. The reason for this lengthy account of an Egyptian maidservant (and also the reason for her role) is intimately attached to the pivotal covenant between God and Abram, pronounced in Gen 15 and reaffirmed and amended in Gen 17. The position of chapter 16 between these two covenant chapters is significant. In chapter 16, the biblical writer portrays how serious the covenants between God and

Abram are through the story of Hagar and Ishmael. The recorded events of the life of Hagar transpire due to her being the second wife of Abram, a partner in the covenant, and, more importantly, on Ishmael being Abram's firstborn son. Even though Abram has little dialogue and acts passively throughout the chapter, it is because of his covenant with God and his paternity to Ishmael that Hagar is saved (twice) in the wilderness. Even though Ishmael is not to be the covenantal heir of Abram, God still watches over him because of the covenant and because he is an heir of Abram.

Genesis 16:1-16

Genesis 16:1

Besides continuing the offspring theme of chapter 15, the biblical writer places the characters of the story in their proper roles through the use of Hebrew syntax. By beginning his narrative with Sarai as the subject, the author emphasizes the significance of Abram's wife. Sarai will continue to act as the main subject throughout the initial episode of this chapter (vv. 1-6). In addition, v. 1 begins with the name of Sarai and ends with the name of Hagar. In this way, the biblical writer polarizes the two women. Sarai, as the subject of this verse and as the main character of this initial episode, symbolizes authority and domination. Hagar, the object of the verb and possession of Sarai, represents subservience and subordination: "Power belongs to Sarai, the subject of action; powerlessness marks Hagar, the object."⁵

In this context, the biblical writer deemphasizes the role of Abram. The patriarch is mentioned only in a genitive clause appended to the name of Sarai ("wife of Abram"). Genesis 16:1 highlights Abram's lack of an heir from Sarai's point of view. The reader is told of her barrenness, not of Abram's lack of an heir. Abram, who had been the main character in the previous chapters, will remain passively in the background throughout this story. In spite of this secondary role, however, Abram will prove to be extremely important to understanding chapter 16 and the role of Hagar. The mere presence of Abram in this story and the association of the women with this mighty patriarch will determine the events which transpire in this chapter.

Hagar's Identity

Genesis does not disclose much about Hagar's identity. Most of the information is found in v. 1, where she is introduced by name. The name "Hagar" possesses several extrabiblical cognates, primarily originating from ancient Arabia. Female names include *hgr* (Palmyrene and Safaitic) and *hgrw* (Nabataean). A male name, *Hâgîr* (Arabic, Minaean, and Nabatæan) is also

⁵Trible, 10.

attested, but should not be connected to the female name.⁶ Although more modern Arabian languages have *hajara*, “to emigrate,” this fortuitous connection to the biblical figure is doubtful.⁷ Another possible connection comes from the Sabean and Ethiopic in the term *hagar*, meaning “town, city,” but originally meaning “the splendid” or “the nourishing.”⁸

Other nonbiblical sources provide further evidence for the use of the name of Hagar. A cuneiform inscription from Bahrain, dating to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., reports about “the palace of Rimum, servant of (the god) Inzak, the one of *A-gar-rum*.”⁹ Another mention of the word “Hagar” comes from an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription found at the Persian city of Susa.¹⁰ This remark by Darius I (521-486 B.C.) may allude to a country and/or a people. *Hgrw*, a probable variant spelling of Hagar, was associated with a hagrean wearing a headpiece distinctive of central Arabian bedouins. The association between *hgrw* and hagrean may hint that the “Hagar” of Darius I should be located in eastern Arabia and not the central portion.¹¹ From the third century B.C., a king of Hagar issued coinage while concurrently trading with the Minaeans and the Nabataeans. Finally, throughout the Middle Ages, Christian and Muslim writers alike employed “Hagar” to denote eastern Arabia.¹²

The biblical figure of Hagar has additionally been associated with the Hagrites, who were a small Syrian and north Arabian tribe dating to the Persian and Hellenistic periods (cf. 1 Chron 5:19). This connection, however, is improbable due to the representation of Ishmael as a large north Arabian tribe dating to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.¹³

Although its cognates point to an Arabic origin, the exact origin and meaning of the name of Hagar is unknown. The biblical text, however, further describes Hagar as an Egyptian (מצרית). Scholars have argued for the

⁶E. A. Knauf, *Ismael: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2d ed. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 52, n. 253.

⁷E. A. Knauf, “Hagar,” *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 3:19.

⁸*Ibid.*, 18.

⁹K. Butz, “Zwei kleine Inschriften zur Geschichte Dilmuns,” in *Dilmun: New Studies in the Archaeology and Early History of Bahrain*, ed. D. T. Potts (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1983), 117-125.

¹⁰M. Roaf, “The Subject Peoples on the Base of the Statue of Darius,” in *Cahiers du Délégation archéologique française en Iran*, vol. 4 (Paris: Association Paleorient, 1974), 135.

¹¹Knauf, 144-145.

¹²Knauf, 54.

¹³*Ibid.*, 49-53.

intentional use of this designation by the biblical writer. E. A. Knauf suggests that this allusion to an Egyptian nationality functions as a "literary device to connect the story in Gen 16 with 12:10-20 (cf. Gen 12:16)."¹⁴ M. Görg, however, asserts that providing Hagar with an Egyptian nationality is the biblical writer's attempt to show opposition to the foreign policy of Hezekiah during the eighth century B.C.,¹⁵ which was directed north toward the increasing power of Assyria rather than south to Egypt. This notion assumes that the story was authored or at least edited during the time of Hezekiah.

Viewed in the contextual flow of the Genesis stories, assigning Hagar an Egyptian nationality may not be unexpected. According to the Genesis narrative, Abram and Sarai had recently returned from a brief stay in Egypt (Gen 12:10-20). Genesis 12:16 claims that Abram received gifts from Pharaoh on his departure from Egypt. If Sarai held the social status of a priestess,¹⁶ then her reception of gifts (including female assistants such as Hagar) from Pharaoh is also very plausible.¹⁷ In addition, Abram and Sarai lived in Canaan for ten years (Gen 16:3), but Hagar is not mentioned until this point in the narrative. She was not mentioned in the report of objects brought from Ur to Haran by Terah, Sarai's father (Gen 11:31), nor was she given as a present to Sarai at Sarai's wedding (as Zilpah and Bilhah were presented to Leah and Rachel by Laban).¹⁸ Finally, to further strengthen Hagar's Egyptian ties, according to Jewish legend, Hagar is even given the elite social status of being a daughter of Pharaoh¹⁹—a supposition not supported in the biblical record.

Hagar, then, may be assigned an Egyptian heritage with some certainty, even possibly a level of royalty. The biblical writer in Gen 16:1 also provides evidence of Hagar's social standing. Not only is she Egyptian, but she is also termed a *šifhab* (שפחה). To help understand Hagar's role in this story, we must ascertain the social characteristics of a *šifhab*.

The Meaning of the Term *šifhab*

The Hebrew language possesses two words similar to *šifhab*, both denoting a human possession. The word *ʿābuddah* (עבדה) means "female slave, servant"

¹⁴Ibid., 18.

¹⁵M. Görg, "Hagar die Ägypterin," *Biblische Notizen* 33 (1986): 17-20.

¹⁶Cf. S. J. Teubal, *Sarah the Priestess: The First Matriarch of Genesis* (Athens, OH: Swallow, 1984).

¹⁷L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, trans. H. Szold (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909), 108.

¹⁸Teubal, 61, 62.

¹⁹Ginzberg, 108.

in a collective sense. It is used only in Gen 26:14 and Job 1:3, referring respectively to the specific property of Isaac and Job. In Gen 16:1, Hagar is not referred to as an *ʿābuddah*, so to understand her social status only as another's piece of property or as a slave is erroneous.

The other type of servant, *ʿamah* (אמה), is similar to *šifḥah* in that it may be translated as "maidservant." But *ʿamah* may also possess a more sexual connotation and be rendered as "concubine." To denote specifically the social status and function of a concubine, Hebrew writers had employed the word *pilegeš* (פלגש). *Pilegeš* usually appears in a theme of sexual service or with reference to the male owner of the concubine, as in Gen 22:24 with the relationship between Milcah and Nahor.²⁰ In Gen 16:1, Hagar is not designated as a *pilegeš* and is not introduced in a sexual situation (although she will function as a surrogate wife). In addition, Hagar is not the property of Abram but of Sarai.²¹ Besides these differences, Hagar is termed an *ʿamah* later in Gen 21:10 after her return from the wilderness. Just as she is not simply a slave, Hagar should not be understood as simply a concubine.

The etymology of *šifḥah* (cf. Gen 16:5, 6, 8) has been a source of mild contention. It has been associated with the verb *š-f-ḥ*, "to pour out, shed blood," or understood as the maidservant of the mistress.²² In later times, *šifḥah* took on a meaning similar to *ʿamah* and referred to a person who is subservient.²³ A better understanding may come from the Ugaritic verb *s-f-ḥ*, which means "being together" and is related to the Hebrew *mišpaḥah* ("clan").²⁴ This connection between *s-f-ḥ* and *mišpaḥah* has been questioned, resulting in the translation of *s-f-ḥ* as "to join" or "attach oneself to."²⁵ "In other words, *šifḥah* could mean 'someone who joins or is attached to' a person or a clan."²⁶ If Hagar was a gift to Sarai from Pharaoh, this interpretation would be the best fit.

The term *šifḥah* is used sixty-two times in the OT. It is usually found

²⁰See also Gen 25:6; 35:22; 36:12; Jude 8:31; 19:1, 2, 9, 10, 24, 25, 27, 29; 20:4-6; 2 Sam 3:7; 5:13; 15:16; 16:21, 22; 19:5(6); 20:3; 21:11; 1 Kgs 11:3; 1 Chron 1:32; 2:46, 48; 3:9; 7:14; 2 Chron 11:21; Est 2:14; and Ezek 23:20.

²¹See Gen 16:2, 3, 8.

²²F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951): 1046.

²³Ibid., 51.

²⁴*Ben Yehudah Dictionary and Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language: Complete International Centennial Edition* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), 3:7380.

²⁵C. U. Wolf, "The Terminology of Israel's Tribal Organization," *JBL* 65 (1946): 47.

²⁶Teubal, 58.

in two situations. First, *šifḥah* may be coupled with *ʿebed* (עֶבֶד, “man-servant”). In this case, the pair of words is part of a longer list of property, goods, or gifts that may include, for instance, cattle, oxen, donkeys, or camels. Such items were prized possessions of the owner and worth money as well as prestige.

Second, *šifḥah* may be used alone in the verse. A better understanding of what a *šifḥah* is may be obtained from some of these verses, specifically from Gen 30, 32, and 33. First, in Gen 30 both Rachel and Leah give Jacob their respective *šifḥah* in order to obtain offspring. The sexual service of the *šifḥah* is controlled by the mistress, as with Sarai and Hagar. As J. Skinner points out: “Hagar is not an ordinary household slave, but the peculiar property of Sarai, and therefore not at the free disposal of her master.”²⁷ Second, when each *šifḥah* is taken by the husband of her mistress, she is then called an *ʾiššah* (אִשָּׁה, “wife”; Gen 30:4, 9). A change in title may hint at some form of contract between husband and wife, as well as a change in the social status of the *šifḥah*. This status change happened with Hagar as it did with Bilhah and Zilpah. Third, the union between the *šifḥah* and Jacob was perceived as acceptable to God (Gen 30:5, 6, 18). God’s tacit approval of the arrangement provides a certain level of moral legality.

From Gen 32 and 33, several occurrences of the word may add to the understanding of how the *šifḥah* fits into the family structure. First, in Gen 32:22, Jacob crossed the Jabbok river with his family. The text mentions that he took Rachel and Leah, as well as Bilhah and Zilpah and his eleven children, with the rest of his possessions following behind. Bilhah and Zilpah must have had a higher status in the family, since they crossed the river with Jacob’s wives and children before the rest of the household possessions. Second, in Gen 33:1-2 the text describes the manner by which Jacob met Esau. Jacob divided his children among the four women, putting Bilhah and Zilpah and their respective children before Rachel, Leah, and their children. When Jacob meets Esau for the first time (Gen 33:6), each *šifḥah* and her children were brought up before Esau prior to the two wives and their children. This arrangement surely indicates a unique familial status for the *šifḥah*.

Thus at the beginning of her story, we know two personal characteristics of Hagar. First, she more than likely possessed an Egyptian nationality. Second, to understand her social standing at the beginning of the narrative solely as a slave or a concubine is incorrect. Had she held either of these social positions, the biblical writer had at his disposal the appropriate term. However, Hagar is consistently called a *šifḥah* until later in her story. Other

²⁷J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), 258.

instances of the title in the book of Genesis indicate a special family and social status that was held by the *šifhab*. The better way to understand Hagar's social status and her relationship with Sarai in Gen 16:1 is to translate the word as "maidservant," understanding that a sexual component is inherent in the word. As Sarai's *šifhab*, Hagar's sexual services are controlled by her mistress. We may safely assume that Hagar had borne no children until this command by Sarai. Only through Sarai's machination does Hagar conceive.

Genesis 16:2-6

In v. 1, the biblical writer portrays the polarity between Sarai and Hagar. Sarai is from the family of Abram, while Hagar is from Egypt. Sarai is the wife of Abram, while Hagar is the maidservant of Sarai. The biblical writer inserts Abram between these two women. Following this introduction, Sarai immediately commands action from both Hagar and Abram. She says: "Behold, God has kept me from bearing. Go to my maidservant. Perhaps I can be built up from her" (Gen 16:2a).²⁸ Similar to Gen 16:1, Sarai is the subject and, for the first time, the speaker. These are Sarai's first words in the Abrahamic narrative.

Two issues regarding Sarai's words must be understood. First, the biblical writer implies that Sarai's concern for an heir is selfish. Sarai, not Abram, worries over her own barrenness. On the surface, her distress seems to echo Abram's worry over a lack of a son in Gen 15:2. The childlessness in chapter 16, however, does not pertain to her husband or to God and the newly sealed covenant. Sarai says: "God has kept *me* from bearing." Indeed, Sarai's want of an heir is self-motivated. Her desire for an heir is juxtaposed against God's covenant promise to Abram of countless heirs.

Sarai's selfishness is further extended to the result of the union. She gives the reason for her plan as "so *I* can be built up from her." Thus, the union between Hagar and Abram and the intent of Sarai's words are not to provide an heir for her husband, thereby fulfilling the covenant in chapter 15. Instead, it is to provide herself with an heir. She intends to fulfill her needs regardless of God's plan.

The second issue is the gender of the child. The only fact mentioned in the story is that Sarai wanted an offspring. In the covenantal-context of chapters 15 and 17, one would suspect that a child should be mentioned and that the said child would be a male to fulfill the covenant. However, only Sarai's concern for a descendant is voiced and that it be resolved through Hagar. The word "child" is not even mentioned. By these two issues, the biblical writer hints that this child conceived through the union of Hagar and Abram will have nothing to do with the covenants

²⁸Unless otherwise noted, all verses of the Hebrew Bible are translations of the author.

mentioned in chapters 15 and 17. The child is planned by Sarai (not God) and will be conceived through Hagar (not Sarai).

Sarai's concern about her lack of an heir and her use of Hagar as a surrogate mother are not unique in Genesis or elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Rachel possesses a similar concern and solution in Gen 30:3. Rachel voices her distress to Jacob: "Give me children or I shall die!" To avert this crisis, she provides Bilhah, her *šifhah*, to Jacob so that, in Rachel's words, "I can be built up from her." Not to be outdone, Leah grants Zilpah, her *šifhah*, to Jacob in order to obtain more offspring. Outside of the OT, the introductory clause of law 146 from the Code of Hammurabi (1728-1686 B.C.) provides for such behavior.²⁹

The reason why a wife would be so concerned about bearing children lies in the inheritance of the wife's possessions: "In biblical times children were heirs of their (social) mother's estate apart from that of their father's."³⁰ Genesis 21:10 hints at this familial structure when Sarah states: "The son of this slave will never inherit together with my son Isaac." Similarly, Rachel and Leah say to Jacob: "Are we still likely to inherit anything from our father's estate? . . . All the wealth that God has reclaimed from our father belonged to us and our children in any case" (Gen 31:14, 16).

The inheritance and wealth mentioned in these verses relate to the dowry of the wife. In the ancient Near East, a father must either find a husband for his daughters or give them away as slaves.³¹ Upon finding a suitable mate for his daughter, the father provides her with a dowry (her inheritance) when she leaves his house. The daughter-now-wife brings this property into the household of her husband, but it remains her own, separate from the other property owned by the household. Laws 138, 142, and 149 of the Hammurabi Code suggest this separation:

(138) If a seignior wishes to divorce his wife who did not bear him children, he shall give her money to the full amount of her marriage-price and he shall also make good to her *the dowry which she brought from her father's house* and then he may divorce her (emphasis supplied).

(142) If a woman so hated her husband that she has declared, 'You may not have me,' her record shall be investigated at her city council, and if she was careful and was not at fault, even though her husband has been going out and disparaging her greatly, that woman, without incurring any blame at all, *may take her dowry* and go off to her father's house (emphasis supplied).

(149) If that woman has refused to live in her husband's house, he shall

²⁹T. J. Meek, "The Code of Hammurabi," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 172.

³⁰Teubal, 115.

³¹T. Frymer-Kensky, "Near Eastern Law and the Patriarchal Family," *BA* 44 (1981): 210.

make good *her dowry to her which she brought from her father's house and then she may leave* (emphasis supplied).³²

Because Sarai was originally from Mesopotamia, we may assume that this was also the case for her. When Sarai had left the house of her father to join Abram, she probably brought with her a dowry. This dowry became the inheritance which she would pass on to her offspring and which formed the basis of her distress in chapter 16. What the inheritance consists of is not reported in the biblical text.

Passing her inheritance on to her children posed a major problem for a barren woman such as Sarai. Rachel echoes Sarai's concern about the lack of an heir for the same reason. According to Gen 30:1, Rachel tells Jacob: "Give me children, or I will die!" Without any children to accept her inheritance, Rachel's lineage was in jeopardy: "To Rachel, 'I will die' meant 'my house will die out.'"³³ A law from the Code of Hammurabi uses the same wording in the idea of "building a house" for passing on inheritance ("if a man has taken an infant, has brought him up, *made his house* [emphasis supplied]).³⁴

To further understand a wife's need to pass her inheritance to her offspring, we must briefly examine the family of the ancient Near East. The Hebrew word *mišpaha* stands for both family and household: "These, however, need not be blood-related; nor, in fact, do they necessarily contain husband and wife."³⁵ In the patriarchal-dominated world of the OT, a woman could become a leader of her own household. The offspring "of the women in each unit became the legitimate heirs of the matriarchs."³⁶ To support this, a law from the Hammurabi Code hints at the passing of the wife's inheritance to her children:

(162) If, when a seignior acquired a wife, she bore him children and that woman has then gone to (her) fate, her father may not lay claim to her dowry, since her dowry *belongs to her children* (emphasis supplied).³⁷

According to the Code of Hammurabi, the dowry of the wife remained separate from the property of her husband even in her death.

(167) If, when a seignior acquired a wife and she bore him children, that woman has gone to (her) fate (and) after her (death) he has then married another woman and she has borne children, when later the father has gone

³²Meek, 172.

³³Teubal, 60.

³⁴G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 2:75.

³⁵Teubal, 59.

³⁶Ibid., 61.

³⁷Meek, 173.

to (his) fate, the children shall not divide according to mothers; they shall take the dowries of their (respective) mothers and then divide equally the goods of the paternal estate.³⁸

Thus with the beginning of Gen 16, there is a reversal of sorts. Chapter 15 dealt with Abram's concern over a lack of an heir and God's promise in the covenant to remedy the situation. In chapter 16, however, we have Sarai's concern at her lack of motherhood and her plan to resolve it. Her self-motivated and self-centered interests concerning her inheritance led her to decide that through Hagar she will become a mother. On account of this decision, Hagar plays an important role in this story, for she is the *šifhab*, the maidservant, of Sarai. Her life and her sexual service are controlled by Sarai. The biblical writer has Hagar play the surrogate mother. Indeed, all of Hagar's actions and reactions are initiated and dominated by Sarai, the main character in Gen 16. As has been shown, the reason for the use of Hagar as a surrogate mother is not to fulfill the covenant between God and Abram sealed in Gen 15. Rather, Sarai's reason is "so I may be built up from her." Thus, Hagar's initial role is to provide an heir *for* Sarai and not *for* Abram. The character of Hagar takes on a more significant religious role in the following verses.

Genesis 16:2b-4a

The story of Hagar continues with Abram's approval of his wife's plan and the conception of an heir for Sarai (Gen 16:2b-4a). These verses again hint at Sarai's dominance in chapter 16. Just as before, the biblical writer portrays Sarai as the instigator of the main action—she brings Hagar to Abram. Abram, the great patriarch, acquiesces silently and obeys her demand. Hagar, the obedient servant, similarly complies to the command and wish of her mistress. Thus, Abram and Hagar conceived.

Sarai's usage of Hagar is not unusual in the context of the ancient Near East. The Code of Hammurabi (146) provided for such a possibility.

Genesis 16:4b-6

Throughout vv. 2b-4a, Hagar continues to be controlled by Sarai's desire for an offspring and to play the submissive maidservant. But this role of subservience quickly changes in vv. 4b-6.

For the first time in the story, the biblical writer allows Hagar to react to the situation. Her attitude toward Sarai is altered when she realizes her pregnancy. Instead of maintaining proper social respect for her mistress, Hagar now possesses a disparate view of Sarai and acts

³⁸Ibid.

differently. The opposite of what Sarai had intended happened.³⁹ Instead of obtaining an heir for her personal household property, Sarai brought strife, anguish, and competition into her household.

The text is silent as to why Hagar changed her attitude. A law from the Lipit-Ishtar Code may provide some insight:

[I]f the secon[d wife] whom [he had] married bore him [chil]dren, the dowry which she brought from her father's house belongs to her children, (but) the children of (his) *first* wife and the children of (his) second wife shall divide equally the property of their father.⁴⁰

In other words, with her pregnancy Hagar may have realized her improved situation in that her son would now have not only her dowry (of which we know nothing), but would also have a claim to Abram's property. In addition to this, Hagar's son would be Abram's first biological son. This position allowed Ishmael to take Eliezar's place in the household.⁴¹

The text does not tell how Hagar's actions changed nor how she slighted Sarai.⁴² In Sarai's eyes, however, whatever the change was, it was sufficient for her to become distressed and upset. Sarai's reaction to Hagar's slight may not be rooted in hatred or contempt toward her maidservant. The problem affecting Sarai may be understood as a reordering of the family structure.⁴³

Adding a certain amount of confusion to this situation, Sarai blamed Abram for the tension between Hagar and herself. Apparently, there was no tension between Abram and Sarai before Hagar's pregnancy, which was Sarai's idea. One may assume that Abram was personally involved in changing Hagar's attitude toward Sarai and Sarai found out.⁴⁴ By going to Abram with her complaint, Sarai may have wanted Abram to grant Hagar her freedom. A law from the Lipit-Ishtar Code states:

If a man married a wife (and) she bore him children and those children are living, and a slave also bore children for her master (but) the father granted freedom to the slave and her children, the children of the slave shall not divide the estate with the children of their (former) master.⁴⁵

In accordance with this law, which would protect herself and her children

³⁹Tribble, 12.

⁴⁰S. N. Kramer, "Lipit-Ishtar Lawcode," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 160.

⁴¹J. Baker, *Women's Rights in Old Testament Times* (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1992), 89.

⁴²Teubal, 77.

⁴³Tribble, 12.

⁴⁴Teubal, 77, 78.

⁴⁵Kramer, 160.

from the children of Hagar, Sarai may have found the solution to her dilemma. As this law requires the father (Abram) to grant freedom to the slave, Sarai asks Abram to do so. But Abram seems to refuse by turning the decision back to Sarai, telling her to do with Hagar as she saw fit. Sarai's hands were tied, and thus she mistreated Hagar.

Finally, we do not know from the biblical text how Hagar was mistreated by Sarai. A law of the Ur-Nammu Code (2112-2095 B.C.) may provide for a similar situation:

If a man's slave-woman, comparing herself to her mistress, speaks insolently to her (or him), her mouth shall be scoured with 1 quart of salt.⁴⁶

Although Hagar is not the possession of Abram, this law does illustrate verbal contention between the slave woman and her mistress and its result. Law 146 of the Code of Hammurabi is also consistent with biblical data:

When a seignior married a hierodule and she gave a female slave to her husband and she has then borne children, if later that female slave has claimed equality with her mistress because she bore children, her mistress may not sell her; she may mark her with the slave-mark and count her among the slaves.⁴⁷

This law provides a precedent for Sarai's action. Thus, Sarai possibly removed Hagar from the role of maidservant with all the benefits of that position and reduced her social standing to the status of a female slave. This may not have been immediately implemented, as the biblical writer still described Hagar as "maidservant" in v. 8. In Gen 21, however, Hagar is called *ʿamah* after her return from the wilderness. Although there are several instances in which *šifhal* and *ʿamah* are interchangeable, this change in title may hint at a familial, social-status change.

Genesis 16:7-14

The account of Hagar continues in Gen 16:7-14 with her flight into the wilderness. Several of these verses, along with Gen 21:14-18, have been assigned to a number of sources, including the so-called story of the Desert Matriarch.⁴⁸ This may not be the case for two reasons. First, there is no consensus for crediting these verses to the different authors.⁴⁹ Second, Gen 16:7-14 logically follows the action of the previous verses, just as Gen 21:14-18 logically fits into that respective plot. Thus, we will

⁴⁶J. J. Finkelstein, "The Laws of Ur-Nammu," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 525.

⁴⁷Meek, 172.

⁴⁸Cf. Teubal, 141-176.

⁴⁹See, e.g., Dozeman; and Teubal, 142, 143.

assume that the Hagar narrative belongs intact as presented in Gen 16. Genesis 16:7-14 describe Hagar's visit by the angel of God:

And the angel of God found her near a spring of water in the wilderness near the spring beside the road of Shur. And he said, "Hagar, maidservant of Sarai, from where did you come and where are you going?" And she answered, "From the face of Sarai my mistress I am fleeing." And the angel of God said to her, "Go back to your mistress and submit under her hands." And the angel of God said to her, "I will greatly increase your descendant so he will not be counted because of the size." And the angel of God said to her, "Behold, you (are) with child and you will bear a son and you will call his name Ishmael, for God heard of your affliction. And he will be a wild donkey of man and his hand against everyone and the hand of everyone against him, and against the faces of all of his brothers he will dwell." And she called the name of God who had spoken to her "You are God of sight," for she said, "Have I now seen the one who sees me?" For this the well is called Beer Lahai Roi, behold, between Kadesh and Bered.

With Hagar's flight from Sarai, the wilderness portion of Hagar's story opens. The biblical text informs us that Hagar arrived at a water spring near another spring on the road to Shur. The exact location of Shur is unknown. Hagar probably rested by a spring located in the eastern part of the wilderness.⁵⁰

After Hagar fled into the wilderness to escape her affliction, the angel of God immediately found and addressed her. The angel, without identifying himself, asked her two questions regarding where she came from and where she was going. Through these two questions, the angel challenged Hagar's past and future—her very existence. Hagar answered the first query by telling him that she was fleeing from her mistress. Without giving Hagar a chance to answer the second question, the angel provided an answer for her. The angel of God commanded Hagar to "go back" and "submit" to her mistress. Hagar, attempting to free herself from bondage, must return not only to the cause of her affliction, but submit to it. While Sarai acted out of self-pity, God overturned the actions of Sarai and Abram without dishonoring either of them.

⁵⁰The wilderness of Shur is also mentioned in Gen 20:1; 25:18; Exod 15:22; and 1 Sam 15:7; 27:8. Gen 20:1 states that Abraham settled between Kadesh and Shur after leaving the Negeb. Gen 25:18 says that Ishmael lived in a territory which stretched from Havilah-by-Shur, just outside of Egypt on the way to Assyria. 1 Sam 15:7 reports that Saul began his conquest of the Amalekites at Havilah in the direction of Shur, locating the wilderness east of Egypt. 1 Sam 27:8 has David raiding the Geshurites, Girzites, and Amalekites in the direction of Shur as far as Egypt. These verses suggest that the wilderness of Shur should be located just east of Egypt in the northern Sinai Peninsula. The location of Hagar's destination in the wilderness may also be gleaned from later verses. Gen 16:14 says that the spring is situated between Kadesh and Bered. Although the location of Bered is still unknown, Kadesh is identified with the site of Kadesh-Barnea.

Not all hope was lost for Hagar after listening to the angel of God. Compensation followed submission. The angel foretold to Hagar that her descendants would be greatly increased. His words (Gen 16:10) echo the covenant in Gen 15:5. Here, God promises Abram innumerable descendants, countless as the stars. Ironically, what Sarai had attempted to do for herself through Hagar (ensure her own progeny) happens to Hagar.

This promise of descendants seems to be slightly out of place with Hagar in the wilderness sitting by a well. Why does the angel promise such descendants to this Egyptian maidservant? Because this child's father is Abram. In Gen 15, God promises Abram countless descendants. As Hagar is the (second) wife of Abram (Gen 16:3) and Ishmael will be his son, God will uphold his covenant with Abram by making Ishmael into a great nation. The biblical writer, in the words of the angel to Hagar, is showing how ardently God is heeding this covenant. No matter that he did not instigate Hagar's conception (Sarai did). No matter that Hagar is not even Hebrew (but Egyptian). A son of Abram is, nevertheless, a son of Abram, and, therefore, part of the covenant. The biblical writer is illustrating that by the covenant of Gen 15 God is willing to bless *any* descendant of Abram.

The importance of Abram's bearing on this episode is further enhanced by the fact that Hagar is the only woman in the Hebrew Bible to receive such a promise of descendants.⁵¹ But this promise must not be viewed in terms of Hagar, the Egyptian maidservant of Sarai, but in terms of Hagar, the wife of Abram. It is only because of this association with Abram that this promise is necessary. The biblical writer makes this clear in the second covenant episode where, in Gen 17:20, God reaffirms Ishmael's heritage only because Abram requested it. Although this promise lacks the ritual sealing action of a covenant, it is immediately followed by a birth announcement.

Hagar is the first female of the Bible to receive such an announcement. Why? The answer may be twofold. On one hand, this announcement seems to add legitimacy to the promise of countless descendants. As has been pointed out, the content of the promise is similar to covenants between God and the patriarchs.⁵² This promise, however, "lacks the covenant context that is so crucial to the founding fathers."⁵³ On the other hand, the announcement of Ishmael's birth through the messenger's declaration may serve as a sealing of this promise.⁵⁴ Although Hagar already knows that she is pregnant, the announcement affirms it. In her new son, however, Hagar sees both joy and

⁵¹Trible, 16.

⁵²See, e.g., Gen 12:1, 2; 17:4-7; 26:23, 24; 28:13, 14.

⁵³Trible, 16.

⁵⁴Other announcements include Gen 17:19; Judg 13:5, 7; and Isa 7:14-17. R. W. Neff, "The Annunciation in the Birth Narrative of Ishmael," *BR* 17 (1972): 51-60.

sorrow. Although she now possesses a future heritage through her son (she is “built up”)—by returning to Sarai, her son will be against his brothers: “Suffering undercuts hope. A sword pierces Hagar’s own soul.”⁵⁵ Her anticipated joy is cut short by a certain future of suffering.

This bleak forecast of Ishmael’s future may be anticipatory of Gen 17:19-21, which foretells the future of both Ishmael and Isaac:

But God replied, “Yes, your wife Sarah will bear you a son whom you must name Isaac. And I shall maintain my covenant with him, a covenant in perpetuity, to be his God and the God of his descendants after him. For Ishmael too I grant you your request. I hereby bless him and will make him fruitful and exceedingly numerous. He will be the father of twelve princes, and I shall make him into a great nation. But my covenant I shall make with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear you at this time next year.”

Isaac, not Ishmael, will be the recipient of the covenant of Gen 15 and 17. Not only does the covenant include numerous descendants, but now also the land of Canaan. Ishmael, for his part, will be blessed with descendants only because he is the son of Abram and because Abram requested it.

Hagar does not respond directly to these angelic promises. As an apparent positive response to the angel’s message, Hagar names the being who spoke to her. The angel had not provided a name for himself or the deity he represents. Hagar, thus, identified the deity which she encountered at the well with a name.⁵⁶

Genesis 16:15-16

Genesis 16 closes abruptly: “And Hagar bore to Abram a son and Abram called the name of his son whom Hagar bore Ishmael. And Abram was 86 years old when Hagar bore Ishmael to Abram.”

This conclusion continues to undermine the character and person of Hagar,⁵⁷ as well as to build up the patriarch. First, in keeping with the story, the author silences Hagar in these verses and mentions her by name without an epithet. Second, the biblical writer removes the focus from Hagar and her child (and from Sarai too) by stressing the fatherhood of Abram. This is not strange seeing that Abram is the reason for the importance of Ishmael. Third, Abram names the child. According to the birth announcement, this privilege rested with Hagar, but the biblical

⁵⁵Trible, 17.

⁵⁶The name given by Hagar to the supernatural being is difficult to translate from the Hebrew and thus has several interpretations. T. Boon, “Hagar’s Words in Gen 16:13b,” *VT* 30 (1980): 1-7; M. Tsevat, *The Meaning of the Book of Job and Other Biblical Studies: Essays on the Literature and Religion of the Hebrew Bible* (New York: KTAV, 1980), 73-76.

⁵⁷Trible, 18, 19.

writer has shifted it to Abram. The right of naming is given to Abram, the real main character of the story. This shift of focus to Abram in regard to the parentage of Ishmael is further supported in Gen 17 and 21. In Gen 17:20, Ishmael is blessed by God because God heard Abraham's request.

In Gen 21:9, Ishmael is described as the son born to Abram, while Hagar is referred to as the Egyptian. In Gen 21:11, Sarai's demand for the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael distressed Abraham on account of Ishmael's being his son, not on account of Hagar. In Gen 21:13, God states that Ishmael will become a nation because he is Abraham's offspring. In Gen 21:17-18, God hears Ishmael's cries and saves both Hagar and him on account of his link to Abram. The biblical text then goes on to describe Ishmael's life (Gen 21:20, 21) and his descendants (Gen 25:12-18). In Gen 25:12, Ishmael is the son of Abraham, while Hagar is described as the woman with whom Abraham conceived him and as Sarah's Egyptian slave-girl, but not as Ishmael's mother. Thus, the role of Hagar in the story depends on the actions of Sarai and Abram. Through Hagar's life, the biblical writer illustrates the greatness of Abram and the seriousness of the covenant between himself and God.

Conclusion

Genesis 16 functions as an example of the far-reaching effect of the covenant between God and Abram in chapter 15. The covenant episode in Gen 15 states that Abram will have countless descendants. This covenant is fulfilled in Gen 16 through Hagar. Although Hagar is a lowly Egyptian maidservant and Ishmael was originally conceived to be the heir of Sarai, Ishmael is still a son of Abram and, therefore, part of the covenant. Thus, the biblical writer used Hagar's role to demonstrate that God seriously upheld the covenant of Gen 15 regardless of who the mother of the child was or why the child was conceived. Abram is the father and, by virtue of the covenant, he will be blessed with countless descendants—including those of Ishmael.

THE DESTRUCTION OF TREES IN
THE MOABITE CAMPAIGN OF
2 KINGS 3:4-27: A STUDY IN
THE LAWS OF WARFARE

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Numerous commentators and exegetes find a tension between the prophetic command of YHWH for armies of Israel and Judah to cut down the trees of Moab in 2 Kgs 3:19, 25 and the siege prohibition proscribing the destruction of fruit trees in Deut 20:19-20. According to Mordecai Cogan and Hayam Tadmor, "Elisha's prophecy, worded as a command, of a scorched-earth policy is at variance with the rules of siege warfare in Deut 20:19."¹ This view is common in one form or another among commentators, including George A. Smith,² Terence E. Fretheim,³ A. D. H. Mayes,⁴ and James A. Montgomery.⁵ This tension has been perceived in part because of the historical-critical hypothesis advanced by Willem de Wette,⁶ who assigned the

¹Mordecai Cogan and Hayam Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 11 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1988), 45.

²The classical historical-critical approach was advanced by George A. Smith, who stated: "On invading Moab Israel cut down the fruit trees and stopped the wells, in obedience to a word of Jehovah by Elisha (2 Kgs iii. 19, 25). That prophet, therefore, and his biographer cannot have known of this law of D, which shows a real advance in the ethics of warfare" (*The Book of Deuteronomy*, Cambridge Critical Commentary [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918], 249).

³Terence E. Fretheim notes: "It is striking that Elisha's personal addiction to the oracle from God stands in opposition to the guidelines for war in Deuteronomy 20:19-20" (*First and Second Kings* [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1999], 142).

⁴A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 296.

⁵J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, ICC (New York: Scribner's, 1951), 361.

⁶W. M. L. de Wette, *Dissertatio critico-exegetica qua Deuteronomium a propriis pentateuchi libris diversum, alius cuiusdam recentioris auctoris opus esse monstratur* (Jena, 1895). For a general overview of the developments since that time, see the surveys of Horst D. Preuß, *Deuteronomium*, *Erträge der Forschung* 164 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), 1-74; Thomas Römer, "The Book of Deuteronomy," *The History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth*, ed. S. L. McKenzie and M. P. Graham, JSOTSup 182 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 178-212; Mark A. O'Brien, "The Book of Deuteronomy," *Currents in Research: Biblical Studies* 3 (1995): 95-128.

temporal provenance or *Sitz im Leben* for the work of the Deuteronomist (D) to the Josianic reforms of the seventh century.⁷ Subsequent to the general acceptance of the documentary hypothesis, Martin Noth postulated that the books Deuteronomy through Kings were the work of one writer, who, he claimed, composed the Deuteronomistic History (DtrH).⁸ The specific authorship and date of the DtrH continues to be widely debated.⁹ Some of the proposals include (1) a single exilic author/compiler,¹⁰ (2) a Deuteronomistic School of traditionalists where the composition is dated to the second half of the seventh century B.C.,¹¹ (3) multiple exilic redactions,¹² and (4) a double redaction that includes Dtr¹—Josianic—and Dtr²—exilic.¹³ The latter proposal

⁷De Wette first proposed this *locus classicus* for his "D" source. The date 621 B.C. was accepted as one of the assured results of historical-critical research; see Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Cleveland: Meridian, 1957), 9. Moshe Weinfeld recently wrote: "Deuteronomy has become the touchstone for dating the sources in the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament" ("Deuteronomy, Book of," *ABD*, 2:174).

⁸Martin Noth later argued that the material from Deuteronomy-Kings belonged to a single author/compiler living in the exilic period (ca. 586-539 B.C.E.) (*Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* [Wiesbaden-Biebrich: Becker, 1943]). The unity of this segment of history has gained some acceptance in subsequent scholarship; see A. N. Radjawane, "Das deuternomistische Geschichtswerk, Ein Forschungsbericht," *TRav* 38 (1973): 177-216; Dennis J. McCarthy, "The Wrath of Yahweh and the Structural Unity of the Deuteronomistic History," *Essays in Old Testament Ethics*, ed. J. L. Crenshaw and J. T. Willis (New York: KTAV, 1974), 97-110; Terence E. Fretheim, *Deuteronomistic History* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983).

⁹For an overview of these positions and other proponents, see Erik Eynikel, *The Reform of King Josiah and the Composition of the Deuteronomistic Historian*, OTS 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 7-31.

¹⁰Noth; Hans-Dieter Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen*, ATANT 66 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1980); Brian Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

¹¹E. W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967); Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972); idem., *Deuteronomy 1-11*, AB 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 55-57.

¹²Rudolph Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker. Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomischen Redaktionsgeschichte," in *Probleme biblische Theologie*, ed. H.-W. Wolff (Munich: Kaiser, 1971), 494-509.

¹³Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); Jon Levenson, "Who Inserted the Book of the Torah?" *HTR* 68 (1975): 203-233; R. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup 18 (JSOT Press, 1981); Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 107-121, 207-240; A. D. H. Mayes, *The Story of Israel Between Settlement and Exile: A Redactional Study of the Deuteronomistic History* (London: SCM Press, 1983); Richard Eliot Friedman, "From Egypt to Egypt: Dtr¹ and Dtr²," in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith, Essays Presented to Frank Moore Cross*, ed. B. Halpern and J. Levenson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 167-192; idem., *Who Wrote the Bible* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1987), 119-130; idem., "The Deuteronomistic School," in *Fortunate the Eyes that See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. A. B. Beck, A. H.

for the composition of Deuteronomy (D) has been supported by Mayes, who posits that "Israel shared with many others the common practice of destroying the natural resources of life in the country invaded by her armies. The prohibition here [in Deut 20:19-20] is a deuteronomic protest against a practice considered unnecessarily destructive."¹⁴ Mayes believes that to solve the tension between 2 Kgs 3:19, 26 and Deut 20:19-20, the latter text must be dated to the seventh to sixth centuries B.C. as a polemic against earlier Israelite siege practices (as found in the war against Moab).¹⁵ "That there is any predeuteronomic law in vv. 19-20 is doubtful," he opines.¹⁶ Indeed, the present author has suggested elsewhere that Deut 20:19-20 is a polemic against known siege practices, but after an exhaustive survey of ancient siege practices during the second and first millennia B.C., it is highly improbable that the cultural milieu of the seventh to fifth centuries B.C. is reflected.¹⁷

The question remains whether the polemic is directed against known Israelite military conventions.¹⁸ Such a polemic would require three conclusions. First, that 2 Kgs 3:19, 25 describes both linguistically and contextually the same kind of destruction found in Deut 20:19-20. Second, that references within the Hebrew Bible would substantiate a wide-scale practice of the destruction of fruit trees for the construction of siege works in their military campaigns. This would be an essential requirement if indeed Deuteronomy or later editors or redactors are reacting or protesting against such practice. Finally, it would be necessary that this focused destruction against fruit trees was directed against the cities of Canaan and not those polities outside the promised land, since it is "to the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites" (Deut 20:17) that this prohibition applies. It is the aim of this essay to examine these questions from a linguistic and contextual study of 2 Kgs 3 and Deut 20:19-20 with a proposal that resolves the apparent tension between these two express commands of YHWH regarding the destruction of trees.¹⁹

Bartelt, P. R. Raabe, and C. A. Franke (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 70-80.

¹⁴Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 296.

¹⁵See also Smith, 249.

¹⁶Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 296.

¹⁷Michael G. Hasel, *Military Practice and Polemic: Israel's Laws of Warfare in Near Eastern Perspective* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, in press).

¹⁸The assumption is already made by I. Benzinger, who states: "Die empfohlener Art der Kriegführung war in jener Zeit auch in Israel die gewöhnliche (vgl. Dtn 20 19f.)" (*Die Bücher der Könige* [Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1899], 134).

¹⁹Rabbinical commentators have sought to harmonize Deuteronomy and 2 Kings in two ways: (1) some argued that the law of Deut 20:19-20 only applies to a siege (Radok,

Jehoram's War Against Moab

During the long history of political interaction between Israel and Moab in the ninth century B.C., several wars are recorded in Kings²⁰ and in extrabiblical sources.²¹ The passages under consideration in 2 Kings are found in the Elisha narratives²² dealing with the joint campaign of Israel, Judah, and Edom against Mesha, king of Moab.²³ After the death of

Ralbag, and Ramban at Deut 23:7); (2) others suggested that an *ad hoc* exception was made for a unique military situation (Rash, Kimchi, Gersonides, cf. *Num Rab* 21.6). Among modern commentators, C. F. Keil presents an explanation based on presumed Moabite practices with little or no textual support: "These instructions [in Deut 20:19-20] were not to apply to Moab, because the Moabites themselves as the arch-foes of Israel would not act in any other way with the land of Israel if they should gain the victory" (*Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament: The Books of Kings* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1949], 305). T. R. Hobbs states that "the prohibition of cutting down of trees, found in Deut 20:19-20, does not apply here [in 2 Kgs 3]. The law in Deuteronomy is designed to ensure that the army's food supply would not be cut off since nonfruit-bearing trees are excluded" (2 Kings, WBC [Waco: Word, 1985], 37). This observation unnecessarily negates the subsistence needs of Jehoram's army during its campaign against Moab. More cogently, John Gray comments: "The felling of fruit trees in war was banned by Deuteronomic law (Deut. 20.19ff.), but the present case indicates that this law was not of general application, but applied only to Canaan in consideration of the neighbors with whom Israel had to live in a degree of mutual dependence" (*I & II Kings: A Commentary*, 2d ed. [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970], 437).

²⁰On the general relationship between the two polities during this time, see Roland E. Murphy, "Israel and Moab in the Ninth Century," *CBQ* 15 (1953): 409-417; on the wars of this period, see J. Liver, "The Wars of Mesha, King of Moab," *PEQ* 99 (1967): 14-37.

²¹The Mesha inscription is of primary importance in establishing the Moabite perspective of the conflict. For an earlier treatment, see W. H. Bennett, *The Moabite Stone* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), or more recently the edited articles in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 2, ed. Andrew Dearman (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

²²Among the standard commentaries are, especially, R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 2 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1911-1912); J. A. Montgomery; Gray; J. Robinson, *The Second Book of Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Hobbs; Cogan and Tadmor; D. J. Wiseman, *1 and 2 Kings: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993); H.-W. Neudorfer, *Das Zweite Buch der Könige*, *Wuppertaler Studienbibel* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1998); Fretheim, *First and Second Kings*.

²³On the textual aspects of this specific campaign, see K. H. Bernhardt, "Der Feldzug der drei Könige," in *Schalom: Studien zur Glaube und Geschichte Israels* (Stuttgart: Calver, 1971), 11-22; H. Schweizer, *Elisha in den Kriegen. Literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen von 2 Kön. 3; 6:24-7:20*, *SANT* 37 (Munich: Kosel, 1974); J. R. Bartlett, "The 'United' Campaign Against Moab in 2 Kings 3:4-27," in *Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in Jordan and North-West Arabia*, ed. J. F. A. Sawyer and D. J. A. Clines, *JSOTSup* 24 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 135-146. On the genre of this chapter, see Burke O. Long, "2 Kings III and the Genres of Prophetic Narrative," *VT* 23 (1973): 337-348.

Ahab,²⁴ Jehoram succeeded his father on the throne of Israel (vv. 1-3). Apparently gambling on a moment of weakness, Mesha, the king of Moab, rebelled against Israel, and Jehoram joined in an alliance with Jehoshaphat, king of Israel, and the king of Edom.²⁵ After the king sought the guidance of a prophet (v. 11), the hand of the Lord fell upon Elisha and he relayed the message to the king: “Also you shall attack every fortified city and every choice city, and shall cut down every good tree, and stop every spring of water, and ruin every good piece of land with stones” (v. 19, NKJV). In fulfillment of this prediction/command, the destruction of “all good trees” was accomplished as stated in v. 25. To answer the first question addressed in this essay, one must inquire whether these are the same “fruit” trees described in the siege prohibition of Deut 20:19-20, as many have supposed.²⁶

Linguistic Analysis

An investigation of the terms used in Deut 20:19-20 and 2 Kgs 3:19, 25 reveals significant differences. In both 2 Kgs 3:19 and 25, the adjectival noun construction is accompanied by a preposition and the phrase *וּכְלֵי עֵץ טוֹב* (“every good tree”) is employed. The adjective *טוֹב* is defined by most lexicographers as “pleasant, agreeable, good,”²⁷ “fröhlich, angenehm, erwünscht,”²⁸ or “good, virtuous, kind, happy, content.”²⁹ In Deut 20:19-20, there is a distinction between “trees for food” and the “tree of the field” that could be used for building siege works. These apparently are two different types of trees. Thus, the designations in Deuteronomy and 2 Kings, while some may assume a correlation, are not the same. It is possible that “good tree” may imply trees that bear fruit, but they also

²⁴There has been a major discussion on when the campaign took place. For overviews of the issues, see Liver, 18-20; Gray, 460. The problem seems to be resolved by Edwin R. Thiele (*The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982], 61-74).

²⁵Coalitions of this kind are known from the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, who “in his sixth year met a coalition of twelve kings including Ahab and Hadadezer of Syria” (J. Maxwell Miller, “The Elisha Cycle and the Accounts of the Omride Wars,” *JBL* 85 [1966]: 441-454), and possibly later from the Dan Inscription, which describes the defeat of the “house of Israel” and “the house of David” (Abraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, “An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan,” *IEJ* 43 [1993]: 81-98).

²⁶Gray, 437; Robinson, 36.

²⁷*BDB*, 373.

²⁸Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 355.

²⁹D. J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 3:351.

may as readily refer to large, shady trees. In the Middle East, where trees are considered precious, the designation “good trees” may simply refer to all living trees. The point is that “trees for food” and “every good tree” do not necessarily share the same meaning.

Contextual Analysis

Even if the two passages were describing the same type of tree with different terminology, and one could in fact assume that “every good tree” also included “trees for food,” the context of 2 Kgs 3 is entirely different from Deut 20:19-20. Certainly 2 Kgs 3, as in Deut 20:19-20, is speaking of an attack against fortified cities, but the implication is that all the cities that are destroyed should also have wells and cisterns stopped up, their land ruined, and their good trees cut down. In Deut 20:19-20, it is only in the context of *some* cities that resist Israel and would require the construction of siege works. Deuteronomy 20:19 begins, “when you besiege a city *for a long time*,” indicating that this is a protracted siege requiring food for the troops. In 2 Kgs 3, it is a universal command so that “the impression is given that the whole land is being put to the ban.”³⁰ Indeed, the command has no apparent relation to the building of siege works as is the case in Deut 20:19-20. Thus from a linguistic as well as a contextual perspective, the passages are dealing with two unique situations.

The second question must also be addressed. Did the Israelites widely engage in the destruction of fruit trees for the construction of siege works in their military campaigns? The only mention in the Hebrew Bible of the Israelite destruction of trees in warfare is in this one event recorded in 2 Kgs 3. If it is not altogether certain whether the war against Moab included the destruction of “trees for food” but only “good trees,” then why is a correlation made with Deuteronomy? This is especially true, since the destruction of Moabite trees apparently had little to do with the construction of siege works. Second, if this practice was so widely employed in Israel as to warrant a polemic response, why is there no mention of it in the conquest accounts of Joshua and Judges or in the wars described in Samuel through the rest of Kings?³¹ The answer to these questions is clarified by a contextual analysis of Deut 20.

³⁰Robinson, 36. The point of total destruction is well made, although it should be pointed out that the term *חרם* is never used in 2 Kgs 3. Moreover, it is clear from the context of Deut 20 that the *חרם* does *not* include the destruction of trees, but is focused primarily on the living inhabitants of the land, i.e., “everything that breathes” (Deut 20:16).

³¹To respond that this lack of evidence was the later work of a careful redactor negates the obvious mention of the wide-scale destruction of trees in 2 Kgs 3.

Siege Prohibition in Deuteronomy 20:19-20

The siege prohibition in Deut 20:19-20 is part of the larger treatment of the laws of "YHWH war" that are described in the Hebrew Bible.³² Gerhard von Rad's concept of "Holy War"³³ has recently come under criticism,³⁴ since the designation "Holy War" is never used in the Hebrew Bible.³⁵ This fact has led others to more appropriately call the Israelite religious warfare³⁶ "YHWH war,"³⁷ where YHWH is seen as a divine warrior.³⁸ In Deut 20, Israel is given instruction on how to conduct itself in YHWH war and what measures are to be taken against (1) the nations surrounding Canaan and (2) the inhabitants of the land of Canaan which they are to enter.

J. A. Thompson divides the chapter into three parts: the proclamation before the battle (vv. 1-9), the siege of a city (vv. 10-18), and

³²P. C. Craigie points out that "further legislation on war and matters relating to military affairs occurs in [Deut] 21:10-14; 23:9-14; 24:5; 25:17-19" (*The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976], 270); cf. Alexander Rofé, "The Laws of Warfare in the Book of Deuteronomy: Their Origins, Intent and Positivity," JSOT 32 (1985): 23-44.

³³Gerhard von Rad, *Der Heilige Krieg im Alten Israel*, 4th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), idem., *Studies in Deuteronomy* (London: SCM, 1953), 45-59; Norman Gottwald, "War, Holy," *IDBSup*: 942-944.

³⁴Norman Gottwald, "Holy War, in Deuteronomy: Analysis and Critique," *RevExp* 61 (1964): 296-310; Rudolph Smend, *Jahwekrieg und Stammebund: Erwägungen zur ältesten Geschichte Israels*, 2d ed., 2 FRLANT 84 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966); Manfred Weippert, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien. Kritische Anmerkungen zu Gerhard von Rads Konzept des 'Heiligen Krieges im alten Israel,'" *ZAW* 84 (1972): 460-493; Fritz Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. Kriegstheorien und Kriegserfahrungen* ATANT 60 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972); Gwilym H. Jones, "'Holy War' or 'Yahweh War?'" *VT* 25 (1975): 642-658.

³⁵P. C. Craigie, *The Problem of War in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 48; on the Greek origin of this concept, see Jones, 642.

³⁶"To say that the wars of conquest described in the Old Testament were *religious* wars is not necessarily the same as saying that they were *holy* wars. The context of *holy* implies something which is intrinsically good and pure in itself" (Craigie, *The Problem of War*, 48, emphasis original). This view is followed by Horst D. Preuß, who states: "War was by no means 'holy,' but for the OT it is quite naturally also a matter of religion. War itself is not praised; rather, Yahweh is experienced, probably even primarily, as a warring God of deliverance" (*IDOT*, 8:342).

³⁷Jones, 642-658; Craigie, *The Problem of War*, 45-54.

³⁸Frank Moore Cross, "The Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult," *Studies and Texts*, vol. 3, *Biblical Motifs*, ed. A. Altman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 11-30; P. C. Craigie, "Yahweh is a Man of Wars," *SJT* 22 (1969): 183-188; Patrick D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, Harvard Monographs 5 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973); Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1980).

the treatment of trees (vv. 19-20).³⁹ In the second part, the text can be divided further since two types of war action are described.⁴⁰ The division of the second part is significant, for it provides an important context for the laws of warfare in vv. 19-20 that refer to those cases when a city required a siege to extract the inhabitants.

Two types of military action were required of the Israelites, depending on the geographical location of the enemy. Israel was to offer terms of peace (vv. 10-15) to those distant cities not belonging to the immediate nations Israel was to conquer (v. 10). If these cities and their inhabitants surrendered, then they were to be spared and were to serve Israel as forced laborers (v. 11). If they refused to surrender, their cities were besieged (v. 12) and the men of that city were to be struck with the edge of the sword (v. 13). The assumption that such instruction indicates an exception from the rules of חרם ("ban") as defined in other biblical sources is unwarranted.⁴¹ The variation in treatment here is found in the very context of those cities existing outside the territory of promise. In other words, there exists a distinction between the cities of the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (v. 17) and "those cities that are a distance from you and do not belong to the nations nearby" (v. 15).

A second action was required (vv. 16-18) for those cities located in the territory YHWH promised to Israel. A total dedication, or ban (חרם), was to be carried out against these cities.⁴² This חרם ("ban") was directed specifically against the inhabitants and at times extended to their possessions.⁴³ The distinction between this instruction and the proscription in vv. 10-15 is provided in v. 15 by the delineation between those cities that are far away and those that are of the nations nearby.⁴⁴ There is a further indication of

³⁹J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1974), 219.

⁴⁰This division is already pointed out by Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: JPS, 1996), 188-189.

⁴¹So Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 239.

⁴²On the term חרם, see C.H.W. Brekelmans, *De berem in het Oude Testament* (Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij, 1959); Norbert Lohfink, "חרם," *TDOT* 5:180-199; Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger, "Bedeutung und Function von Herem in biblischen-hebräischen Texten," *BZ* 38 (1994): 270-275; specifically on Deuteronomy and the DtrH, see Yair Hoffman, "The Deuteronomistic Concept of Herem," *ZAW* 111 (1999): 196-210; E. Noort, "Das Kapitalationsangebot im Kriegsgesetz Dtn 20:11ff. und in den Kriegserzählungen," *Studies in Deuteronomy in Honour of C. J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. F. Garcia Martinez, A. Hilhorst, J. T. A. M. G. van Ruiten, and A. S. van der Woude (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 199-207.

⁴³Lohfink, 187.

⁴⁴For the idea that v. 15 is "a later accretion" (Martin Rose, *Der Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch*

separation in v. 16 as the whole treatment now is limited by the term קר ("only").⁴⁵ Only in those cities "that the Lord your God has given you as an inheritance" must everything that breathes be destroyed. The inhabitants are enumerated in v. 17 and include the Hittite, Amorite, Canaanite, Perizzite, Hivite, and Jebusite.⁴⁶ The justification for this total destruction is given in the following verse: "in order that they may not teach you to do according to all their detestable things which they have done for their gods, so that you would sin against the Lord" (v. 18). Together these two aspects of law, which regulated the wars of Israel against the enemies outside the promised territory of inheritance and against those within it, provided a complete regulation that encompassed the situations Israel would encounter for generations to come. Whether Israel followed these laws or not is inconsequential to the ideal they represent—an ideal which explicates the attitude of YHWH toward his people and those whom they will confront in various military situations.

It becomes immediately apparent in v. 19 that while the text is no longer dealing with cities, inhabitants, children, cattle, or spoils, the subject matter is the destruction of trees associated within the territory of the city. The contextual setting indicates that when besieging a city (and the implication is those cities within the land of promise that would necessitate such confrontation), certain regulations govern how the natural life-support system belonging to that city should be approached. Thus, vv. 19-20 are part of a larger unit that forms a whole in addressing the variety of circumstances that Israel would face and the specific actions to take place in those situations.

The siege prohibition against cutting down fruit trees in its contextual

Jahres. Deuteronomische Schultheologie und Volksfrömmigkeit in der späten Königszeit, BWANT 106 [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975]; Rofé, 23-44; Hoffman, 200) added by the DtrH as late as the fifth century B.C.E. (so Hoffman) does not make sense out of the unity of this section, which applies two aspects of law depending on the geographical location of the city. To extract v. 15 and apply it to a much later source disrupts the entire sequence of the passage in which two actions are proscribed in two very different situations: (a) the cities outside of the promised land, and (b) the cities within the territory to be conquered by Israel.

⁴⁵According to Koehler and Baumgartner, קר, the "Hauptbedeutung ist 'nur'" (*Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 4:1200). Other sources translate this adverb as "only, altogether, surely" (*BDB*, 956), "only" (Holliday, *Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, 346).

⁴⁶This list has been treated as both historical (George Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* [Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973], 144-145) and unhistorical by Mario Liverani, who contends that the lists (in Deut 7 and 20) "show substantial ignorance of the ethnic and political situation in pre-Israelite Palestine" ("The Amorites," *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman [Oxford: Clarendon, 1973]); see also the discussion by Philip D. Stern, *The Biblical Herem: A Window on Israel's Religious Experience*, *Brown Judaic Studies* 211 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), 89-99.

setting applies directly to those trees belonging to the cities of Canaan—among the people groups which Israel is meant to dispossess. In other words, the prohibition expressly applies “to the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites” (v. 17). The fact that this text makes no mention of ancient Moab is no surprise, for the land of Moab is outside the purview of the borders assigned by YHWH to Israel (Num 34:1-12).

For these reasons, the siege prohibition in Deut 20:19-20 finds no conflict with YHWH’s instruction to cut down “every good tree” from the land of Moab during the campaign by Jehoram and Jehoshaphat in the days of Elisha. The context for the injunction against cutting down fruit trees clearly demonstrates that it was for the cities within the land of promise. The prohibition specifically addressed the problem of a protracted siege of a city that would require both the building of siege works and food for the troops. It was for this reason that fruit trees were the specific interest of the writer of Deut 20:19-20, who made certain that Israel would not include them in the חרם.

After considering linguistic, contextual, and the geographical aspects of 2 Kgs 3, it appears certain that there is no contradiction between that command and the prohibition in Deut 20:19-20 not to cut down fruit trees for the construction of siege works *within* the land of promise. First, there is a linguistic distinction, for 2 Kgs 3 refers to “every good tree” rather than to “trees for food.” Second, there is a contextual distinction, for there is no reference in 2 Kgs 3 to the use of these “good trees” in the construction of siege works. Rather, it appears that the trees were destroyed in revenge as part of a burnt-earth policy that also included the destruction of arable land. Finally, even if these “good trees” included fruit trees, there is the geographical distinction that Moab lay outside the land of promise and for this reason would not have been subject to the prohibition against their destruction as outlined in Deuteronomy. In fact Israel, in fulfilling the prediction made by YHWH through Elisha, was consistent in following the parameters of the laws of warfare in Deut 20:19-20. It follows, therefore, that the campaign against Moab in 2 Kgs 3 cannot be the *Vorlage* for these laws of warfare. If such a polemic is found in this siege prohibition commanded to Israel, the source of the polemic is to be sought elsewhere.

HANNAH: THE RECEIVER AND GIVER OF A GREAT GIFT

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Introduction

1 Samuel begins with the description of a man named Elkanah (“God is possessing”), whose home town was Ramathaim-Zophim.¹ A brief ancestral history is provided, which initially prompts the reader to expect that Elkanah will be the hero of the narrative. As the story line develops, however, Elkanah takes a supporting role. This secondary role begins with the introduction of Elkanah’s two wives. At that time, polygamy was an accepted practice, but as the story unfolds there is a subtle jab at the practice. The introduction of Elkanah’s wives, Peninnah and Hannah, provides the tension and focal point for the story by contrasting the issue of childbearing versus childlessness: “Peninnah had children, but Hannah had no children” (1:2b). These juxtaposed realities point to the idea of rivalry and echo the contention between other pairs of biblical women such as Leah and Rachel (Gen 29:30, 30:2) and, to a lesser extent, Sarah and Hagar (Gen 21:1-14).

The narrator presents a second contrast between the upbringing of the child Samuel by Elkanah and Hannah and the rearing of Hophni and Phinehas by the priest Eli. The narrator begins by portraying Elkanah as devoutly religious and noting his yearly trips to Shiloh to worship God and to offer sacrifice (1:3a). Then he adds a curious insert: “And the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, the priests of the Lord, were there” (1:3b). This statement is strategic, for it was during this particular visit to Shiloh that a series of events was launched that changed the course of Israelite history—the divine attention was drawn to the infertile woman and her pleas for a child. It is her child who eventually replaced Hophni and Phinehas (2:34-35).

¹The location of Ramathaim-Zophim is uncertain. It has been identified variously with Ramah, a town in Benjamite territory, associated with the modern Er-Ram, located five miles north of Jerusalem; or with modern-day Rentis, “about nine miles northeast of Lydda”; see J. L. Packer, Merrill C. Tenney, and William White Jr., eds., *All the People and Places of the Bible* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982), 160.

Literary Analysis and Genre

1 Samuel 1:1-28 is generally classified as a psalm of individual lament of affliction. As such, it describes or defines the person's inner being and the problem that causes pain and distress. The lament is burdened with the sorrow of mourning and grief. Individuals lament due to sickness (Pss 13:3; 38:5-6; 39:4-6), the plots of enemies (Pss 6:8; 64:1-6), loneliness and abandonment (Job 19:13-19; Ps. 38:11), or shame and humiliation (Pss 4:2; 69:19). Hannah falls into this last category. In her case, no one died but death was implied by the fact that she was "in bitterness of soul" (1:10). The idea of "bitterness" is derived from מר, which "expresses the emotional response to a destructive, heart-crushing situation."² "Bitterness of soul" is used to describe the woman of 2 Kgs 4:27, whose only son died. Therefore in the case of Hannah, the lack of a child is comparable to the loss of a child.³

The Hebrew lament consisted of three characteristic elements.⁴ First, it is directed toward God, who can effect a change in suffering. Sometimes the lament is presented in the form of a complaint or an accusation against him. While Hannah does not explicitly bring an accusation against God, she does imply that he kept her childless (1:5, 6), which subsequently caused her real distress.

Second, there is the presence of an enemy or adversary. In Hannah's case, Peninnah, "her rival, used to provoke her severely, to irritate her" (1:6).⁵ The narrator uses the "the feminine form of the most common term for adversary in the laments" to describe Peninnah.⁶

Third, there is the one who is lamenting. Hannah wept, refused to eat, and was sorrowful (1:7, 10, 15)—a situation closely related to severe depression, prompting Elkanah to question: "Am I not more to you than ten sons?" (1:8).

The theological importance of the lament is that it gives voice and feeling to the fact of suffering. As Westermann claims: "The lament is the language of suffering; in it suffering is given the dignity of language: It will not stay silent!"⁷

²Victor P. Hamilton, "Marar," *TWOT* (1980), 1:528.

³Kenneth D. Mulzac, *Praying With Power: Moving Mountains* (Huntsville, AL: Beka Publications, 1997), 72.

⁴Claus Westermann, "The Role of the Lament in the Theology of the Old Testament," *Interpretation* 28 (1974): 27.

⁵All translations of Scripture are from the NRSV.

⁶A. H. Van Zyl, "1 Sam 1:2-2:11: A Life-World Lament of Affliction," *JNSL* 12 (1984): 151.

⁷Westermann, 31.

Structural Analysis

1 Samuel 1:1-28 forms a chiasm.

A The Situation: Elkanah, Hannah, and Peninnah (vv. 1-3)

B Rivalry: Hannah and Peninnah (vv. 4-8)

C Hannah's Prayer to YHWH (vv. 9-11)

B' Rivalry: Hannah and Eli (vv. 12-18)

A' Situation Resolved: Elkanah, Hannah, and Eli (vv. 19-28)

Hannah, as the main character, is present in each scene. But underlying every movement is the presence of God. In A, God is manifest because Hannah has no children, a fact that is explicitly stated in B. Indeed, childlessness is the source of the rivalry. In C, Hannah placed everything squarely on God. Her situation, and the rivalry between herself and Peninnah, may be changed if God remembers. In B', Eli accused Hannah of drunkenness. She responded that she was pouring out her soul to God. Finally in A', the situation is resolved because God intervened.

The Situation: Elkanah, Hannah, and
Peninnah (vv. 1-3)

After identifying Elkanah's ancestral heritage (1:1), the narrator develops the dilemma between Elkanah's two wives. While monogamy was the standard practice in the OT period, there is evidence of polygamy. David and Solomon both practiced it, in part for the forging of political alliances.⁸ For others, a second wife may have been taken because the first wife was infertile. This may have been the reason Elkanah took Peninnah as a second wife.⁹

Children, according to Jewish custom, were regarded as gifts from God and it was through childbearing that a woman achieved a sense of purpose and identity in life. Since the covenant community "will have an abundance of children as a sign of God's favor (Gen 16:10; 17:2, 4-5, 20; Exod 1:7),"¹⁰ then barrenness was considered to be an effect of divine disfavor that placed a woman outside of the covenant community. "Childlessness was looked upon as a curse and could frustrate a woman because of her consciousness of impotence, worthlessness and insignificance."¹¹

1 Samuel 1:3 describes the family's annual pilgrimage to Shiloh to offer sacrifices, which may or may not have been one of the three appearances all males were required to make in celebration of a national

⁸R. W. Klein, *1Samuel*, WBC (Waco: Word, 1983), 7.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰J. Baab, "Child," *IDB*, ed. G. A. Buttrick (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 1:558.

¹¹Van Zyl, 155.

festival.¹² Elkanah worshiped and sacrificed to לַיהוָה צְבָאוֹת (“the Lord of Hosts,” or “Lord Almighty”), which refers to “He who creates the (heavenly) armies”¹³ and denotes the sovereignty and universal authority of God. Israel’s claim was that by this authority alone are “all spheres of life . . . under Yahweh’s control: cult, warfare, fertility and rain, jurisprudence and every other aspect of daily life.”¹⁴

1 Samuel 1:3 also provides a tacit connection with the book of Judges, specifically chapters 19-21 that relate the story of a Levite whose concubine was raped and murdered by men from the tribe of Benjamin. Angered by such brutality, the other tribes declared war and Benjamin was virtually annihilated, including their women. The other tribes refused under oath to give their women in marriage to Benjamite men. Thus, the future of the tribe was in jeopardy. In an attempt to resolve this dilemma, the Benjamites raided Jabesh-Gilead, taking 400 virgins. But these were too few in number. Therefore with the blessing of the other tribes, the Benjamites were allowed to kidnap women at the yearly Shiloh festival. David Sibley contends that “ironically, the tribal elders decide to solve the problem of Benjamin with the very act which precipitated the conflict, the kidnapping of a woman! The enforcers of law and justice are themselves lawless and unjust.”¹⁵ Shiloh, a place of worship, became a place of brutality.

The situation of polygamy and rivalry described in 1 Sam 1:3 recalls the corruption and evil at Shiloh. Corruption at Shiloh is also suggested by the presence of Hophni and Phinehas,¹⁶ who are guilty of serious misconduct and corruption of the cultus (2:22). It is in such a situation that Israel’s “women have neither voice nor choice.”¹⁷ Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn comment correctly: “It is into this world of rationalized violence and silenced women, of fragmented nation and fractured promise, that the figure of Hannah comes (1 Samuel 1), ominously traveling with a husband from the hill country of Ephraim to

¹²Cf. Exod 23:15-17; 34:18-24; Deut 16:16. The three required national festivals that demanded the presence of all males were the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Tabernacles.

¹³Klein, 7.

¹⁴Van Zyl, 156.

¹⁵David Sibley, “Kingship, Samuel and the Story of Hannah,” *Tradition* 23 (1986): 65.

¹⁶Klein, 7, declares that these are Egyptian names. Hophni, a rare name, means “tadpole.” Phinehas, which is more common, means “the Negro.”

¹⁷Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn, *Gender, Power and Promise: The Subject of the Bible’s First Story* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 136.

a yearly festival in Shiloh (cf. Judg 19:1; 21:19-23).¹⁸

Thus, it is Shiloh that welcomed devotion but also recalled corruption. Corruption was also posed in Elkanah's polygamy. Marrying and supporting two wives indicated a level of wealth and also placed him opposite the men of Benjamin who abducted women. Thus,

Hannah's marriage to Elkanah is described against the brutal background of women being taken against their will. For Elkanah the marriage to two women is most likely a sign of great prestige, but for the two women, it is a source of great bitterness. . . . Whatever the reasons for the taking and possessing of two women, Hannah and Peninnah are pitted against one another in a desperate effort to claim their self-worth.¹⁹

Rivalry: Hannah and Peninnah (vv. 4-8)

The source of rivalry between Hannah and Peninnah stemmed from the actions of Elkanah. He gave Peninnah and her children the necessary portions, but the barren Hannah received a "double portion" (1:4-5). It is not surprising that such blatant favoritism aroused the jealousy of Peninnah. Elkanah imperceptively magnified Hannah's suffering even as he sought to console her.

The narrator highlights the rivalry between the two women by placing them in bold relief (1:4-5). Hannah lacks children, yet she receives Elkanah's generosity and affections. On the other hand, Peninnah is fertile, but receives nothing extra. This suggests that her "usefulness" in Elkanah's eyes was because she produced children. Beyond this, she was "useless." This situation immediately calls to mind Jacob, who loved the barren Rachel more than Leah, who was fertile (Gen. 29:30-31). Thus, Hannah's infertility and Elkanah's favoritism evoked Peninnah's persistent provocation (1:6-7). This unrelenting torment continued "year after year." Peninnah's implied accusation was that Hannah lacked value due to her barrenness. Recoiling from her own sense of "valuelessness," Peninnah projects the same to her rival: they both lack value and thus they cancel out one another.

The provocation had its intended effect of making Hannah fret (תִּרְעַמָּה, "to stir up inwardly," "to lament, complain, or murmur," 1:6).²⁰ Hannah's state of mind was reflected in her weeping and in her refusal to eat. Even Elkanah's attempt at consolation (1:8) was useless. His question shows that he was simultaneously solicitous and imperceptive. While, on one hand, he assured her that motherhood is unrelated to the value of her personhood, on the other, he placed her value only in relation to himself

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Mulzac, 70; cf. P. Kyle McCarter, *Samuel*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 49.

("Am I not better to you than ten sons?" 1:8). This has the effect of a comic irony—Elkanah did not consider Hannah's value to be greater than that of sons, yet he urged Hannah to do precisely that in relation to him. Fewell and Gunn concur:

Not only is this man so short-sighted as to think that he, shared with another, is all this woman needs to be fulfilled in life, but he is also oblivious to what is going on in his household. He cannot see how this system of marriage is afflicting his wife. He cannot hear his wife's pain. He turns her sorrow into something about himself. Her desire, her need for value, is refocused on him and his worth.²¹

Elkanah did not understand Hannah. He appears as one who, despite his heritage, devotion to YHWH, and love for Hannah, was helpless—helpless to change Hannah's situation, her barrenness caused by YHWH, and "the destructive interaction between the wives." Hannah was deeply needy; her husband was helpless.²² Hannah's only solution to the problem was prayer.

Hannah's Prayer to YHWH (vv. 9-11)

Upset by her rival, uncomforted by her husband who cannot plumb "the depths of her desire and despair,"²³ Hannah went to the tabernacle to pray. Her state of being is described as "bitterness of soul"²⁴ and "sore weeping" (1:10). This points, in one word, to grief. The external manifestation of tears proceeds from internal and underlying emotion. In short, "the emotional overtones are rooted in what is basically a physical phenomenon."²⁵ The emotional burden causes a physical wearing-out of the person. This is Hannah's story, her grief.²⁶ This is what motivates her to pray.²⁷ Her prayer (1:11) may be divided into several parts:

²¹Fewell and Gunn, 137.

²²Walter Brueggemann, "1 Samuel 1: A Sense of Beginning," *ZAW* 102 (1990):35.

²³Fewell and Gunn, 137.

²⁴The concrete nature of the Hebrew language comes to the foreground in that it describes an unpleasant and difficult situation in terms of the sense of "taste."

²⁵Terence Collins, "The Psychology of Tears in the Old Testament: Part I," *CBQ* 33 (1971): 20-21.

²⁶The idea of bitterness is also found in Job 20:14, where the word מְרוּרָה ("bitterness") is used to describe a viper's venom. The book of Job uses this word frequently because it is a book filled with the venom of grief and pain; cf. Mulzac, 72.

²⁷Often the laments contain a reason by which to motivate God to act on behalf of the supplicant. No such motivation is directly mentioned in Hannah's prayer. It seems fair to claim, however, that her grief acted as the motivating factor.

1. Address with adoration. The invocation of the name “Lord of Hosts” undergirds the conviction that YHWH is the commander-in-chief of Israel’s armies and fights battles on Hannah’s behalf. Hence, his saving acts in Israel’s history were the ground of her faith. Because of his power and sovereignty, she can boldly address him, confidently aware of God’s “reliability and accessibility.”²⁸

Hannah believes that she has the “right to expect some action from God,”²⁹ just as he had intervened on behalf of Israel when the nation was in crisis. “Whatever power, love and sympathy had been available in the past to the community or the individual is still available.”³⁰

Hannah’s self-designation also pointed to her adoration of God: she was his handmaid or servant (הַמְּאִדָּה). This concept is emphasized as Hannah repeats her loyalty to God three times. As God’s handmaid she is submissive, thereby denoting “her complete confidence in Him, her unconditioned and unwavering faith in His supreme power and willingness to help.”³¹

2. Complaint. Hannah expressed her complaint as the “affliction of your handmaid,” or “your servant’s misery.” She did not blame or accuse God, but her misery, brought on by her barrenness (and the consequent taunting of Peninnah), denotes God as the causative agent: “the Lord had shut up her womb” (1:5, 6). The expression “shut up” (שָׁטַם) means “to stop,” or “to dam up or shut off.” This word describes the act of providing tight security by shutting doors or gates or by sealing up a hole or breach in the wall.³² It was impossible for Hannah to conceive and bear children. Hence, her extreme “misery.” This word envelops the concentration of all the sufferer’s emotions: “isolation, humiliation, indignity, impotence, worthlessness, depression, resignation, disappointment, grief, self-depreciation, loss of self-confidence, loss of motivation, and even a loss of any interest in life and living as such because his or her life is thrown into the primordial chaos.”³³

3. Petition. The petition is couched in the expression, “If you will only look and remember and not forget your handmaid but give her a son.” Hannah places herself in YHWH’s hand as her Savior. This is a request for his intervention and activity. Several key words and ideas portray this state of trust:

²⁸Walter Brueggemann, “From Hurt to Joy, From Death to Life,” *Interpretation* 28 (1974): 8.

²⁹Ibid., 6.

³⁰Van Zyl, 156.

³¹Ibid., 157.

³²Mulzac, 72.

³³Van Zyl, 156.

a. Look. This does not point to a quick glance as one would give a stranger. Rather, it contains a sharpness of intentionality: "Gaze upon me; pay attention to me." It is as though God had been inattentive to her and now she expects his attention.

b. Remember and do not forget. The first is positive, while the second is negative. Hannah's "complete faith in Yahweh and her submission to His will" is found between these two poles³⁴ as she requests the favor of divine intervention. The verb זָכַר ("remember") is significant. Hannah challenges God to remember, not as an act of merely bringing something to his conscious attention (because nothing escapes his omniscience), but to act on her behalf. She looks and appeals to the history of those who have come before her,³⁵ thus Hannah is requesting appropriate divine action on her seemingly impossible situation.³⁶

c. Give me a son. Hannah is specific in her petition. She appeals for a solution to her problem in a concrete way. Because YHWH closed her womb, he can also open it and deliver her from this plight.

d. Vow. This is an "act of devotion and love contracted either preceding or following divine blessing."³⁷ The purpose of a vow was not to attract divine attention, but to express faith in God's ability and willingness to intervene in the lamenter's behalf.

Stipulations of the vow generally called for worship of the Lord and the sacrifice of thank offerings and/or burnt offerings.³⁸ Hannah's vow, however, stipulated that she would return her son to God for all his life as a Nazarite.³⁹

This is an ironic pledge—to desire a son, yet be willing to give him up to the strict contingencies of the Nazarite! As Fewell and Gunn question:

Is this vow but a symbol of her utter desperation? Is even a baby for a short length of time better than no baby at all? Is the status of motherhood, rather than the child himself, really what is at stake? Does she believe that if God will "open her womb" for the first child others are sure to follow?⁴⁰

³⁴Ibid., 158.

³⁵In Gen. 8:1, God "remembered" Noah and his family in the ark and saved them; he acted on their behalf. In Gen. 30:33, God "remembered" Rachel and acted on her behalf by giving her a son. In 2 Kgs 20, Hezekiah, who was sick to the point of death, asked God to remember him. God acted on his behalf and healed him.

³⁶Mulzac, 74; Klein, 8.

³⁷Leonard J. Coppes, "Neder," *TWOT* (1980), 2: 558.

³⁸Cf. Pss 22:23, 26; 26:12; 61:6, 9; 50:14; 56:13; 66:13-15.

³⁹Cf. Num 6, where the Nazarite is compelled to maintain at least three stipulations: abstinence from alcoholic beverages, no contact with the dead, and no cutting of the hair.

⁴⁰Fewell and Gunn, 138.

The vow of the Nazarite is one of separation and distinction. Silber notes: "Hannah through her non-participation in Shiloh, *has already set herself apart*; she now imposes a vow of separation upon her son" (emphasis supplied).⁴¹

Rivalry: Eli and Hannah (vv. 12-18)

As Hannah prayed silently, moving only her lips, Eli marked her as being drunk and rebuked her. Like Elkanah, Eli misunderstood and misjudged Hannah.⁴² For the first time in the narrative, Hannah verbally expressed her distress. "Appealing to her emotional state ('sorrowful spirit') and dismissing the charge of inebriation,"⁴³ Hannah defended herself, saying that she "poured out her soul to the Lord." The imagery created by the word "poured out" is of the complete emptying of a container of its contents.⁴⁴ Thus, Hannah poured out the abundance of her complaint and grief (1:16b). Eli must not regard her as a worthless, drunken woman (בַּת־בְּלִיעַל) since she was "firmly determined to take up the matter with her God."⁴⁵ While she was straightforward about her distress and vexation of spirit, she did not tell Eli, as she had YHWH, what her need was.

Eli responded with a priestly blessing of peace (שְׁלוֹמִים) and the assurance that the God of Israel would fulfill her petition.

Hannah's second response (1:18a) was a request for grace (חַן) or approval from the priest. The word חַן is from the same root from which the name "Hannah" is derived. Hence, she is the favored one who has trusted YHWH and received his gift. With the receipt of the blessing, Hannah changed. Previously, she had not been able to eat and was grief-stricken (1:9); now she ate and was joyous (1:18).

Situation Resolved: Elkanah, Hannah, and Eli (vv. 19-28)

1 Samuel 1:19-20 is a birth announcement: Elkanah and his family rose up, worshiped, and went home. Elkanah, who had been absent from the

⁴¹Silber, 69.

⁴²Brueggemann, "1 Samuel 1," 36. It is ironic that Eli should rebuke a worshiper when his own sons are sinful and his rebuke of them is weak and goes unheeded (vv. 22-25).

⁴³T. Muraoka contends that Hannah is "not minded to follow the worldly sages' counsel as given in Prov 31. 6. . . . 'Give strong drink to the perishing and wine to those in mental distress.'" ("1 Sam 1. 15 Again," *Biblica* 77 [1996]: 98-99).

⁴⁴Cf. Lam 2:19; Pss 43:3, 4; 62:8.

⁴⁵Muraoka, 99.

narrative, is now necessarily present: he “knew” Hannah. It is expected that the next line would be “and she conceived.” However, the narrator says that “the Lord remembered her.” YHWH acted on her behalf by answering her prayer (1:11). The child is not the result of Elkanah’s action, but of YHWH’s intervention. God did not forget Hannah. “Yahweh is the key factor in the narrative. Hannah could speak complaint and petition only because she submitted to Yahweh. The son is born only because Yahweh remembered. Everything depends on asking Yahweh and being answered by Yahweh.”⁴⁶ This is evident from the name given to the child—Samuel, which means “heard of God” (1:20b).⁴⁷ The child is indeed a gift from God and not merely the result of human cohabitation.

The second part of the scene (1:21-28) is the fulfillment of Hannah’s vow. God acted and now she acts. Elkanah gave his approval of Hannah’s vow (cf. Num 30:6-8). After three years (at the time of the child’s weaning), Hannah fulfilled her vow by presenting the child to the priest. There are several important elements in this section:

1. Swiftmess of movement. In 1 Sam 1:20, Hannah conceived the child but was prepared to yield him up “forever” to the Lord at the age of three.

2. Elkanah’s change of heart. 1 Samuel 1:8 portrays Elkanah as shortsighted, helpless, and imperceptive, placing value on Hannah only in relation to himself. After the birth of the child, the narrator places him in a truly supportive role, allowing Hannah her own identity: “Do what seems good to you.” He even added a blessing: “May the word of the Lord be established.” Elkanah’s bewilderment in 1:8 has been transformed into affirmation (1:23).

3. Hannah’s gift. Being careful to offer the required sacrifices (1:24-25), Hannah then presented Samuel to Eli. Eli does not speak in this encounter. He does not need to. Unlike 1 Sam 1:17, where Hannah needed a blessing and a word of assurance, none is needed now: “the Lord has granted me my petition which I asked of Him” (1:27). She is prepared to fulfill her vow with a thankful heart: “As long as Samuel lives he shall be given to the Lord” (1:28).

God of Salvation

When Hannah moved toward God, he removed her shame and humiliation. Human suffering, no matter what it is, is not something

⁴⁶Brueggemann, “1 Samuel 1,” 36, n. 7.

⁴⁷A. H. Van Zyl, “The Meaning of the Name Samuel,” *Die Outestamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika* (1969): 128. Since Hannah alone names the child, she is noted as the significant parent; cf. J. T. Willis, “Cultic Elements in the Story of Samuel’s Birth and Dedication,” *ST* 26 (1972): 57-61.

which affects the sufferer alone and which he himself must overcome; suffering is something to be brought before God. The true function of the lament is supplication, the means by which suffering comes before the one who can remove it. Seen from this perspective, the lament becomes a movement toward God.⁴⁸

It is only by an act of faith that the sufferer moves toward God in search of healing and blessing. It is God alone who can effect the change. The supplicant understands that since YHWH permitted or caused a disaster, only he can restore the well-being of the person.⁴⁹

It was only when Hannah's faith in YHWH was expressed that she experienced a change: from sadness to joy, from not eating to eating, from nonparticipation in the worship to participation. This was virtually a new life, a reversal of fortunes. It was then with expectation that she looked forward to the birth of her son. The narrator loses no time in reporting that as soon as they returned home, YHWH remembered Hannah.

When Hannah brought the child to Eli to begin his service, her heart was full of thankfulness and adoration for God's remembrance (2:1-10). While her joy resulted from the birth of her son, she made no mention of him in the song. The theme of the poem is rejoicing in God's salvation (2:16). Three characteristics of God are emphasized: his holiness, incomparable nature ("there is no one beside you"), and trustworthiness ("he is a rock").⁵⁰ Because God is all this, he is able to reverse the fortunes of the reviled and oppressed; the barren become fruitful, the fertile is rendered incapacitated (1:5-10). Thus, God's universal right to rule is the tenor of Hannah's song of salvation. Her prayer was her consolation. She was bold to take her petition to God.

Conclusion

Hannah's prayer is not merely the center of the passage, it calls on God to act on her behalf. It is an expression of confidence that only YHWH can change her barrenness into fertility and thus reverse her shame that drives her in petition to him. It is only divine intervention that changes the situation. And it is precisely this fact that provides the main point of the books of Samuel. It is God's action in remembering and not forgetting that brings Samuel on the scene to replace Hophni, Phinehas, and, ultimately, Eli.

⁴⁸Westermann, 32.

⁴⁹Brueggeman, "From Hurt to Joy," 12.

⁵⁰Cf. Mulzac, 79, commenting on 2:2.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN ACCOUNT: THE CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF GENESIS 2-3

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Introduction

While theologians such as Derek Beattie have attempted to uncover the meaning of Gen 2-3, a satisfactory and definitive answer has remained elusive.¹ In addition to traditional historical-critical methodology (source criticism), scholars have employed many other approaches including religiohistorical, social, psychoanalytical, and feminist approaches, as well as several structuralist, semiotic, and literary models.²

¹D.R.G. Beattie, "What is Genesis 2-3 About?" *ExpTim* 92 (1980-1981): 8-10.

²For example: (1) redaction history: J. Vermeylen, "Le récit du paradis et la question des origines du pentateuque," *BTFTb* 41 (1980): 230-250;

(2) contemporary articles: K. Holter, "The Serpent in Eden as a Symbol of Israel's Political Enemies: A Yahwistic Criticism of the Solomonic Foreign Policy?" *SJOT* 1 (1990): 106-112; A. Gardener, "Genesis 2:4b-3: A Mythological Paradigm of Sexual Equality of the Religious History of Pre-Exilic Israel?" *SJT* 43 (1990): 1-18;

(3) wisdom: G. E. Mendenhall, "The Shady Side of Wisdom: The Date and Purpose of Genesis 3," in *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of J. M. Myers*, Gettysburg Theological Studies 4, ed. H. N. Bream et al. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 319-334; F. Festirazzi, "Gen 1-3 e la sapienza di Israele," *RivBib* 27 (1979): 41-51;

(4) king ideology: W. Brueggemann, "From Dust to Kingship," *ZAW* 84 (1972): 1-18; M. Hutter, "Adam als Gärtner und König (Gen 2,8.15)," *BZ* 30 (1986): 258-262;

(5) land ideology: M. Ottosson, "Eden and the Land of Promise," in *Congress Volume*, Jerusalem 1986, ed. J. A. Emerton et al., VTSupp 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 177-188;

(6) temple ideology: G. J. Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: Academic Press, 1986), 19-25;

(7) religio-historical articles: I. M. Kikawada and A. Quinn, *Before Abraham Was: The Unity of Genesis 1-11* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1985), 31-82 (Mesopotamian and Hellenistic material); H. N. Wallace, *The Eden Narrative*, HSM 32 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) (Ugaritic material); K. Jaros, "Die Motive der heiligen Bäume und der Schlange in Gen 2-3," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 204-215 (archaeological material);

(8) social approach: J. Guichard, "Approche 'matérialiste' du récit de la chute: Genèse 3," *LV* 131 (1977): 57-90; J. Oosten and D. Moyer, "De Mytische omkering: Een analyse van de sociale code van de scheppingsmythen van Genesis 2.4b-11," *AnthVer* 1 (1982): 75-91;

(9) political approach: J. M. Kennedy, "Peasants in Revolt: Political Allegory in Genesis 2-3," *SJOT* 47 (1990): 3-14;

(10) psychoanalytical approach: E. Drewermann, *Strukturen des Bösen: Die Jahwistische Urgeschichte in exegetischer, psychoanalytischer und philosophischer Sicht*, Paderborn

If the traditional historical-critical methodology is correct in positing that there are two different Creation accounts,³ written by different

theologische Studien 4 (München: Schöninghaus, 1977);

(11) feminist approaches: P. Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 72-143; M. Bal, "Sexuality, Sin and Sorrow: The Emergence of the Female Character: A Reading of Genesis 1-3," *PT* 6 (1985): 21-42; S. Lanser, "(Feminist) Criticism in the Garden: Inferring Genesis 2-3," *Semeia* 41 (1988): 67-84;

(12) structural and semiotic studies: R. Couffignal, "Guides pour l'Éden: Approches nouvelles de Genèse II,4-III," *RevThom* 80 (1980): 613-627; D. Parre and J. F. Parker, "A Structural Exegesis of Genesis 2 and 3," *Semeia* 18 (1980): 55-75; O. Davidsen, "The Mythical Foundation of History: A Religio-Semiotic Analysis of the Story of the Fall," *LB* 51 (1982): 23-36; W. Vogels, "L'être humain appartient au sol: Gn 2.4b-3.24," *NRTb* 105 (1983): 515-534; E. J. van Wolde, *A Semiotic Analysis of Genesis 2-3*, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 25 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1989);

(13) rhetorical, semantic, and literary models: H. C. White, "Direct and Third Person Discourse in the Narrative of the Fall," *Semeia* 18 (1980): 91-106; T. E. Boomershine, "The Structure of Narrative Rhetoric in Genesis 2-3," *Semeia* 18 (1980): 113-129; J. T. Walsh, "Genesis 2:4b-3:23: A Synchronic Approach," *JBL* 96 (1972): 161-177; R. C. Culley, "Action Sequences in Genesis 2-3," *Semeia* 18 (1980): 25-34; G. W. Coats, "The God of Death: Power and Obedience in the Primeval History," *Int* 29 (1975): 227-239; D.J.A. Clines, "Theme in Genesis 1-11," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 483-507; P. D. Miller, *Genesis 1-11: Studies in Structure and Theme*, JSOTSup 8 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1978); D. S. Moyer and J. G. Oosten, "The Ambivalent Gardener: The Animal and Vegetable Codes of Genesis 2:4 to 9:9," *Anthropologica* 21 (1979): 118-127; A. J. Hauser, "Genesis 2-3: The Theme of Intimacy and Alienation," in *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature*, ed. D.J.A. Clines et al., JSOTSup 19 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 20-36; I. M. Kikawada, "A Quantitative Analysis of the 'Adam and Eve,' 'Cain and Abel' and 'Noah' Stories," in *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of F. I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. E. W. Conrad and E. G. Newing (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 195-203; B. D. Naidoff, "A Man to Work the Soil: A New Interpretation of Genesis 2-3," *JSOT* 5 (1978): 2-14; M. Casalis, "The Dry and the Wet: A Semiological Analysis of Flood and Creation Myths," *Semiotica* 17 (1976): 35-67; D. Jobling, "Myth and Its Limits in Genesis 2:4b-3:24," in *The Sense of Biblical Narrative II: Structural Studies in the Hebrew Bible*, JSOTSup 39 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 22-24; idem., "A Structural Analysis of Genesis 2:4b-3:24," *SBLSP* 1 (1978): 61-69; idem., "The Myth Semantics of Genesis 2:4b-3:24," *Semeia* 18 (1980): 41-59.

³Traditionally, the historical-critical method divides the first three chapters of Genesis into three separate narrative accounts: Gen 1 and 2 are presented as two different and even antithetical Creation accounts, while Gen 3 is understood to be an account of humanity's fall. In addition, it is generally accepted that Gen 1-3 is attributed to two different literary sources: the Priestly (P) source for the redaction of Gen 1 and the Jahvist (J) source for the redaction of Gen 2-3. For further bibliographical references on Gen 1-3 from the viewpoint of the historical-critical method, see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary*, trans. J. J. Scullion (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 74-76, 80-93, 178-181, 186-197 [from 1848 till 1969]; see also G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, WBC (Waco: Word, 1987), 1-2, 41-44 [until 1986]. Current scholarship also continues to support the idea of two separate creation accounts. See, for example, H. P. Santmire, "The Genesis Creation Narratives Revisited: Themes for a Global Age," *Int* 45 (1991): 366-379; W. Park, "Why Eve?" *SVTQ* 35 (1991): 127-135; A. van den Branden, "La création de l'homme et de la femme d'après le document Jahviste," *BeO* 32 (1990): 193-208; Ch. Cohen, "Jewish Medieval Commentary on the Book of Genesis and Modern Biblical Philology, Part I: Gen 1-18," *JQR* 81 (1991): 1-11; J. Kselman, "The Book of Genesis: A Decade of Scholarly Research," *Int* 45 (1991): 38-92.

authors and which are differentiated from the narrative of the Fall, then a study of the accounts should reveal incoherence and linguistic, literary, and thematic inconsistencies among them.⁴ On the other hand, if both accounts were composed by the same author, then it should be possible to find coherence, concordance, and linguistic, literary, and thematic consistencies between them.⁵ This article argues the latter position: that Gen 1 is the sole Creation account, properly so called, in Genesis; that Gen 2-3 constitutes another account, here referred to as the Garden of Eden Account (GEA); and that these two accounts form a textual unity that is best explained as the composition of a single author and/or editor.⁶

Exegetes and literary critics believe the place to begin an evaluation of Gen 2-3 is the text as a whole (*Geschehensbogen*).⁷ Beattie noted that an important reason for the diversity of interpretation is the presence of too much *derash* (philosophical and midrashic exegesis) and too little *peshat* (philological and literal exegesis) in modern scholarship.⁸ Thus his analysis shows the necessity of coming closer to the Hebrew text by giving greater attention to its linguistic and literary characteristics. Building on Beattie's approach, the purpose of this article is to present the literary structure of Gen 2-3 by considering the Hebrew text of Gen 2-3 as one complete textual unit. The article's hypothesis is that the literary, linguistic, and thematic unity of the Hebrew text of Gen 2-3 indicates authorship and/or redaction by a single hand.

Exegetical Implications of Genesis 2:4 for the Literary Structure of Genesis 2-3

The *locus classicus* divides Gen 2:4 into two separate verses with each assigned to a different author. However, an attentive reading of modern exegetical literature reveals that there is less consistency in the interpretation of Gen 2:4

⁴For example, Westermann, 190, finds in "Gen 2-3 repetitions, lack of agreement, lack of balance, gaps in the line of thought, contradictions. One could not expect anything else." These he attributes to "the many-sided process of the formation of this text."

⁵See R. Ouro, *El Relato del Huerto del Edén: Estructura Literaria de Génesis 2-3 y Relación Lingüística con Génesis 1* (Entre Ríos, Argentina: River Plate Adventist University Press, 1997); cf. J. B. Doukhan, *The Genesis Creation Story* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1978); D. Garret, *Rethinking Genesis* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991); and W. H. Shea, "The Unity of the Creation Account," *Origins* 5 (1978): 9-38; idem, "Literary Structural Parallels between Genesis 1 and 2," *Origins* 16 (1989): 49-68.

⁶See R. Ouro, "Linguistic and Thematic Parallels Between Genesis 1 and 3," *JATS* 13, n. 1 (2002): forthcoming; see also n. 5 above.

⁷Westermann, 189-192; see also F. García López, "De la Antigua a la Nueva Crítica Literaria del Pentateuco," *EstBib* 52 (1994): 11-22.

⁸D. R. G. Beattie, "Peshat and Derash in the Garden of Eden," *IBS* 7 (1985): 62-75.

than has been suggested previously.⁹ For instance, T. Stordalen indicates that the parallel Sumerian or Akkadian texts present an initially *negative* framework of the world before creation. By way of contrast, however, Gen 2:4b seems to give a *positive* framework of the world before the creation of humanity.¹⁰ While there is no external evidence that indicates that Gen 2:4b is the beginning of a new account, if such evidence were in existence it would indicate that the new account begins in Gen 2:5. Therefore, the only way to read Gen 2:4b as an original part of Gen 2-3 would be to consider it a dependent sentence, which would be in accordance with the *locus classicus*.¹¹ In that case, the syntactical features found in Gen 2:4b-7 would be accepted.¹²

On the contrary, however, Gen 2:4b indicates that the reader *is* aware of some *other* previous account.¹³ T. Stordalen maintains that the only obvious evidence in Gen 1-3 is that we have *two different and successive accounts*—Gen 1 and 2-3.¹⁴

In Gen 2:4, the heavens and earth appear together in a chiasmic antithetical construction that produces a perfect transition between Gen 1 and 2-3:

A heavens and earth (2:4a)

A' earth and heavens (2:4b)

G. J. Wenham notes the antithetical chiasmic structure of v. 4 in the MT:¹⁵

A heavens

B earth

C created (*hibbār²ām*)

C' made (*ʿsōt*)

B' earth

A' heavens

⁹See, e.g., Kikawada and Quinn, 60; Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 49, 55-56; Wallace, 23, n. 1; 59, n. 39; Van Wolde, 72-73.

¹⁰T. Stordalen, "Genesis 2:4: Restudying a *locus classicus*," *ZAW* 104 (1992): 168.

¹¹Cf. O. Loretz, "Schöpfung und Mythos. Mensch und Welt nach den Anfangskapiteln der Genesis," *SBS* 32 (1968): 276-283.

¹²To read 2:4b as a dependent sentence of v. 7, with two complete verbal sentences between them (vv. 5 and 6).

¹³Stordalen, 169.

¹⁴Ibid; see also N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, JPS Torah Commentary (New York: JPS, 1989), 16; and H. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978). Cassuto, for example, has made a clear distinction between Gen 1 and the story recorded in Gen 2-3. He argues that Gen 1 relates "The Story of Creation" and Gen 2-3, more precisely Gen 2:4-24, is part of the "Story of the Garden of Eden," which stretches to the end of Gen 3 (1:7, 71, 84-94, 159, 169-171).

¹⁵Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 46.

An exegesis of Gen 2:4 leads us to the following exegetical implications:

1. With regard to Gen 2-3, the most important implication is that the GEA is not an account of Creation centered on the heavens and the earth as in Gen 1, but rather the narrative focuses on the earth and its inhabitants (i.e., humans, animals, and plants) some time after their creation.

2. Consequently, Gen 2-3 presents a new story that is the *account of the origin of evil and death* (Gen 2:9, 16-17; 3:1ff.), while Gen 1 *focuses on the origin of goodness and life* (Gen 1:4, 10ff.).

3. The importance of the Gen 2-3 narrative lies in its introduction of the origin of evil in the world. Without this account, the basic postulate of the Gen 1 Creation account (i.e., the essential kindness of the divine Creator and the goodness of his original creation; cf. Gen 1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31) would be incomprehensible.¹⁶

4. The second narrative, Garden of Eden account, which begins with 2:5, contains the formula *terem yih'yeh* ("was not yet").¹⁷ A review of parallel ANE texts indicates that this formula could not serve as a significant exegetical indicator in the Creation narratives. The presence of this expression does not indicate that it was originally an exclusive characteristic of the stories of Creation. Rather, the evidence suggests that this formula was simply a narrative technique applied to different texts, often in stories of primordial times.¹⁸ However, the *literary function* of this formula seems to be fixed. The purpose of the formula is to expose a negative situation and to define certain deficiencies (or problems) that will be covered (or resolved) in the narrative. This literary function is so stable

¹⁶See Sarna, 16.

¹⁷Stordalen, 175-176; see also A. P. Ross, *Creation and Blessing: A Guide to the Study and Exposition of Genesis* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 76.

¹⁸While this formula may not be present in many of the ANE Creation myths (it is absent in "Enki y Ninmah" and KAR 4; G. Pettinato, *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und Akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen* [Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1971], 69-73, 74-81; and even in several minor texts included in A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of the Creation* [Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1942], 52-54 [2 texts], 60-64 [4 more texts]), the formula does appear in other origin myths (which should not be classified as Creation myths, though they do contain Creation episodes) such as *Lugal-e* (see Pettinato, 86-90, 91-96), *The Sumerian Flood Story* (see lines 47-50, introducing a new subsection, see also M. Civil in *Atra-Hasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, ed. W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969], 141), the *Atra-Hasis*, and in Hesiod (for *Atra-Hasis*, see *ibid.*, 42-43; for Hesiod, see H. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homericica* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977], 497; cf. Kikawada and Quinn, 37). The same is true for several Egyptian texts and others used by Westermann (60-62). Of course, the formula still appears in actual Creation accounts such as the *Enûma Elish*, the *Eridu Story of Creation*, and in Philo of Byblos. For a detailed exhibition of all the texts, see Heidel, 8, 50, 66.

that expressions of the formula can reappear *verbatim* in the later account. In this way, at least in several ANE texts, the formula gives specific information about the topic of the narrative it introduces.¹⁹

The Chiastic Structure of Genesis 2-3

A study of the GEA reveals a carefully built chiasmic structure that begins with an introduction (the creation of man), referred to in the antecedent account of Gen 1 and which directly links both accounts. Immediately in section A, God places the created man in the Garden of Eden. From this point, the account increases in intensity, from God's command to humanity to care for the garden in section B to the climax of the account—humanity's disobedience to the divine command. This instance of disobedience serves as the center of the antithetical chiasmic structure (C). From this climax, the account decreases in intensity with the appearance in section B' (the first antithetical turn) of the consequences of the transgression—the discovery, the test, and the divine judgment. The GEA concludes in section A' with the total decrease of intensity—the created humanity is expelled by God from the Garden of Eden—which recalls the beginning of the account, but with the opposite effect. The literary structure of Gen 2-3 reveals a chain of events that are assembled together like a puzzle extraordinarily designed by its author. The linguistic pieces of the Hebrew text come together exactly.

The Garden of Eden Account The Chiastic Structure of Gen 2-3 (I)	
C The Disobedience of Human Beings in the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:1-7)	
B Divine Commandment and Organization of Human Life (Gen 2:16-25)	B' Divine Judgment and Reorganization of Human Life (Gen 3:8-21)
A The Placement of Man in the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:5-15)	A' The Expulsion of Man from the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:22-24)

¹⁹T. Stordalen, "Man, Soil, Garden: Basic Plot in Genesis 2-3 Reconsidered," *JSTOT* 53 (1992): 8-9.

A || A'

The Placement of Man in the
Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:5-15)

||

The Expulsion of Man from the
Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:22-24)

Genesis 2:5-6 forms a poetic introduction with the following meter: 3+3, 3+2, 2+3, 2+3, 3+3.²⁰ Based on this formulation of the Hebrew text, the GEA will be analyzed using the methodology of literary microstructure or microsection. A microstructure or microsection is a literary and linguistic fragment of the Hebrew text that embraces one or several verses of the narrative in the same section or in antithetical sections and can be presented in the account in parallel panels (e.g., ABAB') or in antithetical chiasm (e.g., ABB'A').

Before analyzing the antithetical chiasmic structure between A||A', we will consider the microstructure in parallel panels that embraces section A.

Microstructure in Parallel Panels of Genesis 2:5-15

A₀ there was not yet any plant of the field, rain, or man to work the ground (2:5)

A₁ streams from the earth watered the whole surface of the ground (2:6)

A₂ God formed man of the ground (2:7)

A₃ God planted a garden in Eden and made trees grow (2:8-9)

A₁' a river flowed from the Garden of Eden (2:10-14).

A₂' the Lord God put the man in the Garden of Eden (2:15)²¹

The general situation of the earth, as described in Gen 2:5-6, was undoubtedly a situation of *terem yib'yeh* ("not yet productive"). Genesis 2:5-6 presents the scenario for the first event that takes place in 2:7—*wayyiser ybwh 'elohim* ("the Lord God formed").²²

Section A of Gen 2:5-15 is structured around a triad of significant elements: *vegetation, water, and humanity*. The absence or lack of existence of the three elements is recorded in v. 5. Likewise, v. 6 notes the existence of water on earth, while v. 7 describes man's creation from the earth, and vv. 8-9 acknowledge the existence of vegetation in Eden. Finally, vv. 10-15 repeat the same elements by means of synonymous parallelism. Thus, the

²⁰G. B. G. Ray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (New York: KTAV, 1972), 221-222.

²¹All scriptural texts are taken from the NIV.

²²W. R. Bodine, "Linguistics and Philology in the Study of Ancient Near Eastern Languages," in *Working with No Data: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin*, ed. D. M. Golomb (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 51-54.

emphasis on water is central to the meaning of the term *ēden* (“Eden”), suggesting a place where there is an abundant supply of water.²³ Its verbal root **ēdn* means primarily “to give an abundant supply of water,” and, secondarily, “to enrich, to prosper, to make exuberant.”²⁴

Genesis 2:10-14 serves as an interlude (thus interrupting a series of consecutive imperfects), located between Gen 2:8(9) and 2:15 (the key verses of section A). This interlude passage describes the geographical location of Eden, showing the garden to be the source of water for the surrounding countryside. Recent data suggest that the physical description of the account is authentic.²⁵

Now we will analyze the antithetical sections A || A', the antithetical chiastic microstructure of Gen 2:8, 15 || Gen 3:22-24 that constitutes the thematic, textual, literary, and linguistic limits of the GEA.

*Antithetical Chiastic Microstructure of
Genesis 2:8,15 || Genesis 3:23-24*

A₄ the Lord God planted a garden in Eden in the east, in which he put the man he had formed (2:8)

A₅ the Lord God took the man (2:15a)

A₆ and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it (2:15bc)

A₆' the Lord God banished him from the Garden of Eden to work the ground from which he had been taken (3:23)

A₅' after he drove the man out (3:24a)

A₄' he placed cherubim on the east side of the Garden of Eden to guard the way to the tree of life (3:24bc)

1. *The antithetical microsections A₄ || A₄'* In A₄, the Lord God is presented as the one who planted a garden in Eden in the east, where he “put” (*wayyāšēm*, Qal imperfect of the verb *šūm*) the man he had formed. Microsection A₄' presents a clear antithetical parallelism in which the divine name does not appear. The verb “to place” (*wayyāšēn*, Hiphil imperfect of the verb *šākan*) appears

²³This etymology leans on Gen 13:10: “Lot looked up and saw that the whole plain of the Jordan *was well watered, like the garden of the Lord*”; see Cassuto, 108.

²⁴For an analysis of the diverse proposals of the etymological meaning of the Hebrew terms *ēd* (2:6) and *ēden*, see D. T. Tsumua, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2*, JSOTSup 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 94-116, 123-136.

²⁵E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), 19-20; cf. E. A. Speiser, “The Rivers of Paradise,” in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11*, ed. R. S. Hess and D. T. Tsumura, Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 4 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 175-182.

synonymous to that of *wayyāšēm* (“put”) in 2:8 and *wayyanniḥēbū* (“put,” lit. “caused him to rest”) of 2:15. The term *miqqedem* (“east”), describing the geographical location of the Garden of Eden, appears in both 2:8 and 3:24bc. Additionally, the same expression, *gan-ēden* (“Garden of Eden”), appears in construct relation in 2:8 and 3:24bc. Finally, the usage of the direct object particle offsets the terms *et-hak-rubīm* (“cherubim,” 3:24bc) and *et-ha-ādām* (“man,” 2:8).²⁶ In 3:24, God places the action on the cherubim, instead of on the man as in 2:8.

2. *The antithetical microsections A₅ | A₅'*: In A₅, the Lord God “took” (*wayyiqqah*, Qal imperfect of the verb *laqah*) the man, while in microsection A₅', the divine name does not appear and the verb “to drive out” (*waygāres*, Piel imperfect of the verb *gāras*) is antithetical to the verb “to take” (A₅). Additionally, *et-ha-ādām* (“the man”) is prefaced with a particle of direct object, indicating that in both A₅ and A₅' the man is the one on whom the direct action occurs—“to take” in the first case and “to drive out” in the second.

3. *The antithetical microsections A₆ | A₆'*: Again an antithetical parallelism is created when the divine name is absent from A₆, but appears in A₆' (this construct is an inversion compared to microsections A₄ and A₅). The verb “to put” (*wayyanniḥēbū*, Hiphil imperfect of the verb *nuah*) is synonymous to the verb *sūm* (“to put”) of microsection A₄, while the verb “to banish/to send forth” (*wayy'sāl' ḥebū*, Piel imperfect of the verb *sālah*) (A₆' is antithetical in idea and content to the verb *wayyanniḥēbū* (“to put”) (A₆). The phrase “a garden in Eden” (*gan-b^c-ēden*) appears in A₆ and the same construct relation “Garden of Eden” (*gan-ēden*) in A₆'. The verb “to work/to till” (Qal infinitive construct of the verb *abad*) also appears in both A₆ (*l^c-obodāh*) and A₆' (*la^{ca}-bōd*).²⁷

Before continuing with the analysis, we should point out that the same verb “to take care/to keep” (*sāmar*)²⁸ is in the Qal infinitive construct in A₆

²⁶That the entrance of the Garden of Eden was guarded by “cherubim” (*k'rubīm*) is an indication that it was viewed as a sanctuary. Akkadian *karibi* were the traditional guardians of holy places or temples in the ANE, see G. J. Wenham, “Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story,” in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11*, ed. R. S. Hess and D. T. Tsumura, Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 4 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 401. Two *k'rubīm* on top of the ark formed the throne of God in the inner sanctuary (Exod 25:18-22), pictures of *k'rubīm* decorated the curtains of the tabernacle and walls of the temple (Exod 26:31; 1 Kgs 6:29), and two others guarded the inner sanctuary in Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:23-28).

²⁷This verb appears for the first time in Gen 2:5 in the same verbal form, Qal infinitive construct.

²⁸F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951), 1036; W. L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 377; E. Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English* (Jerusalem: University of

(*šōmrāb*) and in A₄' (*lišmor*). In the former, the reference is to the Garden of Eden; in the second it refers to the way to the tree of life. This aspect, although in different antithetical microsections, constitutes a linguistic element that supports the linguistic and literary unity of the sections and of the account.

*Antithetical Chiastic Microstructure of
Genesis 2:5d,7a || Genesis 3:23b*

A₇ There was no man to work the ground, so the Lord God formed the man from the dust of the ground (2:5d,7a)

A₇' to work the ground from which he had been taken (3:23b)

The terminology used in Gen 3:23b is identical to that employed in Gen 2:5d, 7a. This chiastic microstructure is important to the structural unity of the GEA. The use of the same verb “to work/to till” (*la^abōd*, Qal infinitive construct of the verb *abad*) and the same noun *et-bā^adāmā* (“ground”) appear in both Gen 2:5 and Gen 3:23 (sections A || A') along with a particle of direct object, thus indicating that “the ground” is the object on which the direct action of “to work/to till” occurs. In the first case (2:5) the man’s absence is noted, while in the second case the man’s presence “to work/to till” the ground replaces the lack of work found at the beginning of the account.²⁹ A strong thematic and linguistic parallelism also exists between “the Lord God formed the man of the ground” (2:7a) and “the ground from which he [the man] had been taken” (3:23b), where “the ground from which he had been taken” is a clear thematic reference to “the man formed [taken]” by “the Lord God out of the ground.”

*Antithetical Chiastic Microstructure of
Genesis 2:9 || Genesis 3:22*

A₈ the Lord God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (2:9)

A₈' the Lord God said, “Man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil. He must not be allowed to eat from the tree of life and live forever” (3:22)

The terminology used in Gen 3:22 is similar to that employed in Gen 2:9.

Haifa, 1987), 668; E. Jenni and C. Westermann, eds., *Diccionario Teológico del Antiguo Testamento* (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1985), 2:1232-1237. It is interesting that both the man’s placement in the Garden of Eden and his expulsion are registered twice in sections A and A'.

²⁹Cassuto, 173, considers Gen 2:5 to be a text that advances to Gen 3:23; see also N. Wyatt, “When Adam Delved: The Meaning of Genesis 3:23,” *VT* 38 (1988): 118-119.

Four carefully defined parallelisms between A and A' become evident: (1) the presence of the divine name in A₈ and A₈'; (2) a thematic antithetical parallelism between human access (A₈) and denial to the tree of life (A₈'), (3) an antithetical parallelism between the *tree* of the knowledge of good and evil (A₈) and the *knowledge* of good and evil (A₈'), and (4) the thematic antithetical parallelism between "good for food" (A₈) and "he must not be allowed to reach out his hand and eat" (A₈').

These analyses demonstrate the thematic and content unity, in addition to the literary and linguistic coherence already described, that relate Gen 2 with Gen 3 and thus suggest the work and redaction of a single author.³⁰ It is significant that the same divine name, *yhwh* ^{2e}*lōhīm* ("Lord God"), appears both at the beginning (2:5, 7-9) and at the end of the GEA (3:22-23), thus striking a telling blow to traditional source criticism's attempt to separate Gen 2 (the second account of the Creation) and Gen 3 (the account of humanity's fall) into distinct documents and accounts. A literary analysis demonstrates the lack of evidence for this traditional historical-critical position, while a structural analysis confirms the unity of composition in Gen 2 and 3.

The Garden of Eden Account The Chiastic Structure of Gen 2-3 (II) A A'	
The Placement of Man in the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:5-15)	The Expulsion of Man from the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:22-24)
A ₄ - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh</i> ^{2e} <i>lōhīm</i>) - "put" (<i>wayyāsēm</i>) - "the man" (^{2e} <i>et-hā-ādām</i>) - "garden in Eden" (<i>gan-b^c-ēden</i>) - "in the east" (<i>miqqedem</i>) (2:8)	A ₄ ' - - "he placed" (<i>wayyāskēn</i>) - "cherubim" (^{2e} <i>et-bak'rubīm</i>) - "Garden of Eden" (^{2e} <i>gan-ēden</i>) - "on the east" (<i>miqqedem</i>) (3:24bc)

³⁰For a further study of the techniques that unify the text, see H. van Dyke Parunak, "Oral Typesetting: Some Uses of Biblical Structure," *Bib* 62 (1981): 162-163. Parunak indicates that the patterns of the superficial structure not only divide the text into segments, but they also establish the internal unity of those segments. He distinguishes two different techniques: (1) the panel (used to describe the unity of "ABC" or "CBA") of a structure contains a summary of the material that it developed more completely than others, e.g., the table of contents or the summary of a text; and (2) the presentation of different categories of information about one or more topics. Parunak indicates that already chiastic or alternating [in parallel panels] structures can unify the material in one or another of these ways; see also F. I. Andersen, who previously underlined the unifying force of the chiastic structure (*The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew*, Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 231 [The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1974], 119-140).

<p>A₅ - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh</i> \rightarrow <i>lōhīm</i>) - "took" (<i>wayyiqqah</i>) - "the man" (\rightarrow <i>et-ha'ādām</i>) (2:15a)</p>	<p>A₅' - - "he drove out" (<i>waygāres</i>) - "the man" (\rightarrow <i>et-ha'ādām</i>) (3:24a)</p>
<p>A₆ - - "put" (<i>wayyannahū</i>) - "garden in Eden" (<i>gan-b'ēden</i>) - "to work it" (\rightarrow <i>ob'dāb</i>) (2:15bc)</p>	<p>A₆' - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh</i> \rightarrow <i>lōhīm</i>) - "banished" (<i>way'sāl'hēhū</i>) - "Garden of Eden" (<i>miggan-ēden</i>) - "to work" (<i>la'bo'd</i>) (3:23)</p>
<p>A₇ - "to work" (<i>la'bo'd</i>) - "the ground" (\rightarrow <i>et-ha'dāmā</i>) - "The Lord God formed the man from the dust of the ground" (2:5d,7a)</p>	<p>A₇' - "to work" (<i>la'bo'd</i>) - "the ground" (\rightarrow <i>et-ha'dāmā</i>) - "[the ground] from which he [the man] had been taken" (3:23b)</p>
<p>A₈ - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh</i> \rightarrow <i>lōhīm</i>) - "good for food" (<i>w'ṭōb l'm'ka'āl</i>) - "the tree of life" (<i>w'ēs haḥayyim</i>) - "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil" (<i>w'ēs hada'at ṭōb w'āra'</i>) (2:9)</p>	<p>A₈' - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh</i> \rightarrow <i>lōhīm</i>) - "He must not be allowed to reach out his hand and take from the tree of life and eat" (<i>w'attā pen-yislah yādo' w'lāqāh mē'ēs haḥayyim w'ākal</i>) - "knowing good and evil" (<i>lāda'at ṭōb w'āra'</i>) (3:22)</p>

B || B':

Divine Commandment and Organization of
Human Life (Genesis 2:16-25)

||

Divine Judgment and Reorganization of
Human Life (Genesis 3:8-21)

In Gen 2:16, an inflection takes place with the verb "to command" (*waysaw*, Piel imperfect of the verb *šāwā*) that interrupts a series of consecutive imperatives of the preceding section and marks the beginning of a new antithetical section B || B' that is different from the literary and linguistic terminology and content found in A || A'. The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to the antithesis, so that v. 16 is antithetical to v. 17. In addition, the infinitive absolute puts a much stronger accent on the idea contained in the associated verb.³¹

³¹See W. Gesenius-E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, trans. A. E. Cowley (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 113; see also Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Subsidia Biblica 14 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991), 2:420-432; B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake:

*Antithetical Chiastic Microstructure of
Genesis 2:16 || Genesis 3:8*

B₁ the Lord God commanded the man, “You are free to eat from any tree in the garden” (2:16)

B₁' the man and his wife heard the sound of God as he was walking in the garden and they hid among the trees of the garden (3:8)

The beginning of section B (Gen 2:16) and the beginning of the section B' (Gen 3:8) present a marked antithetical contrast, both linguistically and thematically. In Gen 2:16, God's presence in the garden does not produce fear in the man. God and humanity were together face to face among the trees in the garden. However in Gen 3:8, when the man and his wife “heard” (*wayyisim^u*, Qal imperfect of the verb *sāma*) “the sound of the Lord God as he was walking in the garden,”³² it brought fear to them. Their response was to “hide” (*wayyithabbe^u*, Hithpael imperfect of the verb *ḥābā^u*) from God's presence “among the trees of the garden” (*b^etōk eš-hagān*, the same Hebrew expression of construct relation found in Gen 2:16). It is precisely here, in Gen 3:8, that God reappears after being absent from the narrative. The absence is similar to God's lack of presence in section C (the apex of the chiasm).

*Antithetical Chiastic Microstructure of
Genesis 2:16-17 || Genesis 3:11b*

B₂ the Lord God commanded the man (2:16a)

B₃ “You are free to eat from any tree in the garden, but not from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil” (2:16b-17a)

B₃' “Have you eaten from the tree, which I told you not to eat from?” (3:11b)

B₂' “that I commanded” (3:11b).

1. *The antithetical microsections B₂ || B₂'*. In B₂, the verb “to command” (*šāwā^a*, **šwh*, Piel imperfect *wayšaw*) appears for the first time and is

Eisenbrauns, 1990), 580-597; C.H.J. van der Merwe, J. A. Naudé, and J. H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 157-162.

³²*Qol* (“the sound”) is probably used here to refer to the sound of steps walking; see 2 Sam 5:24; 1 Kgs 14:6; 2 Kgs 6:32; 11:13. The verb *mithallēk* (“walking,” Hithpael participle of the verb *ḥālak*), used here to describe the movement of the divine, is a type of Hithpael that suggests repetitive and habitual acts; see E. A. Speiser, “The Durative Hithpael: A Transform,” *JAOS* 75 (1955): 118-121, esp. 119; W. A. Ward, “Notes on Some Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names,” *Or* 32 (1963): 421, n. 5. The same term is used to describe the divine presence later in the tent sanctuary in Lev 26:12; Deut 23:14; 2 Sam 7:6-7. The Lord God walked in Eden as he subsequently walked in the tabernacle. This suggests that in Gen 2-3 the Garden of Eden was seen as an archetypal sanctuary.

repeated again in B_2' . The usage of the word in B_2' is in the Piel perfect-suffix *šiwwītkā*, recalling the same idea as in 2:16. The same Hebrew phraseology and verb appear a third time in Gen 3:17b (^ʿšer *šiwwītkā*, Piel perfect-suffix). It is significant that this verb also appears repeatedly in relationship to God's commands to Israel at Sinai. In texts such as Deut 5:31, the noun (*mišwā*) appears in the feminine singular from the same verbal root ^ʿšwh (cf. Deut 6:1-2, where the word appears in a noun feminine singular and in the Piel perfect form *šiwwā*[6:1], in a noun feminine plural, and in the Piel participle form *mešawwekā* [6:2] respectively); and in Deut 5:32-33, the verb appears in the Piel perfect verbal form *šiwwā* in both verses. This antithetical parallelism is also marked by the presence of the divine name in Gen 2:16 and its lack in 3:11.

2. *The antithetical microsections $B_3 || B_3'$* . In the microsections $B_3 || B_3'$, an antithetical parallelism, referred specifically to the particle of negation, appears in 2:17a as *lō* and in 3:11 as *l'bilti*, where it is especially associated with the verb "to eat" (^ʿakol to ^ʿkel, Qal infinitive absolute-Qal imperfect [2:16b] in B_3 and the same verb ^ʿkol ^ʿakaltā in the Qal infinitive construct-Qal perfect [3:11] in B_3'). In $B_2:B_3::B_3':B_2'$, not only are similar linguistic terms and structures repeated, but in Gen 3:11 the same idea, content, and theme are repeated.

*Antithetical Chiastic Microstructure of
Genesis 2:20 || Genesis 3:9*

B_4 the man gave names to all the livestock (2:20)

B_4' the Lord God called the man (3:9)

The antithetical chiastic microstructure $B_4 || B_4'$ is defined by the verb "to give name/to call" (*qārā*^ʿ,³³ which appears in the Qal imperfect *wayyiqrā*^ʿ in Gen 2:20; in v. 19, it also appears two times in the Qal imperfect). Here the man is the main character of the narrative. God brings the animals he has created to the man for him to name (2:19). The man give names "to all the livestock" (*l'kol-hab' hēmā*, a term that is composed of two nouns—masculine singular construct-feminine singular—in construct relation). In B_4' , the verb "to give name /to call" appears a second time in the same verbal form (Qal imperfect *wayyiqrā*^ʿ), but now the Lord God is the main character of the narrative. Thus in a perfect antithetical parallelism, it is God who calls the man to appear (B_4'), but antithetically it is the man who gives names to all the livestock (B_4).

³³BDB, 894; Holladay, 323; Klein, 590; TWOT, 2:810-811; Jenni and Westermann, 2:839-849.

*Microstructure in Parallel Panels of
Genesis 2:23-25 || Genesis 3:20-21*

B₅ the man said, "She shall be called 'woman,' for she was taken out of man" (2:23)

B₆ the man and his wife were both naked, and felt no shame (2:25)

B₅' Adam named his wife Eve because she would become the mother of all the living (3:20)

B₆' the Lord God made garments of skin for Adam and his wife and clothed them (3:21)

1. *The antithetical microsections B₅||B₅'*: The parallel panels found in this microstructure are significant to section B||B'. In microsection B₅, three Hebrew terms appear as fundamental linguistic elements: the man (who serves as the central character of the narrative), "to call/give name" (*yiqqāre*[∞], Niphal imperfect of the verb *qārā*[∞], cf. vv. 19-20), and "woman" (*isšā*[∞], due to her origin from "man" *is*[∞]).³⁴

It is significant that initially the man does not name the woman in the same sense that he names the animals. A different formula is not only used, but more importantly the man must name himself before naming the woman. In fact, the name that he gives to her, *isšā*[∞], is the name used in Gen 2:22 by God when he forms the woman and brings her to the man. Therefore, the man, when he renames himself, comes into conformity with the name given to the woman (*is*[∞], *isšā*[∞]). However, in B₅' the man again names the woman, this time in the same way that he named the animals.³⁵ In B₅', the verb "to call/give name" (*wayyiqra*[∞], in the Qal imperfect, which is the common verbal form of the GEA; in B₅, it appears in the Niphal imperfect) appears again. The man continues to play the central character of the narrative by again naming the woman, calling her

³⁴In the existent relationship between *ādām* ("man") and *dāmā* ("ground"), as in the case of *isšā*[∞] and *is*[∞], the feminine mark "š" forms a play on words. The element of origin is also present in both etymologies: man (*ādām*) is formed of the ground (*dāmā*) (cf. 2:7; 3:23). Woman (*isšā*[∞]) is formed/taken of the man (*is*[∞]). This etymological relationship reaches its climax when man returns to the ground in death and when man meets with the woman to create life. Trible points out that the unity of *is*[∞] and *isšā*[∞] is functionally parallel to *ādām* and *dāmā* (98). Jobling indicates that the narrative exploits the relationship between *ādām* and *is*[∞] because the man must name himself before he can name the woman. He notes that *ādām* is used in Gen 2 until the crucial point where the man names the woman, then he is called *is*[∞]. Thus the man is basically being renamed in conformity with the name given to the woman ("The Myth Semantics," 41-49). Meier notes that non-Canaanite languages also preserve the grammatical possibility of such a play on words (S. A. Meier, "Linguistic Clues on the Date and Canaanite Origin of Genesis 2:23-24," *CBQ* 53 [1991]: 19-21).

³⁵Jobling, "The Myth Semantics," 46-47.

hawwâ (“Eve”) due to the divine judgment and reorganization of human life as a result of humanity’s disobedience to the divine command. It appears that the *Atra-Hasis* Epic of Old Babylonian mythology presents a thematic and literal parallel to Eve’s name (“the mother of all living”).³⁶ However, it should be noted that this parallel exists only as a contrast between the OT and parallel ANE texts; there is a significant difference between Gen 3:20 and the parallel texts of the ANE. While in the *Atra-Hasis* Epic the one who receives the honorary name is the creative Mami, in the OT it is the created one, the first woman, who receives the name. Therefore, the Hebrew Bible presents a completely antimythical function to the Mami goddess.³⁷

2. *The antithetical microsections B₆||B₆’*: Microsections B₆||B₆’ are characterized by the antithetical phrases: “the man and his wife were naked” (B₆) and “made garments of skin for Adam and his wife and clothed them” (*wayyalbisēm*, as a complementary concept to “garments”) (B₆’). The second part of this parallel antithesis presents God as the central character of the narrative and makes him the action of the verb “to make” (*wayya’as*, Qal imperfect of the verb *’āsā*, cf. Gen 3:1). Adam and his wife appear as passive subjects for whom God made garments and then “clothed them” (*wayyalbisēm*, Hiphil imperfect-suffix of the verb *lābas*, a causative form). It is significant that the word used for *’ōr* (“skin”) forms a construct relation with “garments” (*kotenōt*, a noun feminine plural construct-noun masculine singular) and that the term “skin” specifically refers to the skins of animals related to the construction of the sanctuary, the system of

³⁶According to Kikawada, a word-by-word comparison of the expression “mother of all the living” in this Babylonian Epic shows that the honorary name of the goddess Mami (*belet-kala-ili*, “Mrs. of all the gods”) followed the same formula as the name “Eve”:

panami mami nisassiki
inanna belet kala ili
lu šumki

Formerly we call her Mami;
now, “Mrs. of all the gods”
really that will be her name (I 246-48)

(“Two Notes on Eve,” *JBL* 91 [1972]: 33). The formula for this new name, “x of all the y,” corresponds to the one used to designate Eve the “mother of all the living.” It is also used for other personal names, such as *bunu-kala-ili* (“one Nobleman [?] of all the gods”) that contain the formula “x of all the y,” where “x” = “one Nobleman [?],” “y” = “the gods,” and the qualifier “of all” (*kala* or *kali*, a cognate of Hebrew *kol* “all” or “totality”). Consequently, Mami and Eve are derived from the same formula; see H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), 127; W. von Soden, *Akkadische Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965-1981), 127a, 138b, 427a for similar names (e.g., *bin-kali-šarri*). See also in this list the last of the powerful kings of the Old Akkadian period (Kikawada, “Two Notes,” 34).

³⁷Kikawada, “Two Notes,” 35.

sacrifices, and the cultic rites.³⁸ Moreover, accounts of the ordination of the priests describe Moses' clothing them in their tunics.³⁹

The play on words of "naked" ("were both naked," 2:25) and "crafty" ("now the serpent was more crafty," 3:1) has been studied by F. Landy.⁴⁰ It is significant that B₆ ends with the word ^{ca}*rūmmūn* ("naked"), while the following section (C), which is the central section and the narrative nucleus of the GEA, begins with the use of the word ^c*ārūm* ("crafty"). This aspect, among others already mentioned, demonstrates the relationship and literary and linguistic correspondence between Gen 2 and 3, linking them together.

The primary meaning of the Hebrew word ^c*erwā* ("nakedness," in its several forms) is clear.⁴¹ The word does not refer at all to sexuality, but rather to a defenseless state of abandonment, devoid of possessions or power.⁴² For

³⁸For example, Gen 27:16; Exod 25:5; 26:14; 29:14; 35:7, 23; 36:19; 39:34; Lev 4:11; 7:8; 8:17; 9:11; 16:27; Num 4:6, 8, 10-12, 14; 19:5; 31:20.

³⁹Exod 28:41; 29:8; 40:14; Lev 8:13.

⁴⁰F. Landy, *Paradoxes of Paradise* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), 220ff.

⁴¹In Job 1:21 and Eccl 5:14 the image of a child, who comes naked into the world and returns to death naked (i.e., missing all possessions), is used. A similar image is used in Hosea, where reference is made to a robbed woman who is stripped of her clothes and is naked as in the day she was born (2:3). In Job 22:6; 24:7, 10, the word is used to refer to the spoil and nakedness of the poor (cf. Isa 58:7 and Ezek 18:7, 16). The image is used metaphorically with relationship to the underground world in Job 26:6. In Amos 2:16, the hero will escape naked, robbed of his weapons and power; while in Isa 20:2-4, the term refers to prisoners who go naked into captivity (cf. Deut 28:48). In Mic 1:8, it refers to one robbed and naked in affliction. 1 Sam 19:24 refers to the intent of Saul to capture David by using Samuel's prophetic gift. Successive messengers are conquered by the Spirit of God and they prophesy. Saul also succumbs to this power and he prophesies before Samuel, remaining naked for a whole day and night. Only in Ezek 16:7, 22, 39; 23:29 does some sexual shade appear. But even here the essential meaning is that of a destitute, robbed, and vulnerable woman.

⁴²J. Magonet, "The Themes of Genesis 2-3," in *A Walk in the Garden*, ed. P. Morris and D. Sawyer, JSOTSup 136 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 43; see also R. M. Davidson, "The Theology of Sexuality in the Beginning: Genesis 3," *AUSS* 26 (1988): 122-123; and J. A. Bailey, "Initiation and the Primal Woman in Gilgamesh and Genesis 2-3," *JBL* 89 (1970): 144-150. In Ugaritic, two terms related to the Hebrew ^c*erwā* ("nakedness") are ^c*rw* ("to undress" or "to destroy") and ^c*ry* ("naked/uncovered"). They do not refer to sexuality, but rather to a defenseless state and abandonment without possessions or power, similar to that of the corresponding Hebrew word:

KTU 1.14

umt'[*krt.*] ^c(?)*rw*t.
br'[*m*] *lk.itdb.*

The family [of Kirta] was
denuded/destroyed
the house of the king perished (see
context: KTU 1.14 I 10-25)

the first time the human couple are able to see themselves through the eyes of God, and they perceive their weakness, fragility, and dependence (Gen 3:7).

*Antithetical Chiasmic Microstructure of
Genesis 3:9-19⁴³*

B₇ The Man's Sin

The Lord God asked the man, "Where are you?" He answered, "I heard you in the garden and was afraid because I was naked; so I hid." God said, "Who told you that you were naked? Have you eaten from the tree that I commanded you not to eat from?" (3:9-11)

B₈ The Woman's Sin

The man said, "The woman you put here with me gave me fruit from the tree and I ate it" (3:12)

B₉ The Serpent's Sin

The Lord God said to the woman, "What have you done?" The woman said, "The serpent deceived me and I ate" (3:13)

B₉' The Serpent's Judgment

The Lord God said to the serpent, "Because you have done this, you are cursed above all livestock and all wild animals! You will crawl on your belly and eat dust all the days of your life, and I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he will crush your head, and you will strike his heel" (3:14-15)

B₈' The Woman's Judgment

To the woman he said, "I will greatly increase the pain of childbirth. Your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you" (3:16)

B₇' The Man's Judgment

To Adam he said, "Because you listened to your wife and ate from the tree, the ground will be cursed; you will reap it through painful toil all the days of your life. It will produce thorns and thistles, and you will eat the plants

KTU 1.16 II

⁸⁹*km.nky.t.tgr*[b]

like a strong-room's (lit. "treasury") (let)

⁹⁰*km.skllt* [—]

gate (be),

⁹¹*c₇ym.lbl* [.sk]

like an enclosure's [

bare without [covering]

J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978), 97; see also G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaán* (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1981), 289, 314.

⁴³Van Dyke Parunak, 164.

of the field. You will do this until you return to the ground from which you were taken; you are dust and will return to dust" (3:17-19)

1. *The antithetical microsections B₇||B₇'*: This antithetical chiasmic microstructure completes and closes section B' of the GEA. It is fundamentally characterized by the divine judgment and the reorganization of human life after humanity's disobedience to the divine command and the entrance of sin in the earth. In B₇, the man hears God's voice in the garden and is afraid (an expression of his sin). B₇' is characterized by the description of God's judgment on humanity: "cursed is the ground because of you; through painful toil you will eat of it all the days of your life."

2. *The antithetical microsections B₈||B₈'*: The microsections B₈||B₈' describe the woman's sin, given in the man's words, and the divine judgment as an exact antithetical parallelism. While B₈ is characterized by the man's answer to God's questions, in which man displaces his sin onto the woman, his partner,⁴⁴ B₈' contains the description of God's judgment on the woman (e.g., "pains," "childbearing," "and "with pain").⁴⁵ It is interesting that the verb *ḥarḇā' arbēh* ("to increase") appears in the verbal form of the Hiphil infinitive absolute–Hiphil imperfect of the verb *rāḇā*, with a similar linguistic formula to the verb *ʾakol toʾkel* ("to eat") (2:16) and *mōt tāmūt* ("to die") (2:17) in the antithetical section of B. Although in this case the verbs appear in the Qal infinitive absolute–Qal imperfect, the verbal forms are more common.

3. *The antithetical microsections B₉||B₉'*: Finally, the antithetical microsections B₉||B₉' describe the serpent's sin, given in the woman's words, and the divine judgment as a precise antithetical parallelism. B₉ is characterized by the woman's answer to God's question, in which she places the blame for sin on the serpent (i.e., "the serpent deceived me and I ate"). B₉' describes God's judgment of the serpent (i.e., "cursed, . . . you will crawl on your belly and you will eat dust"). In 3:17, God curses the ground as an indirect punishment on humanity. In 3:14, he curses the serpent directly.

Thus the account of humanity's disobedience, which arises in the Garden of Eden, falls at the center of the narrative. In a precise way, section C (Gen 3:1-7) reveals that humanity's disobedience (i.e., their sin, which was the origin of evil in the world) is the narrative nucleus of the antithetical chiasmic

⁴⁴Remember that previously he had said of her: "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh . . . and they will become one flesh" (2:23-24, NIV).

⁴⁵The Lord God appears again in the Garden of Eden after Adam and Eve's sin to begin a legal process of judgment and reorganization of human life. With relationship to the judgment of the woman and the use of Hebrew terms *ʿiśś'bon* ("pain/toil"), *māšāl* ("to rule over"), and *ʿsīqā* ("desire") that appear in Gen 3:16, see, e.g., BDB, 780-781, 605, 921-922; Holladay, 280, 219, 396; and Davidson, 127-129.

structure of Gen 2-3 and the word *wā'ōkēl* ("and I ate") is the point of return for the antithetical chiasm of the GEA as a whole.⁴⁶

The Garden of Eden Account The Chiasitic Structure of Gen 2-3 (III) B B'	
<p>Divine Commandment and Organization of Human Life (Gen 2:16-25)</p> <p>B₁ - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh ʔlohīm</i>) - "the man" (<i>ʔal-hāʔādām</i>) - "tree in the garden" (<i>ʔēš-bagān</i>) (2:16)</p> <p>B₂ - "commanded" (<i>wayyāw</i>) - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh ʔlohīm</i>) - "the man" (<i>ʔal-hāʔādām</i>) (2:16a)</p> <p>B₃ - "not" (<i>lōʔ</i>) - "to eat" (<i>tōʔkēl</i>) - "from the tree" (<i>ūmēʔēš</i>) (2:16b-17a)</p> <p>B₄ - - "gave names" (<i>wayyiqraʔ</i>) - "the man" (<i>hāʔādām</i>) (2:20)</p> <p>B₅ - "the man" (<i>hāʔādām</i>) - "shall be called" (<i>yiqqāvē</i>) - "woman" (<i>ʔiššā</i>) (2:23)</p> <p>B₆ - - "naked" (<i>ʔrūmmīm</i>) - "his wife" (<i>wʔʔišto</i>) - "the man" (<i>hāʔādām</i>) (2:25)</p>	<p>Divine Judgment and Reorganization of Human Life (Gen 3:8-21)</p> <p>B₁' - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh ʔlohīm</i>) - "the man" (<i>hāʔādām</i>) - "trees of the garden" (<i>ʔēš-bagān</i>) (3:8)</p> <p>B₂' - "I commanded you" (<i>šiwwitikaʔ</i>) (3:11b)</p> <p>B₃' - "not" (<i>ʔbilti</i>) - "to eat" (<i>ʔkol ʔākāltaʔ</i>) - "from the tree" (<i>hʔmin-hāʔēš</i>) (3:11b)</p> <p>B₄' - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh ʔlohīm</i>) - "called" (<i>wayyiqraʔ</i>) - "to the man" (<i>ʔel-hāʔādām</i>) (3:9)</p> <p>B₅' - "Adam" (<i>hāʔādām</i>) - "named" (<i>wayyiqraʔ</i>) - "Eve" (<i>hawwā</i>) (3:20)</p> <p>B₆' - "Lord God" (<i>yhwh ʔlohīm</i>) - "garments" (<i>kotenōl</i>) "clothed them" (<i>wayyalbisēm</i>) - "his wife" (<i>ūʔʔišto</i>) - "Adam" (<i>ʔʔādām</i>) (3:21)</p>

⁴⁶Walsh, 171.

*The Disobedience of Human Beings in the
Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:1-7)
Antithetical Chiastic Microstructure of Genesis 3:1-4*

- C₁ The serpent, who was more crafty than any of the wild animals the Lord God had made, said to the woman, “Did God really say, ‘You must not eat from any tree in the garden?’” (3:1)
 C₂ the woman said to the serpent, “We may eat fruit from the trees in the garden, (3:2)
 C₂’ but God did say, ‘You must not eat or touch the fruit from the tree that is in the middle of the garden or you will die’” (3:3)
 C₁’ The serpent said to the woman, “You will not die” (3:4)

1. *The antithetical microsections C₁ || C₁’*: The antithetical parallelism between microsections C₁ || C₁’ is marked by the nouns “serpent” and “woman,” and the verb “to say.” The serpent is the main character of both microsections.⁴⁷ In C₁, the negative particle *lō*² (“not”) appears in connection with *kōl* (“all,” “any”; a noun masculine singular construct) that is used as a formula to express absolute negation (e.g., “you must *not* eat from *any* tree in the garden” [3:1]).⁴⁸ In C₁’, the expression “you will not surely die” (*lō*² *mōt t’mutûn*) is the same expression that appears in 2:17 (*mōt tāmût*) in Qal infinitive absolute–Qal imperfect but without the negative particle, thus demonstrating that the serpent repeats God’s words but with a total negation of the divine command.⁴⁹

⁴⁷The common Hebrew term used for “serpent” is *nāḥās* (e.g., Num 21:7-9; Deut 8:15; Prov 23:32; it appears 31 times in the OT). There is possibly a connection between *nāḥās* and *n’ḥōṣēt* (“bronze”) in Num 21:9, where Moses makes a “bronze snake” (*nāḥās n’ḥōṣēt*). This connection with the word “bronze” suggests that the serpent had a brilliant and luminous appearance that attracted the woman’s attention. Another more sinister connection can be seen between the noun *nāḥās* and the verb *nāḥas* (“to practice divination, to observe signs,” Gen 30:27; 44:5,15; Lev 19:26; Deut 18:10). This verb appears 11 times in the OT, always in the Piel form. The noun with which *nāḥās* is related means “divination” (*nāḥās*; Num 23:23; 24:1). The formula of divination in the ANE frequently included procedures that imply a serpent; see V. P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 187; cf. K. R. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism in the Old Testament* (New Jersey: Haddonfield House, 1974), 2-3, 22; G. Contenau, *La Divination chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens* (Paris: Payot, 1940), 222.

⁴⁸GKC, 152b; Joion and Muraoka, 2:606. The serpent’s first words should be considered a surprise expression. The serpent exaggerates the prohibition of God excessively, seeking to convince the woman that God did not allow them access to any tree of the garden (Hamilton, 186; see also Walsh, 164; cf. A. Schoors, “The Particle *kī*,” *OTS* 26 [1981]: 271-273).

⁴⁹In the OT, the judge often expressed the death sentence through the use of a solemn formula. For the use of this formula, see Gen 2:17; 20:7; 1 Kgs 2:37, 42; 2 Kgs 1:4, 6, 16; Jer 26:8; Ezek 3:18; 33:8, 14. Two examples include Saul’s conclusion of the judicial process of

2. *The antithetical microsections* C₂||C₂: Nevertheless, the antithetical parallelism that comprises 3:1-4 is C₂||C₂: As opposed to the previous microsection, the woman is the main character and the serpent the passive. In 3:2, an antithetical parallelism appears in conjunction with 3:1, 4 with the reversal of the words “woman” and “serpent.” In addition, an antithetical parallelism occurs with the phrases “we may eat fruit from the trees in the garden” (3:2) and “you must not eat fruit from the tree that is in the middle of the garden” (3:3).⁵⁰ The word *ḥtoḳ* (“in the middle”) appears in many biblical passages and, especially in Gen 1 and 2, means “in the middle, in the center of a space or geographical place.”⁵¹ In this context, it specifically refers to the geographical location of the garden of Eden, a meaning confirmed by the Ugaritic term *tk*.⁵² However, the expression “in the middle of the garden” (*ḥtoḳ-hagān*) not only indicates the space and/or geographical location of the

Ahimelech with the sentence “You will surely die” (*mōt tāmūt*, 1 Sam 22:16). An identical sentence was proclaimed against Jonathan by Saul after Jonathan was pronounced guilty (1 Sam 14:44). See P. Bovati, *Re-Establishing Justice: Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures in the Hebrew Bible*, JSOTSup 105 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 360-361.

⁵⁰In Ugaritic, the term *gn* (“garden”) is cognate to the Hebrew word *gan*. It appears in KTU 1.6 I 4:

[*ttlt*]⁴*qn.zr^h*
ṥrt.km.gn.āp.lb.

[she harrowed] her collar-bone,
 She ploughed (her) chest like a *garden*

Gibson, 74; see also Del Olmo Lete, 223. The literature of the ANE also contributes distant parallels with relationship to the food of plants or some edible substance and to the subsequent concession of life. Thus in the Epic of *Gilgamesh*, Utnapishtim gives a plant to Gilgamesh that Gilgamesh calls “The Man that Ended up being Young in Old Age.” He then proclaims: “I will eat and in this way I will return to my youth” (ANET, 96). However, a snake ate the plant while Gilgamesh took a bath. In the same way, the Akkadian Myth of *Adapa* shares the topic of lost immortality. Anu offers Adapa the bread and food of life. Adapa rejects this offer, because he thinks that it is a trick, designed not to increase his wisdom but to kill him (ANET, 102). Here, the Hebrew Bible presents this theme in a different way from the neighboring people, from an *antimythical* perspective. Mythology supports the idea that life is obtained through a plant or a tree, or through bread and water. Scripture, however, presents the reason for death as being due not to a lack of access to the tree of life, but to the first couple’s sin in the garden; see B. S. Childs, “Tree of Knowledge, Tree of Life,” *IDB* 4, 697. The idea that the life is of God and not of the tree of life is also emphasized in Gen 2:9, where God placed the tree of life in the middle of the garden; see P. Watson, “The Tree of Life,” *RestQ* 23 (1980): 235.

⁵¹See, e.g., Gen 1:6; 2:9; 9:21; 15:10; 18:24, 26; 19:29; 23:6, 9-10; 35:2; 37:7; 40:20; 41:48; 42:5.

⁵²In Ugaritic also, the term *tk* (“in the middle of, between”) is a preposition; cf. KTU 1.3 III 26 (Gibson, 49; see also Del Olmo Lete, 184):

atm.wank⁶ibgyh.
btk.gry.il.spn

Come and I myself will search it out
 within my rock El Zephon

tree that the man and the woman should not eat of, but also the exact center of the GEA from a literary and linguistic perspective (section C).

*Microstructure in Parallel Panels of
Genesis 3:5-7*

C₃ for God knows that when you eat of it (3:5a)

C₄ your eyes will be opened, (3:5b)

C₅ knowing good and evil (3:5d)

C₃' she took some and ate it, gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate it (3:6cde)

C₄' their eyes were opened (3:7a)

C₅' they realized they were naked (3:7b)

1. *The antithetical microsections C₃||C₃'*: The parallel microsections C₃||C₃' are marked by the verb "to eat" (*wayyo³kal*, Qal imperfect of the verb *akal*), the central word of the GEA, which, in C₃', is fully captured by the usage of the verb "to eat" and with the appearance of the man and woman as the main characters of the narrative. *The narrative nucleus of the GEA of Gen 2-3 is humanity's sin caused by eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil* ("She took some and ate it. She also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate it"; 3:6cde).

2. *The antithetical microsections C₄||C₄'*: The antithetical parallelism C₄||C₄' is characterized by the phrase "your eyes will be opened" in C₄; but in a perfect antithetical parallelism, the serpent's prediction is fulfilled when "the eyes of both of them were opened" (C₄').

3. *The antithetical microsections C₅||C₅'*: Finally, in microsections C₅||C₅', the antithetical contrast settles on the verb *yāda^c* ("to know"), following the same line of content, literary, and linguistic thought found in C₄ and C₄' ("your eyes will be opened . . . , then [they] were opened"). Microsections C₅ and C₅' ("knowing And they knew") record the fulfillment of the serpent's prediction, but undoubtedly in a sense very different than the man and woman expected. In C₅, humanity was introduced to good and evil—or more exactly to evil, because they already knew the good from their relation to the divine and to the "good" creation ("it was good," Gen 1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25; "it was very good," Gen 1:31).⁵³

⁵³For an analysis of the "tree of life" in the ANE literature and in the Hebrew Bible, see E. J. James, *The Tree of Life* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 67-79. The second tree that receives a special emphasis in the GEA is *ēš hada^c at tōb wārā^c* ("the tree of the knowledge of good and evil"). Scholars have proposed a series of theories about the meaning of this second tree, from sexual or omniscient knowledge to cultural or ethical knowledge. W. M. Clark proposes that "the knowledge of good and evil" indicates *moral autonomy* ("A Legal Background to the Yahwist's Use of 'Good and Evil' in Genesis 2-3," *JBL* 88[1969]: 266-278). This theory is based on several OT texts, where "good and

However, microsection C₅', in antithetical parallelism, finds humanity naked, one of the consequences of their disobedience.

The Garden of Eden Account The Chiastic Structure of Gen 2-3 (IV)	
C The Disobedience of Human Beings in the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:1-7)	
<p>C₁ - "the serpent" (<i>w'hannāḥās̄</i>) - "said" (<i>wayyōmer</i>) - "to the woman" (<i>'el-hā'issā</i>) (3:1)</p> <p>C₂ - "we may eat" (<i>nōkēl</i>) - "fruit" (<i>mipri</i>) - "from the trees in the garden" (<i>'ēš-hagān</i>) (3:2)</p> <p>C₃ - "eat of it" (<i>'akolkem</i>) (3:5a)</p> <p>C₄ - "your eyes" (<i>'ēnekem</i>) - "will be opened" (<i>w'nipqḥū</i>) (3:5b)</p> <p>C₅ - "knowing" (<i>yōd'ē</i>) - "good and evil" (<i>tōb wārā</i>) (3:5d)</p>	<p>C₁' - "the serpent" (<i>hannāḥās̄</i>) - "said" (<i>wayyōmer</i>) - "to the woman" (<i>'el-hā'issā</i>) (3:4)</p> <p>C₂' - "you must not eat" (<i>lō' tōk'liū</i>) - "fruit" (<i>ūmipri</i>) - "from the tree that is in the middle of the garden" (<i>hā'ēš 'sēr b'tōk-hagān</i>) (3:3)</p> <p>C₃' - "ate it" (<i>watōkal</i>) - "ate it" (<i>wayyōkal</i>) (3:6cde)</p> <p>C₄' - "the eyes of both of them" (<i>'ēne s'nehem</i>) - "were opened" (<i>watipaqabna</i>) (3:7a)</p> <p>C₅' - "they knew" (<i>wayyēd'u</i>) - "naked" (<i>'ērummim</i>) (3:7b)</p>

Conclusion

The literary analyses performed in this study provide evidence of the deep unity of the Hebrew text of Gen 2-3. The antithetical chiastic structure of

evil" is essentially a legal formula to articulate a judicial decision (e.g., Gen 24:50; 31:24, 29; Deut 1:39; 1 Kgs 3:9; 22:18; 2 Sam 13:22; 14:17; 19:35; Isa 5:20, 23). In conclusion, this interpretation appears to give the best meaning of the "knowledge of good and evil" in Gen 2-3. What humanity has been prohibited from is the power of deciding what is good and evil. This is a decision that God has not delegated to human beings; see also G. von Rad, *El Libro del Génesis* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1977), 107-108. This interpretation agrees perfectly with Gen 3:22: "And the Lord God said, "The man has now become like one of us, knowing good and evil." The man has become a god because he has become his own center, the only reference point for his moral guidance. When the man tries to act in an *autonomous* way, he attempts to be similar to the divinity. This is evident because the man can consent to all the trees of garden except to one (cf. Hamilton, 166.)

the Garden of Eden account (GEA) demonstrates the thematic, structural, literary, and linguistic unity of the different structural levels of this narrative. This deep unity indicates that Gen 2-3 is the work of a single author who used consistent patterns of thematic, literary, and linguistic terminology to describe what happened to the earth and its inhabitants some time after their creation. Consequently, Gen 2-3 presents a *new narrative—the account of the origin of evil and death*—in contrast to the Gen 1 account, which focuses on the origin of goodness and life.

The literary analyses performed in this study provide evidence of the deep unity of the Hebrew text of Gen 2-3, both in its literary structure and in its though content. The antithetical chiastic microstructures and the parallel panel microstructures demonstrate that the GEA of Gen 2-3 comprises one literary unity. The attempt to dissect the text, attributing its components to multiple sources, is based on the presupposition of its internal incoherence. The demonstration of internal coherence in the literary structure of the GEA challenges the historical-critical tradition regarding Gen 2-3 and favors the interpretation that it comes from a single hand.

ACHSAH'S STORY: A METAPHOR FOR SOCIETAL TRANSITION

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Introduction

The story of Achsah is found in two parallel passages, Josh 15:13-19 and Judg 1:10-15. The story is brief with abrupt narrational transitions and only the most essential details. Nonetheless, the plot is straightforward: Achsah's father, Caleb, after successfully capturing Hebron, issues a challenge that whoever can take nearby Debir will be rewarded with the hand in marriage of his daughter Achsah. The challenge is accepted and fulfilled by Othniel, a relative of Caleb.¹ On arrival at her new home, she requests that Othniel ask her father for a field. The text then abruptly changes scenes with Achsah presumably returning to her father's home and making a further request for springs of water. This request is likewise granted.

Achsah's role has not made her one of the most renowned women of the OT. Aside from her name, genealogy, and the brief details of these two narratives, nothing else is known. Her name is derived from the noun עֲבָבָה meaning "an anklet, bangle" or "ornament"² that connects her with the ideal of beauty according to rabbinic tradition. For instance, a comment in the

¹The phrase "Othniel son of Kenaz brother of Caleb" is ambiguous. Does "brother of Caleb" refer to Kenaz or Othniel? Is Othniel Caleb's brother or his nephew? Tradition is divided. The MT gives the appellation "younger brother of Caleb," but the LXX (A) is in favor of the former, while the Peshitta, Vulgate, and LXX (B) favor the latter. Caleb is listed as the son of Hezron (1 Chron 2:28, 42) and as the son of Jephunneh (Josh 15:13). Rabbinic legend resolves this discrepancy by explaining that Kenaz was Caleb's stepfather. He was called the son of Jephunneh because he deviated from the evil counsel of the spies (connecting the name Jephunneh with the root הָנָה ["to turn aside"]) and did not slander the Holy Land (BT Sanhedrin 69b; Sotah 11b). Caleb had two to three brothers: Jerahmeel (1 Chron 2:18, 43), Ram (1 Chron 2:18), and possibly Othniel. Othniel's connection with Caleb, however, is questionable for in Othniel's genealogy (1 Chron 4:13) only Othniel and Seraiah are listed as the sons of Kenaz, and Othniel is not included in Caleb's genealogies. The only connection between them appears in Josh 14:8: "Caleb son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite." Whether this Kenaz is the same as Othniel's father is unclear. Perhaps both derived from a much earlier eponymous ancestor, Kenaz. Or perhaps, as the Rabbis believed, Kenaz was Caleb's stepfather. This questionable relationship has led Boling to suggest that "brother" should be understood in the sense of a "military confederate" as it frequently does in the Mari usage of אָבִי ("brother") (Robert G. Boling, *Judges* 6A, AB [New York: Doubleday, 1975]: 56).

²Cf. Isa 3:18, where עֲבָבָה is used to denote "an ornament" for the body.

Babylonian Talmud (Temurah 16a) states: “Why was her name Achsah? Because whosoever saw her was angry with his wife.” The rabbis derived her name by metathesis from the root כעס meaning “to anger.” Presumably, Achsah was so beautiful that any man who looked upon her would be angry with his own wife for being less beautiful!

In spite of Achsah’s alleged beauty, past scholarship has deemed the story important due to certain narrative details rather than for the part that she played.³ Achsah has simply been overlooked. With this in mind, the present article is, first, a retrospective analysis of certain narrative details. Second, a multidisciplinary approach that will include an evaluation of the socioeconomic background in which Achsah lived and an examination of the usage of verbal repetition in the narrative. This reevaluation will illuminate Achsah’s story as a metaphor used by the biblical writer(s) to represent societal transition from Wandering to Conquest to Settlement.

Narrative Details

While the plots of the two narratives are parallel, textually the passages are not identical. In Josh 15:13-14, it is recorded that Caleb received Hebron as his inheritance. From Hebron, Caleb drove out the three sons of Anak. Judges 1:10 attributes this conquest to the tribe of Judah with no mention of Caleb or his inheritance. The remainder of the storyline varies in minor details, with the Judges text being more explicit in the repetition of proper names and direct objects.⁴

More significant is the specific function of each passage. Joshua 15:13-19 is part of a larger framework of narratives extending from Josh 13 through 19 that detail the division of the land in the days of the conquest. These materials have long been recognized as valuable not only for the historical traditions they preserve, but for the “basic onomasticon of

³For example, Alice Ogden Bellis, ed., *Helpmates, Harlots, Heroes: Women’s Stories in the Hebrew Bible* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994); J. Andrew Dearman, *Religion and Culture in Ancient Israel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992); Peggy L. Day, ed., *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989); Eric M. Meyers and James F. Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis and Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981); Ken Stone, “Sexual Power and Political Prestige,” *Bible Review* 10, no. 4 (1994): 28-31, 52-54; and esp. Carol Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁴Josh 15:7 reads וַעֲלָה; Judg 1:11 reads וַיִּלָּךְ; Judg 1:13 describes Othniel as Caleb’s younger brother; Judg 1:14 reads “the field,” Josh 15:18 “a field”; Josh 15:19 reads תָּהָה לִי, and וַחֲמֹקֶיךָ, while Judg 1:15 reads וַיִּחַמְקֶר לִי הַקְּדָרִים; Josh 15:19 reads וַיִּחַמְקֶרְלָהּ, while Judg 1:15 reads וַיִּחַמְקֶרְלָהּ קְלָב; Judg 1:15 treats the adjective as a substantive and reads with a feminine singular as the nomen rectum of a construct chain (בְּנֵי עֲלִיָּהּ and בְּנֵי תַחֲתֵיָּהּ).

Palestine in the pre-exilic era."⁵ This passage belongs to the southern-town lists of Benjamin (Josh 18:21-28), Dan (Josh 19:41-46), Judah (Josh 15:20-62), and Simeon (Josh 19:2-7). It is situated between a tribal boundary description of Judah (Josh 15:1-12) and a town list (Josh 15:20-62).⁶ The narrative represents the fulfillment of the Lord's promise to Caleb (Num 14:24; cf. Deut 1:36) that he would inherit a portion of the promised land as a reward for being one of the spies, along with Joshua, to report favorably of the land of Canaan (Num 14:7-10).

Judges's version of Achsa's story serves a function distinct from its Joshua counterpart. It is part of a string of sixteen occupation annals "that tell of the military-political struggle of individual tribes to gain control of the western hill country."⁷ It has long been noted that these annals present a different perspective from Josh 13-19 regarding the invasion and division of the land of Canaan.⁸ Additionally, Judges serves the purpose of introducing the reader to Othniel, who became the first judge of Israel.

The narrative is significant because it preserves valuable information on customs related to marriage and inheritance. The practice of giving a bride-price, dowry, and possibly a groom's gift are all represented within the span of six to seven verses. The מָהָר ("bride-price") was "given by the bridegroom to the bride's father, probably as compensation for the work which otherwise the daughter would have continued to contribute to her parent's household."⁹ In this passage, the bride-price is not satisfied by a monetary exchange, but by the bridegroom's fulfilling a specific task, the capture of Debir. While such substitution is rare, it is not unique to this narrative. Jacob's marriages to Leah and Rachel provide a similar example of a task satisfying the bride-price; Jacob performed seven years of service to Laban for each daughter (Gen 29).¹⁰ Emerson notes that Caleb's

⁵F. M. Cross and G. E. Wright, "The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah," *JBL* 75 (1956): 202.

⁶Cf. Richard S. Hess, "A Typology of West Semitic Place Names Lists with Special Reference to Joshua 13-21," *BA* 59, no. 3 (1996): 160-170.

⁷Norman K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible—A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985): 236; cf. N. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1050 B.C.E.* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1979): 163-166.

⁸See, e.g., N. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible*, 236; and John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller, eds., *Israelite and Judaeon History* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977), 280.

⁹G. I. Emerson, "Women in Ancient Israel," in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives*, ed. R. E. Clements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989): 383.

¹⁰On the institution of the "mohar" in ancient Israel, cf. M. Burrows, *The Basis of Israelite Marriage* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1938); G. Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 106-114; Roland de Vaux,

action also illustrates “the full extent of a father’s authority” in his ability to “give his daughter as a reward for military success.”¹¹

The form of Achsah’s dowry is rare, but not unique. In most cases, the dowry (the money, goods, or property provided by a father for a daughter on entering into a marriage contract) took the form of silver, gold, or other valuable commodities.¹² In this narrative, a field in the Negeb served as the dowry. A similar dowry for Pharaoh’s daughter upon her betrothal to Solomon is found in 1 Kgs 9:16. The Ugaritic myth “Nikkal and the Moon” provides another example of a field being given as a dowry.¹³

Past scholarship has not focused so much on the form of the dowry, as on who made the formal request and the semantics of the verb used in procuring this request. Ambiguity exists among the versions as to who made the request. The LXX translates Josh 15:18 as “and it came to pass as she went out *she* counseled him, saying *I* will ask of my father a field” (emphasis supplied). In the LXX and Vg of Judg 1:14, an interesting twist is accorded the story. It is Othniel who “urges” (LXX) or “admonishes” (Vg) Achsah to request this field. The Vg at Josh 15:18 circumvents matters further by stating “*she* was moved *by her husband* to ask a field of her father” (emphasis supplied). The MT text of Josh 15:18 and Judg 1:14 reads: “When she came [to her husband’s house], *she* urged him to ask for a field from her father” (emphasis supplied). The word translated “urged” in Hebrew comes from the root טור meaning “to incite, allure, instigate.” This verb, at times, has a negative connotation,¹⁴ leading some modern commentators to translate it in a negative sense.¹⁵

The final detail involving marriage-related customs falls within the realm of inheritance laws. The text of Josh 15:17-19 and Judg 1:14-15 preserves Achsah’s request for water: “As she dismounted from her donkey, Caleb said to her, ‘What do you wish?’ She said to him, ‘Give me a blessing [בְּרָכָה]; since you have set me in the land of the Negeb, give me

Ancient Israel: Social Institutions (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 1:26-29.

¹¹Emmerson, 384.

¹²The dowry remained the woman’s even if she were widowed or divorced; see, e.g., John J. Collins, “Marriage, Divorce, and Family in Second Temple Judaism, in *Families in Ancient Israel*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, Joseph Blenkinsopp, John J. Collins, and Carol Meyers (Nashville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 113-115.

¹³Cf. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea* 24, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 272-273.

¹⁴Cf. 2 Sam 24:1, where the Lord was angry with Israel and incited David against them, and Job 2:3, where Satan incited God against Job.

¹⁵Boling, 56-67; R. Boling and G. E. Wright, *Joshua*, AB 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1982), 373-374.

springs of water as well.' So Caleb gave her her heart's desire [Judg 1:5] the upper springs and the lower springs" (Josh 15:17-19; Judg 1:14-15).

The Hebrew term בְּרָכָה, used by Achsah to refer to the springs, has been interpreted in various ways. Generally, it is most often used in biblical Hebrew to denote a "blessing." It may be a blessing a parent bestows on a child, of God on Israel, or a blessing extended to one special individual. On rare occasions, its meaning is extended to denote the concrete realization of a blessing—a gift, which in this case was springs of water.¹⁶

F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman have suggested, however, that the word is a technical term for the groom's gift to the bride that is distinct from the dowry and bride-price.¹⁷ While the custom of a groom's gift is attested to in Scripture,¹⁸ it would be an unparalleled and peculiar example of a father-in-law providing the "goods or substances" of the groom's gift. Paula Hiebert, by contrast, suggests that the gift of springs should be understood simply as part of the dowry, in the traditional sense of a gift given to the bride by her father.¹⁹

Perhaps the springs could be viewed as a gift from her father to accompany the dowry of land. By asking for a gift, she circumvented the perception of making further demands on her father's (and brothers') inheritance.²⁰

Rabbinic literature imputes another significance to her bold request for a בְּרָכָה. In the Babylonian Talmud (Temurah 16a), Achsah makes this request because her husband's house was empty of everything: "His only

¹⁶Cf. Gen 33:11; 1 Sam 25:27; 30:26; 2 Kgs 5:15; see also Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 139b, s.v. *brkh*.

¹⁷Andersen and Freedman, 274. Note, however, that they suggest the gift referred to is the field, not the springs.

¹⁸See, e.g., Gen 34:12 where Abraham sent gifts of jewels and garments for Rebekah as well as presents for her parents, when marriage arrangements between Isaac and Rebekah had been agreed upon; cf. R. de Vaux, 27-29.

¹⁹Paula S. Hiebert, "Whence Shall Help Come to Me?' The Biblical Widow," in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. Peggy L. Day (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 136.

²⁰Consider the example of Abraham's giving of "gifts" to the sons of his concubines (Gen 25:6), while leaving "all which he had to Isaac" (Gen 25:5). Though the term מְתָנָה ("gifts") is used instead of בְּרָכָה, as in our present passage, the significance is that "gifts" could be given without violation of the laws of inheritance (e.g., Deut 21:15-17). See also R. de Vaux's discussion of inheritance (*Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, *Social Institutions* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965], 53-55; also see n. 26 of this article). Perhaps Achsah's use of בְּרָכָה ("blessing") was meant as a double *entendre*, for in biblical Hebrew it also means "pool"; *contra* Andersen and Freedman, 274, who pointedly note that "pool" is not intended here; however, a word play is always a point of interest whether or not it is explicitly intended; cf. B. Lindars, *Judges 1-5: A New Translation and Commentary* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1995), 31.

possession was the knowledge of the Torah.²¹ Othniel's possession of a great knowledge of the law is derived by the rabbis from their interpretation of ancient Debir = Kiriath-sepher as "the city of the book." When Othniel took this city, he won back the store of traditional teachings that had been lost to Israel during their mourning period for Moses. The rabbis taught that Othniel's dedication to and brilliance in the study of the law was to such an extent that he neglected the earthly essentials.²²

The significance of Achsah's request becomes apparent when the location of the field in the Negeb is considered. Although Caleb's task called for his future son-in-law to take Debir, located in the Judean hills along with Hebron,²³ this does not mean the young couple's field would be located in this rich, fertile region. Rather the text specifically states: "You have set me in the land of the Negeb." The Negeb terrain can range from the fertile, hilly terrain in the northern fringe to the dry, arid climate of the Negeb proper that would not support vegetation without water, much less allow for a successful agricultural endeavor.²⁴ The land that is referred to in the narratives would fall in what is commonly known as "Hebron's Southland," the hills falling away to the desert

²¹Cf. L. Ginzberg for his paraphrase of rabbinic literature dealing with Achsah and Othniel (*The Legends of the Jews* [Philadelphia: JPS, 1913], 29).

²²Due to this and his later military feats, Othniel was not held accountable for the backsliding of Israel.

²³Debir is most often connected with Tell Beit-Mirsim, a site made famous by the excavations of W. F. Albright, from whom resulted the standard typology of Palestinian ceramics; cf. Keith Schoville, *Biblical Archaeology in Focus* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978), 323-327. Another alternative identification is Debir = Khirbet Rabud located in the hill country rather than the Shephelah; cf. M. Kochavi, "Khirbet Rabud = Debir," *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974): 2-33; also David Merling, Sr., who reviews the various candidates for the biblical Debir. He concludes that "Debir's identity is uncertain with no site providing any specific clues for its identity" (*The Book of Joshua: Its Theme and Role in Archaeological Discussions*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 23 [Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1997], 139). On excavations at Hebron (= Jebel er-Rumeide), see P. C. Hammond, "Hebron," *RB* 72 (1965): 267-270; idem., "Hebron," *RB* 73 (1966): 566-569. Excavations at Hebron indicate little evidence of occupation between the Middle Bronze and Late Iron I, whereas Debir presents a picture of a relatively large and fortified city during the Late Bronze period with occupation until the Iron I period.

²⁴Y. Aharoni differentiates between the eastern and western parts of the Negeb: "The eastern part of the Negeb is a continuation of the central mountain range. As in the west, its border is clearly defined by climatic conditions. About 15 miles south of Hebron the level of the terrain declines quite abruptly to only c. 1,500-1,800 feet. From this line begins the typical semi-arid climate of the Negeb, the rainfall diminishing quickly as one goes south. In spite of the relative height, the loess-covered area is generally level, similar to the extensive plains of the western Negeb. However, even small differences in temperature and moisture increase the possibilities of agriculture and pasturage" (*The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, 2d ed. [London: Burns & Oates, 1979], 31).

fringe. The climate here, however, would be close to, if not identical with, the true Negeb farther south.²⁵

The bequest of lands in the Negeb would appear to have been a harsh token of affection. However, the city of Debir, with its pasturelands and the city of Hebron, was given to the Levites (Josh 21:15) with only the surrounding villages and pasturelands of Hebron belonging to the Calebites. Thus, Caleb may not have had much fertile land at his disposal, making the field and springs a generous gift considering his own reduced holdings. Gunn and Fewell note that Achsah

asks for life itself—and receives it in double measure. Caleb gives not one spring but two. Unlike Caleb, perhaps, she knows that the two of them cannot live fruitfully on their own. They need that gift. And Caleb, asked, immediately recognizes this truth and blesses them with a gift that goes beyond the asking. Caleb's gift overflows.²⁶

It is a gift that could have been challenged as violating the laws of inheritance. In the OT, the laws of inheritance dictate that a father's holdings are passed on to his son(s), with the eldest generally receiving the largest share.²⁷ Exceptions, however, could and did occur, as in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad—a father with no male heirs. The situation was resolved by permitting the daughters to inherit his share of the tribal holdings (Num 27:1-11). Later, this ruling is amended with the added stipulation that they could inherit their father's land, but they were required to marry within their own tribe, thereby maintaining the tribal allotment originally established by law (Num 36:1-9).

The story of Achsah presents another unique situation regarding inheritance. Although Caleb has fifteen male heirs,²⁸ no concern is presented in the text regarding inheritance. What is unusual about the gift of water is that a daughter asks for a gift that in effect is part of her brothers' inheritances and her father Caleb agrees. Thus, the story of Achsah demonstrates that a daughter's inheritance was limited to her dowry, but could also be procured under the guise of a gift. Whether the presence of this story indicates that such a practice commonly occurred in ancient Israel is uncertain. But in Achsah's case, as with the

²⁵Boling and Wright, 375.

²⁶David M. Gunn and Danna Nolan Fewell, *Narrative in the Hebrew Bible*, Oxford Bible Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 161.

²⁷See, e.g., Deut 21:17; 2 Kgs 2:9; see also de Vaux, 41-42, 53-55.

²⁸Caleb had three sons by his first wife Azubah (1 Chron 2:18), one by his wife Ephrath (2 Chron 2:18), one by Achsah's mother, seven more by his concubines Ephah and Maacah (1 Chron 2:49), and three more by an unnamed wife (1 Chron 4:15).

daughters of Zelophehad, inheritance remained within the tribe.²⁹

The precise function of each event associated with Achsah's marriage is by no means uniformly agreed upon. The most likely association is that Othniel's successful taking of Debir represents a bride-price; the field in the Negeb represents her dowry; while the acquisition of springs represents a father's gift to his daughter, born out of affection and the desire to see his daughter and her new household survive in the promised land.³⁰

Socioeconomic Background

The details discussed thus far are a review and clarification of the narrative details. However, information may also be gleaned from new approaches to the text. Particular models from sociology and anthropology, in conjunction with genealogical details, can provide the socioeconomic background of Achsah's story.

Current sociological models reveal three levels of social organization in ancient Israel: the tribe, the clan or family, and the household.³¹ The preeminence of each level varied at different times in Israel's history. During patriarchal times, the clan or family was the focus of society. During the Exodus, Wandering, and Conquest, the tribe gained ascendancy. At the time of Settlement (our concern here), the tribe was the least significant for social interaction. The clan determined the land apportionment and provided the problem-solving component, while the household defined daily patterns of life and the roles its members would play. Thus while the details of Achsah's marriage were handled by her father and husband-to-be at the clan level, her daily existence would revolve around the activities of her household. The household to which

²⁹While the text does not specifically state that this offer was only made to Caleb's tribe, the manner of conquest could suggest as much. While genealogies are not always clear, that Caleb and Othniel are connected to or part of the tribe of Judah is suggested (Num 13:6; 1 Chron 2:18 [Caleb son of Hezron, son of Perez, son of Judah]; 1 Chron 4:15; and "the sons of Kenaz, Othniel and Seraiah" are also mentioned among the genealogy of Judah in 1 Chron 4). Although Judg 1 records that Judah went up against the Canaanites (albeit Simeon is mentioned as participating in Judg 1:3 and 1:17), the narrative suggests that the taking of Debir involved Judah alone. Thus, Caleb's offer would have been extended to those of his own tribe. Whether this was a conscious plan of Caleb—to preserve tribal holding—is in the realm of speculation (and does not figure in this equation). Perhaps because the taking of this city involved his tribe (among whom the Kenazzites, i.e., Othniel, were included) that Caleb offered such a unique bride-price.

³⁰That Caleb was motivated by affection and the desire for his daughter's family success, though unstated, would seem to be in the spirit of biblical promises, extended first to Abraham, with an emphasis not only on the Promised Land but on progeny. The success of Achsah would promote a legacy of Caleb through her progeny.

³¹Cf. Meyers, 124.

Achsah belonged was not the nuclear family typical of modern society—father, mother, siblings—but rather it was both variable and flexible in order to adapt to the subsistence patterns and political demands prevalent in her time.³²

With the conquest of Canaan in progress, Achsah would have witnessed a major upheaval in both the family and sociopolitical spheres. Not only would she be leaving her father's household and joining her husband's, as was the custom of the day, but the social and political spheres of her life were being completely altered. The tribes were now settled and did not lead a seminomadic existence and, as a result, they no longer recognized a central political authority as they had under the leadership of Joshua.³³ With conquest and subsequent settlement, subsistence now changed to an agrarian pattern (both terrace farming and animal husbandry) with the household as the most significant social level.³⁴

This was the premonarchic period in ancient Israel. Carol Meyers notes that villages were isolated and small, while households were nearly self-sufficient "arenas" for human activity.³⁵ The household was important for most economic, social, political, and cultural aspects. The premonarchic Israelite household would be a type of residential

³²Ibid., 124-142. Meyers, while acknowledging "that these levels [tribe, clan, and family] defy exact delineation" (124), convincingly defines each term and its function.

³³Cf. Deut 34:9 (Israelites obey Joshua on death of Moses); Josh 1 (Joshua given charge, commands officers to deliver orders to people [v. 11]; warriors concur [v. 16]); Josh 24:29 and Judg 1:1; 2:6-8 (death of Joshua and implied death of elders who outlived Joshua—none were replaced). The book of Judges then turns to a pattern of temporary judges who rise up to deliver Israel from oppressors, who, in turn, rise up in response to Israel's disobedience.

³⁴Cf. D. Hopkins, "The Dynamics of Agriculture in Monarchic Israel," in *SBLSP*, ed. K. H. Richards (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 177-202; and D. Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1985).

³⁵Cf. Meyers, 139; see esp. chap. 6, "Eve's World: The Family Household." Concerning the "size, shape and location and interrelationship of domestic buildings" that provided the basic information about household structure, see Meyers, 132-133, who cites excavation finds from "Ai (et-Tell) and Raddana, excavated by Callaway and, later, Callaway and Cooley in the late 1960s and 1970s—two sites in the Judean hills north of Jerusalem. In the northern Negeb, the excavations from Masos (Khirbet-el-Meshash), excavated by Kempinski and Fritz in the 1970s, support her model. Both reveal Iron I household groupings; cf. J. A. Callaway, "The 1966 'Ai (et-Tell) Excavations," *BASOR* 196 (1969):2-16; idem., "The 1968-1969 'Ai (et-Tell) Excavations" *BASOR* 198 (1970):7-31; idem., "A Visit with Ahilud" *BAR* 9 (1983):42-53; J. A. Callaway and R. S. Cooley, "A Salvage Excavation at Raddana in Bireh" *BASOR* 201 (1971):9-19; A. Kempinski and V. Fritz, "Excavations at Tell Masos (Khirbet el-Meshash), Preliminary Report on the Third Season" *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977):136-158; Frank S. Frick, "Ecology, Agriculture and Patterns of Settlement," in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study*, ed. R. E. Clements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 67-93; and L. A. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," *BASOR* 260 (1985):1-36.

compound that would include two to three conjugal units comprised of a married couple or widowed person with children who would share a common courtyard with certain domestic facilities and technological features. These units were considered the rule rather than the exception in premonarchic times.³⁶

The conjugal units were also essential in a labor-intensive agrarian society with a requisite large workforce, high infant mortality, shorter lifespans, and an ecology involving crop selection and terracing in the hill country that would need greater family size at certain times, while reduced activity would call for a smaller family unit at others.³⁷ The household was responsible for producing and processing nearly everything it needed for survival; these tasks could not have been accomplished without the involvement of all members. The household, then, was not just a dwelling and reproductive unit, but also an economic one.³⁸

Given the nature of the times in which Achsah lived—Wandering to Conquest to Settlement—her circumstances cannot be expected to correspond closely with Meyer's premonarchic model, a model based on archaeological evidence from the time of settlement. Biblical genealogies, while possibly derived from a later period than Achsah's story, may nonetheless preserve data that can help to recreate the type of household from which Achsah came and to which she went.

The household that Achsah grew up in during the period of Wandering would have consisted of not only her unnamed mother and her brother, but also her father's other wives, concubines, and sons. It is also possible that Caleb had other daughters. To this, wives of any brothers of marriageable age and their offspring might also have been added. Thus, Achsah's maiden household may have contained several women intimate with Caleb, fifteen sons with wives and offspring, and herself and any other unmarried (and unmentioned) daughters, for a total of at least twenty-one to possibly fifty members. This is clearly a model of a polygamous clan centered on the figure of Caleb. Following Meyer's model, as the secondary conjugal units of brother-wife-offspring grew, there would have been a breakdown of the original patriarchal structure and the creation of residential compounds, comprised of two to three conjugal units.³⁹

³⁶These multiple-family households containing a number of brothers and their families could easily turn into extended family households if cousins, aunts, uncles, grandchildren, or parents of either spouse were added to the household (Meyers, 132-135).

³⁷Ibid., 138.

³⁸Ibid., 130.

³⁹Ibid., 133-134, who describes the reconfiguration of residential compounds and the genealogical references to Caleb's wives, concubines, sons, daughter, grandsons, and great-

This model, however, must also be tempered with the probability that all of Caleb's wives were not coterminous. For instance, the biblical text mentions the death of Azubah, Caleb's first wife (1 Chron 2:19).⁴⁰

In reference to genealogies, then, Achsah probably left her father's large patriarchal dynasty for a much smaller family unit. Her new household might have included her husband Othniel and their future children, Hathah and Meonothai (if the children of Othniel listed in 1 Chron 4:13 are Achsah's) and possibly a brother-in-law Seraiah, his wife, and their son Joab (1 Chron 4:13-14).⁴¹ Any daughters are again unmentioned. Achsah's household would be a smaller version of Meyer's residential compound, perhaps a "transitional phase" to a residential compound might be more accurate.⁴² Her father-in-law Kenaz and his wife would not be a part of this household, for being of Moses' generation they would not have been permitted to enter Canaan, instead perishing in the wilderness.⁴³

In setting up a household in the Negeb, the field and springs were not simply a dowry and a gift to be added to a previously established Kenizzite household. This new household's subsistence would depend on the yield of this field irrigated by the springs. Their livestock would also be watered from this source. The many roles and chores accorded to each member of this new household would be intimately connected with the agricultural cycle involving their field.⁴⁴ If the land did not give yield, the family would have nothing to take to market.

With the period of Settlement, then, came a change in the social and marriage structures. The tribe was no longer the main social unit; instead, the focus was on the household.⁴⁵ The tribes were called upon in times of external threat throughout the period of the Judges, but everyday life revolved around the household unit.⁴⁶ Achsah had the foresight to realize

to great-great-great-great grandsons in 1 Chron 2:18-50; 4:15.

⁴⁰Rabbinic legend also mentions the existence of two earlier wives: Miriam, Moses' sister by which he became the progenitor of the house of David (Sot 11b,12a) and Bithiah, Pharaoh's daughter who had rebelled against her father's idolatry just as Caleb had rebelled against the spies (Lev. R. 1:3).

⁴¹Compare genealogical references for Caleb (n. 39) and those of Othniel and his brother Seraiah in 1 Chron 4:13-14.

⁴²Cf. Meyers, 133, for discussion of residential compounds.

⁴³Cf., e.g., Num 14:22-24, 26-35; Deut 1:34-40.

⁴⁴On household functions and women's (and men's) roles in it, see Meyers, esp. chaps. 7 ("Household Functions and Female Roles") and 8 ("Reconstructing Gender Relationships").

⁴⁵Ibid., 127-128.

⁴⁶Ibid., 127.

what her household would need to survive this change in times.⁴⁷

Verbal Repetition as a Literary Device

The seven repetitions of the root נתן (“to give,” Josh 15:13, 16, 17, 19),⁴⁸ interrupted by the root ירש (“to dispossess”) and the root בוא (“to go”), carry the narrative from beginning to end. Thus, a literary critic might find the sequence of verbal actions to be an aesthetic device emphasizing societal transition. The fulfillment of God’s pronouncement of land to Caleb (Josh 15:13) signaled the period of settlement, but it also recalled the time of Wandering when the promise was first made to Caleb. Caleb’s dispossession of the sons of Anak from Hebron signified that the official move from Wandering to Conquest had occurred (Josh 15:14). Additionally, Caleb’s offer of his daughter as a reward to the one who captured Debir also signified that the period of Wandering was moving to Conquest and Settlement. Othniel accepted the challenge and Caleb gave Achsah to him. This progression is reinforced by the imagery of movement in Josh 15:18—Achsah comes to Othniel’s house. The verbal action of “giving” climaxes in Josh 15:19 with four repetitions of the root נתן.

Conclusion

Achsah’s existence is intertwined with Caleb’s and then Othniel’s. Caleb represents the old ways of society and marriage—the patriarchal dynasty, the time of Wandering and Conquest; Othniel represents Conquest to Settlement—the new ways of society and marriage. Achsah’s passage from Caleb’s household to Othniel’s may metaphorically represent the progression of society from Wandering to Conquest to Settlement. Thus, Achsah’s story may serve as a metaphor and case study for societal transition, emphasized through the aesthetic device of verbal repetition, thereby adding another dimension to this multifunctional historical narrative.

⁴⁷Gunn and Fewell, 161-162, see in Achsah a boldness in “asking for water in the dry land.” In this spring, Achsah sees life and “she acts.”

⁴⁸See Andersen and Freedman, 274, who similarly acknowledge the prominence of the root נתן in this text, Hos 2, and the Ugaritic myth “Nikkal and the Moon.”

ANCIENT EGYPT'S SILENCE ABOUT THE EXODUS

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Although the Bible portrays it as a cataclysmic event that heavily devastated the nation (Exod 10:7), we have no evidence that ancient Egypt ever made any historical references to the Exodus of the Hebrews.¹ But that should not be surprising because of certain aspects of Egyptian culture. One involves the purpose of monumental inscriptions and another the way Egyptians viewed the very nature of writing itself.

Because the Egyptians left such extensive written records, some allusion to the incident would be expected. Yet none appears. Scholars have taken a number of positions regarding this fact. A minority have concluded that the lack of written and other archaeological evidence indicates that the Exodus never occurred. Other biblical scholars, however, conclude that the biblical writers would not have made up Israel's origins in slavery, so the Exodus must have some historical basis. As John Bright states: "It is not the sort of tradition any people would invent!" The lack of historical records could be simply the result of random preservation. Even the dry climate of Egypt would not guarantee that everything would survive. Fires, wars, accidents, and other factors would cause the loss of some documents. Nicolas Grimal suggests that Egypt ignored the Hebrews because they did not consider Israel important.² Other biblical scholars see Egypt's silence as deliberate, stemming from propagandistic motivations. R. Alan Cole observes that "Egyptian monarchs were never given to recording defeats and disasters, and certainly not the loss of a chariot brigade during the pursuit of runaway slaves."³ The ancient Egyptians wanted to put the best face on everything that happened.

One often-cited example is the encounter of Ramesses II with the Hittites at Qadesh on the Orontes River. The Hittite army, waiting in ambush, allowed the first division to get past, then attacked the second

¹John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3d ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981), 121. Nor does any other nonbiblical source mention it; see, e.g., Terence E. Fretheim, *Exodus* (Louisville: John Knox, 1991), 8; John Romer, *Testament: The Bible and History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1988), 57.

²Nicolas Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, trans. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 258.

³R. Alan Cole, *Exodus: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1973), 41.

division while the third was still struggling across the ford of Shabtuna. Pharaoh's soldiers began to flee from the onslaught and the Egyptian ruler was almost captured. Ramesses sought help from the Egyptian god Amun, then rallied his troops and hacked his way through the Hittite forces. The next day the Hittite leader Muwatallis sent an envoy asking for a truce.⁴

Apparently considering it the military high point of his reign, Ramesses had the battle recorded on the walls of many of his temples, including Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, the Ramesseum, and Abu Simel. Accounts have also survived on papyrus, making it the best documented military incident in Egyptian history.⁵ But modern scholars see the battle of Qadesh in a quite different light. Instead of a victory, Ramesses did little more than extricate his army.⁶ Only the timely arrival of more of his troops saved him. The battle resumed the next day but ended in a stalemate. Ramesses II refused to make a treaty with the Hittites, and as soon as the Egyptians left the Hittites regained control of the area and pushed the Egyptian area of influence back to Canaan. Eventually, Ramesses II had to make a nonaggression treaty with the new Hittite king, Hattusilis III, so the two nations could counter the growing threat of the Assyrian empire led by Shalmaneser I.⁷ What Ramesses II portrayed as a great triumph was most likely little more than a military draw.

Recognizing the propagandist nature of Egyptian records, Kenneth Kitchen commented that "the lack of any explicit Egyptian mention of an Exodus is of no historical import, given its unfavorable role in Egypt, and the near total loss of all relevant records in any case."⁸ But the Egyptian silence toward the Exodus may have been more complicated than this.

⁴Grimal, 253-256.

⁵Ibid., 253. For the inscription, see ANET, 255, 256.

⁶Ibid., 256; cf. J. H. Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh, A Study in the Earliest Known Military Strategy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903); H. Goedicke, "Considerations of the Battle of Kadesh," *JEA* 52 (1966), 71-80; Kenneth Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1983), 53-62; H. Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh* (Baltimore: Halgo, 1985); B. Ockinga, "On the Interpretation of the Kadesh Record," *Chronique d'Égypte* 62/123-124 (1987), 38-48.

⁷Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *The Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 237. Both Egyptian and Hittite copies of the treaty have been found, indicating how Egypt accepted Hittite mastery north of Syria; see Chester G. Starr, *A History of the Ancient World*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 95; William W. Hallo and William Kelly Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), 281, 282; cf. Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians*, rev. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 150.

⁸David Noel Freedman, ed. *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 707.

First, though, we would not expect to find such an event as the Exodus recorded on monumental inscriptions. Most of them appeared in temples. The pharaohs used temple inscriptions to remind the particular god of the temple that they had ruled wisely and justly in the deity's behalf. Such records would aid the Egyptian king when he faced judgment in the afterlife by demonstrating that he had lived according to the principles of *Ma'at*. Thus, monumental inscriptions would definitely not be the place to mention an event such as the Exodus. The plagues preceding the departure of the Hebrews would have appeared to indicate anger or constitute punishment on the part of the gods. Furthermore, the plagues could be seen as an attack on Egypt's understanding of creation, order, and harmony (*Ma'at*) in the universe.⁹ The Egyptians would not have wanted any public reminders of the experience.

What about references to the Exodus in less public documents? Their understanding of the purpose and nature of language¹⁰ suggests that they would have avoided referring to it even in nonpublic written materials.

The Egyptian term for writing, *medu netcher*, means "the words of the gods," "divine words." Written words were the human counterpart of the words of the gods themselves, and thus shared their magical powers. To the ancient Egyptians, words were creative in a very real sense. They contained in them the template for bringing into being the things they represented. The creator god Ptah brought the other gods and such things as life, food, and justice into existence through performative speaking. One ancient text described Ptah as "the mouth which pronounced the name of everything."¹¹ His creative words were not only "what the head thought and the tongue commanded,"¹² but the words themselves were magical, containing the essence of what they stood for. For a god to speak endowed the object of the comment with actual existence.¹³ Thoth, scribe of the gods, could declare: "I am Thoth, master of the divine words (the hieroglyphs) which put things in their (proper) place. . . . I am Thoth who puts *Ma'at* [divine order] in writing for the Ennead. Everything that

⁹J. K. Hoffmeier, "Egypt, Plagues in," in *ABD*, 2:374-378. Some scholars see the plagues as a decreation of the world; see Fretheim, 106-129; John D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), 113-120.

¹⁰Dimitri Meeks and Christine Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*, trans. G. M. Goshgarian (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 5, 104, 105.

¹¹Cited in Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, trans. Anne E. Keep (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 164.

¹²Cited in *ibid.*

¹³Meeks and Meeks, 104.

comes out of my mouth takes on existence as (if I were) Re."¹⁴

To announce an event was the same as its actually taking place.¹⁵ An insult, curse, or threat had power in itself to become reality. "Thus the spoken word was a weapon that had the power to subjugate or annihilate one's enemies."¹⁶ To name something was to make it actually exist. When a pious visitor to a tomb read aloud the offering formula inscribed there—"a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jugs of beer"—it brought the items into existence for the deceased.¹⁷

The magic and power inherent in words also inhered in them when they were written down. In the same way as with the spoken word, every hieroglyphic sign contained the template or essence of a being, a thing, or the world the gods might want to bring into existence. A sign would be considered to contain the property of life itself. Rosalie David observes that writing's "most important function was to provide a means by which certain concepts or events could be brought into existence. The Egyptians believed that if something was committed to writing it could be repeatedly "made to happen' by means of magic."¹⁸

But that "magic" had a highly rational basis. Religious texts in tombs and temples, magical texts, and spells all worked on the principle that words triggered *heka*,¹⁹ the primeval potency that empowered the creator-god in the beginning. Moderns tend to think of magic as invoking the aid of supernatural or occult forces. While Egyptians would ask for divine help and intervention, they also regarded magic as activating forces inherent in the structure of the cosmos itself. Written and spoken magic was somewhat analogous to building a machine that operated on natural physical laws. Magic employed the forces that comprised and regulated the universe and controlled even the gods themselves.²⁰ In ancient Egypt, magic was the tool or controlling mechanism to restore all forms of order and harmony, thus ensuring that they continued. And writing was a major

¹⁴Cited in *ibid.*, 104.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, new ed., trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 123, 124.

¹⁸Rosalie David, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 199.

¹⁹Sometimes personified as a god, Heka.

²⁰For an overview of Egyptian magic, see Christian Jacq, *Egyptian Magic*, trans. J. M. Davis (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1985); Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993).

aspect of that magic. David suggests that the name of the schools in which Egyptians learned to read and write—the House of Life—“may reflect the power of life that was believed to exist in the divinely inspired writings composed, copied, and often stored there.”²¹

Writing brought the powers of the invisible or spiritual world into the physical and visible. “Whether a ritual or a magical spell, a text constituted words whose effectiveness crossed the boundary between the two realms. This ability was only an extension of the effect of words: when pronounced, they traveled across space and provoked an emotion or a material reaction in their hearers.”²²

The magic of writing was especially used in tombs, temples, and other sacred areas. Writing was particularly important for insuring survival after death. Recording a person’s name on the walls of a tomb or on a statue would preserve their existence if anything happened to the embalmed body itself.²³ The dead needed to be fed, but later generations might forget to bring food offerings. A written menu could substitute in an emergency by becoming real food for the deceased. The written record and the tomb paintings would guarantee its occupant’s continued existence and enjoyment of all of the present life’s pleasures.

Egyptians also sought to use the magical power of words in other ways. Hieroglyphs representing such qualities as longevity, prosperity, or divine protection would be made into three-dimensional form as amulets to be worn on the body or placed in the tomb with the mummy. While the magic or potency in the words could protect and meet human needs, it was also potentially dangerous, especially in “sensitive” areas such as the sides of a sarcophagus or the walls of the burial chamber. The images used in hieroglyphic writing could spontaneously come alive at any time. Hieroglyphs might consume the food offerings to the deceased. The occupants of the tombs had to be protected from them. Thus the tomb artisans might mutilate the hieroglyphs, cutting snakes into pieces, shortening their tails, or piercing them with knives; leaving the horns off bulls; beheading snakes, lions, scorpions, and bees, or abbreviating them

²¹David, 203.

²²Claude Traunecke, *The Gods of Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 23; cf. Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 86. This belief lingers in Islam in the concept that the very sounds and syllables of the Qur’an mediate the presence of God to the person who reads it.

²³If all memory of the deceased vanished, the spirit would perish, succumbing to the dread “Second Death” or total and permanent obliteration.

in other ways.²⁴ Even in later periods of Egyptian history crocodiles and serpents would be shown with lances piercing the spine. The bodies of human figures might be left off. Birds would be shown without their feet. The snakelike chaos monster Apophis would be portrayed as bound with ropes or killed by spears and knives. Sometimes certain dangerous hieroglyphic symbols might be left out or others substituted.²⁵ Geraldine Pinch suggests that one reason to mutilate some signs was so they wouldn't leave the tomb and withdraw their protective power. Since written messages could at any time transform themselves into actuality, one had to be careful what one wrote down.²⁶

This ability of the content of writing to become real could work itself out in many ways. For example, the Egyptians believed that not even the gods were eternal. They could cease to exist. But they were reluctant to discuss the concept. Egyptian religious writings made only indirect allusions to the concept lest their writing about it bring a premature end to the gods.²⁷

If writing could make something happen, the reverse could also be true. A deliberate decision not to commit something to writing or to erase its already written record, meant that it would be as if the event had never taken place. "Such was the power of the written word that by excluding all mention of a specific deed from a text the deed itself could be understood not to have occurred."²⁸

The removing of something from an already written text is, of course, the easiest aspect to detect. One classic example is the attempt to erase the female Pharaoh Hatshepsut from history by chiseling off her image and name from wall carvings and other historical records, perhaps because the

²⁴Christine El Mahdy, *Mummies, Myth and Magic in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 123; Shaw and Nicholson, 129.

²⁵C. B. Walker, et al., *Reading the Past: Ancient Writing from Cuneiform to the Alphabet* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1991), 91.

²⁶Pinch, 69. Written words could also make something real that had not occurred historically. For example, Egyptians expected their king to be seen as always defeating the nation's enemies. But what if the traditional enemies were at peace with Egypt or the Pharaoh was otherwise unable to go to war? Joyce Tyldesley observes that the kings might borrow traditional inscriptions and insert their own names in them: such "invented or borrowed victories . . . , as they depicted them, became real through the power of art and the written word" (Joyce Tyldesley, *Hatshepsut: The Female Pharaoh* [New York: Viking, 1996], 142). Although she may go too far when she says that a formal inscription by an Egyptian king should never be taken as historical truth without independent confirmation, she does have a point in that even Egyptian historical records usually do have political or religious agendas.

²⁷Erik Horning, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 162, 163.

²⁸Tyldesley, 9.

concept of a strong female ruler did not fit into how the Egyptians thought the universe should be governed.²⁹ “If Hatshepsut’s name was completely erased she would have never been, and the succession would now run from Thutmose I to Thutmose III without any female interference.”³⁰ The Pharaoh Akhenaten sought to eliminate or reduce the existence of the traditional gods of Egypt by systematically destroying inscriptions containing their names; then his successors attempted to remove him from history by eradicating all of his own records.³¹

Thus, the Egyptians were careful about what they recorded. Because of the magical power inherent in the words themselves, what they recounted could theoretically happen again. As a result, they would have been reluctant to record any event that might threaten their existence. They would try to avoid anything that would disturb what they called *Maʿat*,

a word which may be translated literally as ‘justice’ or ‘truth’ [and] was the term used by the Egyptians to describe an abstract concept representing the ideal state of the universe and everyone in it; the status quo, or correct order, which had been established by the gods at the time of creation and which had to be maintained to placate the gods, but which was always under threat from malevolent outside influences seeking to bring chaos and disruption (or *isfet*) to Egypt.³²

Because of this, Egyptian scribes would have been reluctant to mention anything that had already threatened chaos for Egypt. For them, it would never do to record the assassination of a king. The historical account itself might spontaneously burst into being and again plunge the nation into disaster. Perhaps they felt comfortable reporting the harem conspiracy that emerged after the death of Ramesses III³³ only because justice and order did ultimately triumph. Egyptian leadership had rectified the problem and restored order, *Maʿat*. If by some chance the account did suddenly manifest itself into being, the record also contained the resultant return to national order and harmony. The nearest that Egypt came to recording negative events was of the turmoil of the various intermediate periods, but even then it was carefully nuanced. Even then the scribes used such events as examples of what could happen without a strong ruler, and that a powerful king must emerge to set things right.

This understanding of the power of writing would have made Egypt

²⁹Ibid., 210-234.

³⁰Ibid., 216.

³¹Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988).

³²Tyldesly, 8.

³³For a summary of the incident, see Grimal, 275, 276.

hesitant to compose any account of the Exodus, even on a private level. The Exodus had thrown the nation into utter chaos (Exod 10:7). The Egyptians believed that to write was to employ a technology that controlled the very forces of the cosmos itself.

IS HESCHEL'S SABBATH BIBLICAL?

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In 1951, the Jewish philosopher Abraham Joshua Heschel published a small book¹ that has inspired a whole new generation of Christian theology concerning the Sabbath. J. A. Sanders suggests that Heschel's "influence on Christianity, especially since the publication . . . of *The Sabbath* and *Man Is Not Alone*, has been remarkable."² In fact, some Christians are using Heschel's ideas to call Christianity back to the Sabbath. For instance, Philippe de Robert notes that while

the sanctification of time is characteristic of biblical thought and of Judaism . . . , it can be asked, however, what has become of this conception in Christianity. Is there a place for *Sabbath* in our spiritual life? . . . Abraham Heschel says that Jewish ritual can be characterized as "an architecture of time." Is there not a need to rebuild such a structure, to order our time, which has been dislocated in function from the sabbatical rhythm? Isn't the sanctifying of time to first enter into a discipline of personal prayer, communal worship and family renewal? Isn't this wisdom that has been lost, and that we can learn anew from Judaism?³

Perhaps what has made Heschel's view of the Sabbath so revolutionary is the practical nature of his approach to the subject. Instead of focusing on the importance of avoiding the retribution of an offended God, he focuses on the advantages to be gained by keeping the Sabbath and the disadvantages of not keeping it. He demonstrates that we could be missing an extraordinary—possibly even necessary—experience by allowing the Sabbath time period to come and go without benefitting from it.⁴ In fact, he even goes so far as to suggest that the quality (and quantity?) of human existence is jeopardized by an absent-mindedness of

¹Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man* (New York: Noonday, 1951).

²J. A. Sanders, "An Apostle to the Gentiles," *Conservative Judaism*, 28 (Fall 1973): 61-63. Also, Cottrell claims that "Jewish rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel has had considerable impact on Christian as well as Jewish thinking through his book *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man*" (Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Sabbath in the New World," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982], 260).

³Philippe de Robert, "La Sanctification du Temps Selon Abraham Heschel," *Foi et Vie* 71 (1972): 4-10.

⁴Heschel, 13ff.

the Sabbath in our exploitation of time to conquer space:

How proud we often are of our victories in the war with nature, proud of the multitude of instruments we have succeeded in inventing, of the abundance of commodities we have been able to produce. Yet our victories have come to resemble defeats. In spite of our triumphs, we have fallen victims to the work of our hands; it is as if the forces we had conquered have conquered us.⁵

In spite of all the Jewish and Christian commentary on Heschel's writings, less discussion about his views on the Sabbath has taken place compared to some of his more philosophical works. In fact, there is no published critique of *The Sabbath*. Christian writers' references to the ideas in this work seem to be done with little or no question as to their relation to Scripture.

Is it really safe to assume that Heschel's view of the Sabbath is grounded in the OT? Actually, the book makes no explicit claim to be an exposition of the OT teaching on the Sabbath. Thus, the problem is not with the claims of the author (since he makes none concerning the biblicality of the work), but rather the problem is that the work continues to be used by Christian theologians without any explanation or critique of its relation to Scripture. In order to address this problem, a comparison will be made between *The Sabbath*⁶ and Scripture, especially the OT, on their views of *time*, *holiness*, and *the Sabbath*.

Heschel's Understanding of Time, Holiness, and the Sabbath

Time

In an allegory regarding the origin of the Sabbath, Heschel suggests that time was "one," "eternal," and "transitory," preexisting the spatial aspects of creation.⁷ The process of creation, however, divided time into seven days whereby it "entered into an intimate relationship with the world of space."⁸ But in humanity's experience, time and space become antagonistic.⁹ Human nature tends to favor space over time and we are the worse for it. This is not to say, however, that Heschel denies the value of

⁵Heschel, 27; see also Sakae Kubo, *God Meets Man: A Theology of the Sabbath and Second Advent* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1978), 23ff.

⁶Fortunately, Heschel's views on the Sabbath are expressed in a single work (*The Sabbath*), which will be the focus of this study.

⁷Heschel, 51.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., 5.

space. He affirms both as long as each are given their due significance.¹⁰

But, though space cannot be replaced by time, time gains the priority due to the fact that "it is not a thing that lends significance to a moment; it is the moment that lends significance to things."¹¹ Heschel goes on to show that this is demonstrated in the religion of the OT, which emphasized time over space.¹²

According to Heschel, time gains a superior significance in religion due to the special relationship between it and holiness.¹³ Thus, time gains its significance over space in that it is a "means" of attaining holiness. "Time is the presence of God in the world of space, and it is within time that we are able to sense the unity of all things."¹⁴ In the words of one of his commentators: "It is a form of the *Shechinah*."¹⁵ Thus one cannot help but ask how Heschel distinguishes between time and ultimate reality, between time and God.

Holiness

Heschel wishes to emphasize that "holiness is not an unearthly concept."¹⁶ He sees no "dualism of the earthly and sublime."¹⁷ Rather, "all things are sublime."¹⁸ Anything in the universe that obeys God's command to exist is holy; by existing, humanity is in "contact with His will."¹⁹ The implication of this view is not always explicit, though in at least one instance Heschel is quite clear that "man is the source and the initiator of holiness in this world."²⁰

¹⁰Ibid., 6.

¹¹Ibid. Heschel states: "We appreciate things that are displayed in the realm of Space. The truth, however, is that the genuinely precious is encountered in the realm of Time, rather than space" (*The Earth is the Lord's: The Inner World of the Jew in East Europe* [New York: Farrar, Strause & Giroux, 1949], 13).

¹²Heschel, *The Sabbath*, 8.

¹³Heschel states: "The universe was created in six days, but the climax of creation was the seventh day. Things that come into being in the six days are good, but the seventh day is holy. The Sabbath is *holiness in time*" (*God In Search of Man: A Philosophy of Judaism* [New York: Farrar, Strause & Giroux, 1955], 417, emphasis original).

¹⁴Heschel, *The Sabbath*, 100; see also Donald J. Moore, *The Human and the Holy: The Spirituality of Abraham Joshua Heschel* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989), 155.

¹⁵Franklin Sherman, *The Promise of Heschel* (New York: Lippincott, 1970), 63.

¹⁶Heschel, *Man Is Not Alone*, 266-267.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

Notice that Heschel's emphasis is on the *activity* of the human. Perhaps Heschel views holiness as "innate" or "potential" in the works of creation, which would include humanity. Of course, Heschel could be trying to emphasize the *attitude* of the human, rather than the *behavior*, but the "source" is still the human.

Sabbath

Probably the most significant element of Heschel's view of the Sabbath is its potency for the sanctification of its observers. Heschel says that "something happens to a man on the Sabbath day."²¹ On the Sabbath *neshamah yeterah* ("additional soul") is given to the worshiper and it is removed at the close of the Sabbath.²² In another statement he adds: "Nothing is essentially required save a soul to receive more soul. For the Sabbath 'maintains all souls.' It is the world of souls: spirit in the form of time. . . . Every seventh day a miracle comes to pass, the resurrection of the soul, of the soul of man and of the soul of all things."²³

Heschel defines this extra "soul" through a statement by Rabbi Hayim: "We have seen the tremendous change that the holiness of the Sabbath brings about in the life of the saint. The light of holiness blazes in his heart like tongues of fire, and he is overcome with rapture and yearning to serve God . . . all night and all day."²⁴ In other words, through the Sabbath, the human soul connects with the divine soul in the form of sanctified time:

What is the Sabbath? *Spirit in the form of time*. With our bodies we belong to space; our spirit, our souls, soar to eternity, aspire to be holy. The Sabbath is an ascent to the summit. It gives us the opportunity to sanctify time, to raise the good to the level of the holy, to behold the holy by abstaining from profanity.²⁵

It is in this realm of holiness that the human can interface with the divine. The source of change is not from outside, but from within: "For Heschel, the human psyche undergoes a "self-transformation." In poetic reflection on the discouragements of the weekdays, Heschel exclaims: "All week there is only hope of redemption. But when the Sabbath is entering the world, man is touched by a moment of actual redemption; as if for a moment the spirit of the Messiah moved over the face of the earth."²⁶

²¹Heschel, *The Sabbath*, 87.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., 82-83.

²⁴Ibid., 88-89.

²⁵Ibid., 75.

²⁶Heschel, *The Sabbath*, 68.

It can be said that Heschel sees time as a *means* of attaining holiness, where it is the innate presence of the divine will being accomplished in the life of creation. The Sabbath is the point where humanity sanctifies time and the individual transforms the self into a state in which he or she communes with the divine. How, then, does Heschel's view compare with Scripture?

Time, Holiness, and the Sabbath in the Bible

The most significant and positive comparison between Heschel's view of the Sabbath and the Bible is ironically in the NT accounts of Jesus' liberating the Sabbath experience from burdensome regulations ("the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," Mark 2:27).²⁷ Heschel is in agreement with Jesus' spirit of freeing both Jews and Christians from making the Sabbath a drudgery that is far from a "delight."

There are, however, some contrasts between Heschel's view of the Sabbath and that of the Bible. Three issues best describe this contrast. Before looking at these, however, it should be noted that Heschel never claims that his view is biblical. He uses Scripture when it appropriately emphasizes his thought, but there is no indication that his view is intended to be a biblical theology of the Sabbath. Rather, it might be better described as a Jewish philosophy of the Sabbath. The validity of Heschel's views, in light of his apparent intentions, is not being questioned or criticized. What is questioned is the validity of using Heschel's views as biblical theology.

Time vs. Space in Genesis

To begin, Heschel's argument is founded on the idea that the significance of the Sabbath lies in its creation in time, whereas all other aspects of the creation process took place in space. While the creative process that took place during the first six days was called good, the Sabbath was pronounced "holy."

It would, however, be difficult to support from Scripture the idea that the seventh day was holy simply because the Sabbath involved "time." Genesis 2:1-3 states that the seventh day was blessed and sanctified "because in it He rested from all His work which God had created and made." Thus, it is *God* who sanctifies the day, not its temporal nature. The focus of this narrative is on God, not time. And it is his "finishing" and "resting," rather than a movement from spatial to temporal realities, that is emphasized. If Heschel's philosophical suggestions concerning

²⁷All scriptural references are from the NASB.

space and time are supported by this narrative, they are definitely not central to the thought being expressed.

Further, Heschel argues that the designation of “good” for what was created on the first six days and the holiness bestowed on the seventh demonstrates a hierarchy of the time/space dimensions. But can it be demonstrated that God’s “work” on the six days is limited to space, whereas his “rest” on the seventh involves only time?

In this context, the word “rested” (from *shabat*) means “to cease,” “to stop working.” But this “ceasing” was because God had “completed His work.” He was not merely taking a break. Thus, God sanctified the Sabbath, not because of his inactivity, but “because in it He rested from all His work which God had created and made [completed].” Therefore, sanctification does not appear to be the result of a shift from spatial to temporal dimensions, but rather it comes as a result of God’s celebration of the completion of his work.

Heschel rightly argues that labor focuses on space, whereas rest does not. This must be granted. However, the text does not support the idea that space or time are the causes behind the declaration of holiness in regard to the Sabbath. Rather, the text suggests that it is the *celebration of the completion of Creation* that prompted God to sanctify this day.

Time, Sabbath, and Holiness in the Old Testament

Although there is a connection between the Sabbath and holiness, there is no evidence to support the idea that time serves as a medium for holiness any more than space does. If this were the case, why do the terms “holy” and “most holy,” as they are used in Scripture, almost exclusively refer to things or places? Heschel’s explanation for this is that it is only through their relationship to time that these things are made to be holy. *Contra* Heschel, the OT suggests that something’s relationship to God is what makes things, time, and people holy.²⁸ All holiness, whether of time or any other manifestation, is derived from God, the only one who can claim to own this unique quality. As Scripture says: “There is no one holy like the Lord, indeed there is no one besides you” (1 Sam 2:2).

Regarding the Sabbath and holiness, Heschel’s view consists of two conclusions: that by keeping the Sabbath holy *humans* are sanctifying time,²⁹ and that through this process of participating with holy time

²⁸For instance, “be holy, for I am holy” (Lev 11:44); holy ground due to God’s immanence (Exod 3:5); the holy and most holy places of the sanctuary in relation to the *shekinah* (Deut 7:6; 14:2, 21; 28:9; Josh 5:15).

²⁹Heschel, *The Sabbath*, 75.

humanity achieves holiness for itself.³⁰

First, the Sabbath commandment does not say that *humans* sanctify time, including the seventh day. Rather, it says to “*remember*” the Sabbath day, “*keep*” it holy, and “*guard*” its holiness (Exod 20:8). The Sabbath was not instituted by humanity, but by God (Gen 2:1-3) with humanity in mind. Therefore, if we are to benefit from the Sabbath, it must be *remembered*. Furthermore, the Sabbath was not made holy by humanity, but by God (Gen 2:3). Thus, humans must *keep* it holy. That is, its holiness must not be jeopardized (profaned) by working, pursuing our own pleasure, or doing evil (Exod 20:9ff; 31:14ff; Isa 58:13-14; Ezek 23:38). Of course in this sense, humanity affects the Sabbath’s holiness by affirming it or denying it through personal experience, but nowhere does the OT state that humans *make it holy*. Therefore, the OT does not seem to support Heschel’s view.

Second, concerning the holiness achieved by humans through the keeping of the Sabbath, God states: “You shall surely observe My sabbaths; for *this* is a sign between Me and you throughout your generations, that you may know that I am the Lord who sanctifies you” (Exod 31:13, emphasis added). Thus, it is not a holiness that I achieve for myself, but as I keep his Sabbath holy, God promises to make me holy. Therefore, the Sabbath is a promise of redemption.

The Sabbath and Its Lord in the New Testament

As Christians reflect on Heschel’s view, it is important to consider it in the light of the Hebrew Bible and the NT. Heschel’s desire to unburden the Sabbath is similar to Christ’s own efforts in the Gospels. Actually, Heschel comes close to equating the Sabbath with the Messiah.³¹ It certainly appears that he sees the Sabbath as having redemptive value.³² This is evident in his view of how the Sabbath and time are a “means of attaining holiness.” But this is not surprising in the context of his understanding that humanity and the rest of creation have holiness as a latent, inherent quality that must be aroused. In this way, with his optimistic anthropology and view of the law (the Sabbath) as a means of redemption, Heschel is quite within the continuity of Rabbinic Judaism. Nevertheless, he seems to attribute efficacious redemptive qualities to the Sabbath and time in combination with human effort, which results in holiness and communion with divinity. Nowhere in his view is there thought of a personal Messiah without whom redemption and holiness would be impossible.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., 68.

³²Ibid.

Thus, Heschel's views appear to be alien to the NT, which does not speak of inherent holiness except in reference to Christ. The only holiness humans can claim is the "sharing" by humanity of God's holiness (Heb 12:10). The NT does teach that humanity can experience holiness and communion with God, but only through a relation to Christ, the Messiah (Eph 1:4; John 14:6). Thus, redemption and holiness are promised, but neither the Sabbath, nor time and space, nor any other concept or reality can effect salvation, for "there is salvation in no one [no thing] else; for there is no other name under heaven that has been given among men, by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12).

Conclusion

Based on a comparison of Heschel's views with the OT and the NT, there seems to be a significant contrast. Heschel sees in humanity an innate holiness that, when in tune with time over space (such as occurs in a special way on the Sabbath), one achieves a state of holiness whereby communion with divinity becomes a reality. Scripture affirms, however, that God made the Sabbath holy, while humanity, who is able to *share* God's holiness through the mediation of Jesus the Messiah, can enjoy communion with God. Of course one of the highlights of this communion is humanity's responsibility to protect the holiness God bestowed on the seventh day, wherein they "delight" in God and in his Son, the Messiah.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE LORD'S DAY

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Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-215 A.D.)¹ has been credited with being “the first Church Father whose extant writings use the term ‘Lord’s day’ to apply to the weekly Christian Sunday.”² Indeed, several authors have connected a particular passage in the writings of Clement with such a weekly celebration.³ However, Clement’s words do not seem to bear out such a connection. The passage at issue occurs in *Stromata* V. 14, in a section entitled “Greek plagiarism from the Hebrews,”⁴ which endeavors to demonstrate parallels between the Greek poets and philosophers, on one hand, and the Scriptures, on the other. The passage states:

And the Lord’s day Plato prophetically speaks of in the tenth book of the *Republic* in these words: “And when seven days have passed to each of them in the meadow, on the eighth they are to set out and arrive in four days.” By the meadow is to be understood the fixed sphere, as being a mild and genial spot, and the locality of the pious; and by the seven days each motion of the seven planets and the whole practical art which speeds to the end of rest. But after the wandering orbs the journey leads to heaven, that is, to the eighth motion and day. And he says that souls are gone on the fourth day, pointing out the passage through the four elements. But the seventh day is recognized as sacred, not by the Hebrews only, but also by the Greeks. . . .⁵ The elegies of Solon, too, intensely deify the seventh day.

Clement applies this quotation from the *Republic* to the experience of preexisting souls, who have to incarnate or “pass through the four elements.” According to this concept, shared by his disciple Origen,⁶ human souls have been created in a distant past and come to this world by

¹*Floruit*, ca. 190-202 A.D.

²K. S. Strand, *Sabbath in Scripture and History* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 346.

³A footnote of the English editor of Clement assures the reader about the “bearing” of the passage on the issue of Sabbath and Sunday.

⁴ANF 2:469.

⁵Several examples are given by Clement in quotation.

⁶Expounded in *On First Principles*.

incarnation, here conceived as a descent from a place above the planets. On the same page of *Stromata*, we read that “the path for souls to ascension lies through the twelve signs of the zodiac, and [Plato] himself says that the *descending pathway to birth* is the same” (emphasis added).

In the *Republic* passage, Plato (428-348 B.C.) places in Socrates’ mouth a verbatim report of the words of Er,⁷ a Pamphylian hero who, after dying in appearance, revived while awaiting cremation. Er is here telling the experiences of disembodied souls, which he learned as he traveled to the place where souls enter and exit this world. As usual in antiquity, “heavens” are conceived in this tale as a series of eight concentric, transparent, hollow bodies, the outermost of which carries the fixed stars, while the other seven turn at different speeds bearing the “planets” (i.e., the nonfixed “stars,” including the sun and the moon).

What is peculiar in the tale of Er/Socrates/Plato is its description of the whole set of concentric star-carriers as one integrated whorl (i.e., flywheel of a spinning spindle operated by one of the goddesses of Fate). This mechanism is the “practical art” mentioned by Clement. The idea that the thread of our lives is spun by the goddesses of Fate is an extremely ancient Greco-Roman myth,⁸ here given an astrological twist (no pun intended) by Plato.⁹ Er states repeatedly that the time the souls have to await before incarnating is measured in periods of one thousand years.¹⁰ Since a common spindle is set in movement against the torsion of the thread, “the whole practical art” periodically comes “to the end of rest.” In the same way, says Clement, the celestial spindle comes to rest periodically—every one thousand years, one might infer.

As Clement understands the tale, after “seven days” in a “meadow” (a pleasant place in the “fixed sphere” of stars girded by the zodiac), souls have to pass “through the four elements” of physical matter. This transformation of the “four days” of Plato into “the four elements” of physical matter certainly looks like a highly allegorical way to read a text,¹¹ but Clement is not so cavalier as the English translation makes him appear. Plato did not actually

⁷Clement here identifies this Er (“Eros”) with Zoroaster.

⁸The Moirai (Lat. Parcae) were Clotho (Nona), the Spinner of the thread of life; Lachesis (Decuma), the Allotter, who dispensed lengths of the thread; and Atropos (Morta) the Inflexible, who cut the thread and so determined death. The myth is attested in a simple form in Homer, acquiring its classical form in the times of Hesiod (eighth century B.C.).

⁹The concept of the visible heavens as part of the spinning mechanism of the Fates tends to give credibility to the astrologers’ claims to read human destinies in the stars.

¹⁰These the gods reckon as ten life-spans of one century each. Plato, *Republic* 10. 615.

¹¹Strand, 346.

write "in four *days*," but rather used the term *tetartaious*¹² ("in the fourth," which can also be rendered as "fourthly"),¹³ an ambiguity of which Clement avails himself and thus gives the term the import "by means of the four [elements]." This passing through matter (i.e., the birth into this world) is necessary for souls to reach the highest "heaven, that is, the eighth motion and day." In order to incarnate, they must leave their pleasant abode next to the fixed stars and descend beyond "the wandering orbs" of the planets¹⁴ until they reach the earth.

Thus, the "seven days" of this tale, as understood by Clement, can hardly be weekdays, since they refer to the heavenly existence of souls in need of incarnation. Clement states that the days represent "each motion of the seven planets and the whole practical art." Thus he means astrological ages, which correspond to the millennial periods referred to by Plato. These seven "days," then, may be compared to the seven millennia of *Barn.* 15:8 that precede "the eighth day, that is, the beginning of another world," or Augustine's concept of seven ages of this world that come before an eighth age called "the Lord's day"¹⁵ of perfect rest.

The "Lord's day" that Clement sees in Plato's "prophecy" has the same import as the "Lord's day" in Augustine. It refers to a time, after the successive ages of history, when human existence will acquire a heavenly quality. Indeed, it is difficult to find a clear link between either the "seven days" or the "Lord's day" of Clement's passage and any day of the regular week. He explicitly applies both expressions to the experience of souls in heaven (not to our ordinary life in this world). Thus, the "seven days" refer to a long preincarnation period and the "eighth day" to eternal time, not to the first day of the week.

It is true that the eternal time, referred to here as "the Lord's day," comes after seven historical ages, just as later ecclesiastical writers argued that Sunday follows the seventh day (though by all reasonable counts it precedes the latter by six days) as an "eighth day," even if there is no such eight-day cycle. But concluding that this parallel implies Sunday begs the question, because the reverse could also be true. Later writers, bent on raising the importance of Sunday, could have used a preexisting "Lord's day" phrase that referred to postmillennial time as a catchword in order to represent Sunday as a kind of "Lord's day" by means of the dubious argument that it follows the seventh

¹²*Republic*, 10. 616.

¹³Taking it as an accusative of manner.

¹⁴The Greek *planetes* means "wandering."

¹⁵The seven ages are respectively initiated by Adam, the Flood, Abraham, David, the Deportation, the Incarnation, and the Second Coming; see Augustine's *The City of God* 22.30 *in fine*.

day just as eternity begins after the “seven millennia.” Whatever the case may be, this passage from Clement cannot serve as a first attestation for equation of the “Lord’s Day” with “Sunday.”

At the end of the passage, Clement goes on to sundry parallels in the Greek literature for the “sacred” seventh day, here meaning the seventh day of the week. But it is not clear what kind of association, if any, Clement established between the earlier part of the paragraph and its end. *Stromata* (Miscellanies), as the very title implies, is quite disjointed. He could have associated the biblical week, which is determined by the Sabbath, with the seven millennial periods above, or he could just be passing on to another topic. In any case, this implies nothing about Sunday.

Therefore, there is need for additional research about the first extant occurrences of expressions like “eighth day” and “day of the Lord” in the Patristic literature. We must carefully guard against reading into these authors later meanings for the terms they use.¹⁶ The question of who first gave “the Lord’s day” the meaning “Sunday” remains open.

¹⁶See my article “Sabbath and Covenant in the Epistle of Barnabas,” *AUSS* 39 (2000): 117-123.

LEADERSHIP FORMATION IN MINISTERIAL
EDUCATION—PART I: ASSESSMENT AND
ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP TRAITS IN
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST PASTORS
IN NORTH AMERICA

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The Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) church in the North American Division (NAD)¹ expects pastors to complete a Master of Divinity (M.Div.) program prior to their ordination.² Graduate-level ministerial education is designed to contribute to the development and success of a candidate for professional ministry. The purpose of this research is to discover possible correlations between graduate ministerial education and successful pastoral leadership. This is an extended project with several stages. The initial stage will address two questions. First, What are the measures of success in pastoral ministry? Second, Is there a relationship between leadership practices and these measurements of success? Stated differently, Are leadership practices a predictor of success in pastoral ministry?

If a correlation is established between leadership practices and success in pastoral ministry, then the formation of those practices is one important and appropriate goal in graduate education. This stage of the project will provide a qualitative assessment and analysis of pastors in the NAD of the SDA church to discover if key leadership practices accompany success. Development of success criteria, definition of a framework for leadership practices, an assessment tool, and a

¹The NAD covers the territory of the United States, Canada, and Bermuda. A conference is generally a regional judicatory, corresponding to the area of a state or province.

² The policy of the NAD requires an M.Div. degree for pastors prior to ordination to the ministry. "L 05 05 Educational Requirement—The educational requirement for entrance into the ministry (except as provided in L 05 20) shall be the completion of the seven-year ministerial training program. College ministerial graduates shall attend the Andrews University Theological Seminary to complete the nine-quarter program. Upon satisfactory completion of nine quarters, the graduate is eligible for a three-quarter assignment as a ministerial intern, or for other direct appointments to the ministry" (*North American Division of the General Conference Working Policy 1998-1999* [Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1999], 417). In practice, local conferences often place and ordain pastors without a graduate degree. Some of these pastors later continue their study in a master-level extension program offered by the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary.

comparative analysis of pastors will be required.

This stage will be followed by research in which we assess leadership practices among students beginning the M.Div. program and graduates at specific stages in their ministry subsequent to their graduate education. Comparisons will be made with pastors who do not hold graduate degrees. While such research will disclose the effectiveness of the M.Div. program in developing leadership practices among ministerial students, the ultimate purpose is to discover specifically what in the educational process may contribute to that development and make that research available to the process of planning graduate education for church pastors.

Attempts have been made to measure the impact of graduate-level seminary education on the formation of people preparing for ministry. To date none are known that attempt to analyze a correlation between educational experience and leadership traits or to identify specific educational experiences that contribute to leadership development.

Methodology

This research requires a set of criteria for qualifying success in pastoral ministry. Church administrators, members, and pastors have contributed to forming those criteria in interviews, focus groups, and a survey. Church-growth literature was first examined to establish a range of criteria. That set of criteria has been compared to the input from church constituents. A set of criteria was then formed and applied as a whole in forming sample groups for the study.

Leadership practices must be defined. A practice is a recurring pattern of behavior that is predictable within a person in response to a certain environment. In the case of pastoral leadership practices, it is the dominant way a person thinks, feels, or acts in an environment that evokes pastoral leadership behaviors. The framework of leadership practices identified in research from TGP/Learning Systems founded by Jim Kouzes and Tom Peters has been adopted for this research. An explanation of that framework follows. The Leadership Practices Inventory, produced by TGP/Learning Systems, has been employed as the assessment tool.

Pastors who demonstrate success in the range of criteria have been identified in diverse regions of North America to form one research group. A second sample of pastors, whose ministry represents a broad range of pastoral performance without providing unusual demonstration of the success criteria, has been provided to contrast with the first by a number of conferences within the NAD.

The research has been restricted to the NAD of the Adventist church. The application of the assessment tool within the cultures of

North America limits the detrition of results.

The assessment tool was applied to the two groups of subjects in North America in order to discover if universal leadership practices correlate with pastoral leadership success. Provision was made for the collection of subjective data from research participants who were lay leaders in the congregations served by the ministers of both groups. Analysis is provided in this report.

The Criteria for Success in Pastoral Ministry

A Review of Literature

The traditions of a church indicate its values. One of those traditions relevant to this study is the ordination of people to serve in the ministry. The SDA church ordains its pastors to Gospel ministry following an internship consisting generally of four years of field experience in addition to their graduate education. The priorities of successful ministry are cited during that ordination. Perhaps the most common Scripture used on such occasions is Paul's admonition to Timothy: "I give you this charge: Preach the Word; be prepared in season and out of season; correct, rebuke and encourage—with great patience and careful instruction . . . endure hardship, do the work of an evangelist, discharge all the duties of your ministry" (2 Tim 4: 1-5, NIV).

The influence Ellen White exerted in the formation of church organization and mission is an important part of Adventist church history. She wrote of the priority of a pastor's ministry: "To win souls to the kingdom of God must be their first consideration. With sorrow for sin and with patient love, they must work as Christ worked, putting forth determined, unceasing effort."³

The church moves forward in its ministry in the context of the larger body of Christ. It does not exist in isolation. Its view of successful pastoral ministry can be referenced also in current literature on the church and its mission. Christian Schwarz identified eight essential qualities of healthy churches: empowering leadership, gift-oriented ministry, passionate spirituality, functional structures, inspiring worship service, holistic small groups, need-oriented evangelism, and loving relationships. Schwarz referred to growth in the context of these qualities as a measure of success for a church: "Learning from growing churches means analyzing their practices to discover the universals."⁴

His thesis is that growth, accompanied by the natural principles expressed in these eight qualities, is healthy and sustainable. He would

³Ellen White, *Gospel Workers* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1945), 31.

⁴Christian A. Schwarz, *Natural Church Development* (Emmelsbull: C. & P. Publishing, 1998), 17.

qualify the value of growth by the measurement of these quality characteristics: "Genuine quality will ultimately positively impact quantitative growth."⁵ "Precisely the same 'methods' which produce higher quality will generate quantitative growth as a natural 'by-product.'"⁶ Schwarz viewed the numerical growth of the church, accompanied by natural process and qualities, as criteria for pastoral success.

George Barna, who has written extensively for the church in the context of marketing and market research, states: "Some people in the Christian community refer to the types of activities I will address as *church growth strategies, bridge building*, or simply *church outreach and promotion*. However, I call these activities *marketing*."⁷ He described six signs of success in churches: growth in numbers, greater involvement, excitement, sensitivity to ministry, shared responsibility, and a changed atmosphere.⁸

Evangelism and leadership are key issues for Barna:

Interviewing the pastors of the most successful evangelistic churches is nothing short of fascinating. Their enthusiasm and commitment regarding evangelism is [*sic*] obvious and contagious. It would be virtually impossible to work for such a pastor, or to last long in a church led by him, without sharing the same enthusiasm for reaching the unreached.⁹

The pastor must provide true leadership in all dimensions of ministry activity. Such leadership must influence several areas: teaching, modeling, training, evaluating, encouraging, exhorting, praying, and sending. Although it is unhealthy to wait for the pastor to make evangelism happen within the church, it is similarly unhealthy to minister in a church where the pastor provides no leadership in the realm of outreach.¹⁰

C. Peter Wagner, a widely read church-growth expert and church diagnostician, reiterated the vital signs of church health that he and colleagues in the church-growth movement have so effectively postured during his ministry. Those signs of health are: a positive pastor; a well-mobilized laity; meeting members' needs; the celebration, congregation, and cell; a common homogeneous denominator; effective evangelistic methods; and biblical priorities.¹¹ For Wagner, it all comes down to the growth of the church:

⁵Ibid., 42.

⁶Ibid.

⁷George Barna, *Marketing the Church* (Colorado Springs: Navpress, 1988), 13.

⁸Ibid., 152-155.

⁹George Barna, *Evangelism That Works* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1995), 90.

¹⁰Ibid., 132.

¹¹C. Peter Wagner, *The Healthy Church* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1996).

I believe we do not stretch the biblical analogy too far to suppose that the Body of Christ can be sick, or it can be healthy. One of the indications of this is that although the membership of the United Methodist denomination, for example, was declining severely, many local United Methodist churches were growing vigorously. Obviously, some of their churches are healthy and some are sick. The same could be said about all denominations.¹²

Wagner correlated success with growth.

Carl George, a well-known church consultant, states: "Ultimately, this multiplication strategy, when guided and empowered by the Holy Spirit, will result in the most people being touched. In addition, sometimes a leader's best personal growth occurs while he or she learns to train others for leadership."¹³ George measured pastoral success in terms of leading healthy systems.

Lyle E. Schaller, a recognized church consultant, describes twelve priorities for pastoral ministry. They are leadership, visiting, counseling, leading worship and preaching, community leadership, serving as an enabler, teaching, evangelism, denominational and ecumenical responsibilities, leading leaders (empowering others), personal and spiritual growth, and administration.¹⁴ Schaller suggested that defining success in pastoral ministry depends on how a congregation organizes these priorities.

Rick Warren has influenced countless pastors and congregations to define their success. Warren wrote from the perspective of his twenty-plus years of pastoring the Saddleback church in southern California, a church that has an attendance of over 10,000 each Sunday. He obviously connected success with numerical growth. He was careful to define the context of healthy growth: "Healthy, lasting church growth is multidimensional. My definition of genuine church growth has five facets. Every church needs to grow *warmer* through fellowship, *deeper* through discipleship, *stronger* through worship, *broader* through ministry, and *larger* through evangelism."¹⁵ "I believe that you measure the health or strength of a church by its sending capacity rather than its seating capacity. Churches are in the sending business. One of the questions we must ask in evaluating a church's health is, 'How many people are being mobilized for the Great Commission?'"¹⁶

Russell Burrill, the most-read and listened-to church-growth authority in the SDA church, states: "Today most church growth authorities state that the role of the pastor must be that of a trainer/equiper. Yet Adventists have a

¹²Ibid., 13.

¹³Carl George, *How to Break Growth Barriers* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 17.

¹⁴Lyle E Schaller, *The Pastor and the People* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1986).

¹⁵Rick Warren, *The Purpose Driven Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 48.

¹⁶Ibid., 32.

mandate from their prophet for the pastor to be the trainer! How can we continue to create Laodicea by refusing to return to the biblical role of the pastor as the trainer and equipper of the laity for their ministry?¹⁷ He asserts that a successful pastor is one whose church grows through lay ministries supported and developed by pastors. The pastor is a leader of leaders. Burrill contended that the strategy of shrinking church structures to relational fellowship groups empowered by a visionary pastoral leader unleashes growth potential. Again, a successful pastor is a visionary leader who empowers people who in turn grow the church as God blesses their ministry.¹⁸

Roger Dudley and H. Peter Swanson conducted research, begun in 1997, that aimed at identifying factors associated with pastoral success. Percentage of membership growth, baptisms as a percentage of membership, baptisms of persons, and worship attendance were considered as measures of pastoral effectiveness. They derived seven criteria for an effective pastor:

1. Is intentional about winning souls and employs a wide variety of methods to do so.

2. Does not try to do it alone but mobilizes, trains, and oversees the involvement of a large percentage of the congregation in evangelistic activity.

3. Has had practical training in personal and public evangelism.

4. Is forward looking and not satisfied with present achievement; has goals for new avenues for service.

5. Leads the congregation in establishing a wide variety of ministries designed to meet people at the level of their felt needs.

6. Generates within the congregation a climate of caring, fellowship, and support.

7. Leads the congregation to make the physical plant and everything around it as attractive and appealing as possible.¹⁹

In summary, the literature advocates a mission-driven church, characterized by qualitative and quantitative growth. Church health and mission are seen as inseparable. The priority of winning souls to Christ would be hard to deny. Empowering leadership and mobilization of laity for mission are emphasized themes. A pastor's role in evangelistic leadership, empowering, and equipping is prioritized over other functions.

¹⁷ Russell Burrill, *Revolution in the Church* (Fallbrook, CA: Hart Research Center, 1993), 53.

¹⁸ Russell Burrill, *The Revolutionized Church of the 21st Century* (Fallbrook, CA: Hart Research Center, 1997).

¹⁹Roger L. Dudley and H. Peter Swanson, "What Makes a Pastor Effective," *Ministry*, December 2000, 26-29.

Perceptions of Administrators

Informal and unrehearsed responses can be revealing of genuine attitudes. It is important to identify those genuine attitudes regarding success in pastoral ministry. In the process of developing these criteria for success in pastoral ministry, we intentionally approached several church administrators and asked one question, “What do you observe in the churches of your conference that indicates success in pastoral ministry?” The responses were quite similar. The predictability of the responses should affirm the importance of these criteria: the church is growing, attendance is growing, evangelism is producing baptisms on a regular basis, members are involved in ministry, the finances of the church are strong, the members are happy with the pastor and trust him or her, youth and children are thriving in the church, and the pastor is casting a compelling vision.

Survey of Constituents

A survey was designed, extrapolating the perspectives of pastoral success in literature and the informal responses of administrators. This survey was administered to sixty-two members of eight conference executive committees in various regions of the NAD. Thirty-four of the respondents were not church employees or ministry professionals, eleven were pastors, seventeen were administrators. The survey asked for valuation of thirteen criteria for success in pastoral ministry.²⁰

Ministerial directors who serve local conferences have constant contact with church pastors. Since they minister to pastors on a personal and family level, they tend to have a holistic concern for the health of the pastor as well as their observable success in ministry. In January of 2001, seven ministerial directors from local conferences in the NAD were assembled for a focus group on issues of pastoral success. They affirmed that the most apparent criterion for measuring pastoral success is the growth of the church. They emphasized that the context of that growth must be considered. They described leadership practices of movement toward goals, developing a shared vision, communication, empowering people, and motivating people to ministry as being of high value. Developing practical ministry skills by training was considered a practice of successful pastors. They expressed the importance of integration of ministry with a healthy lifestyle that led to family and personal health as well as church growth. They stressed that growth by conversion remained the most important portrayal of success.

Administering the survey described above, the directors assigned the highest value (thirty points) to the ability to cast a compelling and

²⁰The survey is displayed in Appendix A.

inspiring vision for the growth of the church; eighteen points to the ability to motivate and develop members for effective ministry; fourteen points to the ability to preach and teach the Word of God in a way that helps members grow spiritually; ten points to the ability to model spiritual strength in personal and family life; eight points to the ability to help a church grow in membership—soul-winning in all its forms; eight points to the ability to bring about needed and helpful change in the church; six points to the ability to offer kind, wise, and helpful counsel; six points to the ability to work effectively with youth and children; five points to the ability to lead a church in effective long-range planning; five points to the ability to bring about unity in the church; and three points to the ability to develop trust and confidence throughout the church, to act with integrity. It should be noted that one of the ministerial directors chose to rate all the criteria with scores of four or five.

Success Survey Results

As stated above, the “Success Criteria” Survey was administered to sixty-nine persons. Table 1 displays the results for the total group. Comparisons of the various types of respondents may be found in Appendix B. The first column in Table 1 represents the ranking that each criterion was given based on the total raw score for that criterion. The second column is the total raw score given for each criterion.

Table 1
Success Criteria Rankings of All Respondents

1	206	Ability to preach and teach the word of God in a way that helps members grow spiritually
2	155	Ability to motivate and develop members for effective ministry
3	98	Ability to model spiritual strength in personal and family life
3	86	Ability to help a church grow in membership—soul-winning in all its forms
5	84	Ability to cast a compelling and inspiring vision for the growth of the church
6	77	Ability to develop trust and confidence in the church—to act with integrity

7	61	Ability to bring about unity in the church
8	53	Ability to offer kind, helpful counsel to members in need of personal guidance
9	30	Ability to bring about needed and helpful change in the church
10	27	Ability to work effectively with youth and children
11	24	Ability to lead a church in effective long-range planning
12	16	Ability to help a church improve its stewardship
13	13	Ability to carry out church programming—take care of organizational detail

Pastors and administrators valued the criteria similarly, with higher priorities given to motivating members for ministry, evangelism, church growth, and modeling spiritual strength; however, persons not in ministry professions or church employment gave higher ranking to the ability to bring about unity in the church and the ability to develop trust and confidence throughout the church—to act with integrity. This group gave significantly lower value to the ability to grow the church in membership—soul-winning in all its forms.

Final Success Criteria

Several considerations are important to note when examining the range of criteria utilized in forming the sample. The authors of this study weighed several elements in the formation of success criteria; then asked administrators to consider the criteria as a whole in helping form a sample group of pastors who displayed the range of criteria significantly. A survey instrument assisted the process, but was not constructed to provide a scientific sampling. It was constructed and administered to receive consultation from certain groups as reported in this study. The survey outcomes influence but do not determine the criteria statement. High value was placed on the criteria surfaced in literature. This is especially true since the Adventist movement has at its core a mission orientation and has been guided in its formation of mission by Scripture and the formative writings of Ellen White. The term “church growth” implies qualitative and quantitative growth and is not repetitious of the criteria of soul-winning presented fourth on the list.

As a result of the review of literature, the survey of members and

persons in ministry, a focus group of ministerial directors, and discussion with church administrators, criteria for measuring pastoral success was established as follows:

- (1) The growth of the church
- (2) Motivation and development of members in ministry
- (3) Effective communication of the Word of God
- (4) Effective soul-winning ministry
- (5) Communicating a compelling, inspiring vision for growth
- (6) Inspiring worship services
- (7) Modeling spiritual strength in personal and family life
- (8) A ministry that contributes to unity in the church
- (9) A ministry that builds trust among constituents
- (10) A ministry that multiplies loving relationships in the church
- (11) Attendance increases
- (12) Giving patterns that are improving
- (13) The church sustains healthy growth

The Leadership Practices Inventory

The Leadership Framework

Five key leadership practices make up the Kouzes-Posner leadership framework. Those practices are: challenging the process, inspiring a shared vision, enabling others to act, modeling the way, and encouraging the heart. James M. Kouzes, chairman and CEO of Tom Peters Group/Learning Systems, and Barry Z. Posner, dean of the Leavy School of Business and Administration at Santa Clara University, generated the conceptual framework from research, interviews, and case studies.²¹

This leadership framework has been assessed in numerous studies with an instrument known as the Leadership Practices Inventory. The Inventory has been used in several studies of church organizations.²²

The actions that make up the five key leadership practices in the leadership framework were translated into behavioral statements by Kouzes and Posner. Numerous iterative, psychometric processes were applied to the resulting instrument. It was then administered to managers and nonmanagers across a variety of organizations and disciplines. The Leadership Practices Inventory has subsequently been

²¹The framework, published in *The Leadership Challenge*, has been validated consistently in over ten years of research (James M. Kouzes and Barry Z. Posner [San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1995]).

²²See, e.g., the Ph.D. dissertation of T. D. Zook, "An Examination of Leadership Practices in Large Protestant Congregations" (Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 1993).

validated in numerous studies over the past ten years.²³

Survey Results

In order to compare the difference in leadership practices between successful pastors and more average pastors, it was necessary to secure a sample of both groups. A purposive sample of twenty-three conferences in the NAD was selected. We sent a list of the pastoral success criteria listed in Table 1 to the ministerial director of each of the selected conferences. The director was asked to list the five pastors in that conference who best fit the criteria and five pastors who would represent average performance under this standard.

Sixteen conferences responded by sending in lists. A total number of sixty-six names were collected for those recommended as meeting the success criteria and fifty-six were judged as being more average. The difference between the two numbers resulted because ministerial directors were often willing to nominate successful pastors, but some were hesitant to name those who they believed were representative of average performance.

We then examined conference directories and identified leadership lists for each congregation served by a pastor named on either list. From these we selected three lay leaders from each congregation. We mailed the thirty-item Leadership Practices Inventory to each lay leader along with a letter including these instructions:

Your pastor has been selected to be part of a research project of leadership practices among Seventh-day Adventist pastors across North America. The purpose of the research is to assist in the formation of graduate education for pastors. . . .

As a leader in your local congregation, we are asking for your help in this project. Included in this envelope you will find a Leadership Practices Inventory survey called "Observer" with instructions on the front cover . . . as well as a self-addressed, postage-paid, return envelope. We are asking that you simply fill out the survey according to the instructions and return it in the envelope provided.

The lay member was also informed that "all responses are anonymous and highly confidential, so please do not discuss this survey with anyone." Thus, the pastors were not aware of the fact that lay leaders in their congregations were rating their leadership practices.

By the time of data cut-off, 199 usable surveys had been returned, evaluating 109 pastors.²⁴ These data consist of 120 responses on 62 pastors

²³A technical presentation of the Leadership Practices Inventory may be obtained from the authors at www.kouzesposner.com. A copy of the LPI is provided in Appendix C.

²⁴In addition to the 199 "usable" surveys, 8 were discarded due to various problems, 3 that

from the “success” group and 79 responses on 47 pastors in the “average” group. Each pastor received a score on each of the five leadership practices with a maximum score of 60. These data were analyzed using the Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) program for the difference between two independent means. An average score for each group of pastors on each of the five leadership practices is shown in Table 2. The percentage next to the average score is that of the average score compared to the total possible score of 60. The average scores for the combined five practices are also shown.

Table 2
Comparisons of “Successful” and “Average”
Pastors on Five Leadership Practices

Leadership Practice	Mean of “Average” Pastors	Mean of “Successful” Pastors	
Challenging the Process	35.4 (59%)	43.0 (72%)	.001*
Inspiring a Shared Vision	37.7 (63%)	45.1 (75%)	.001*
Enabling Others to Act	41.5 (69%)	47.5 (70%)	.001*
Modeling the Way	39.7 (66%)	45.5 (76%)	.013*
Combined Leadership Practices	190.3	228.0	.001*

*Probability that the differences in the two samples results from chance. All numbers have been rounded to the nearest tenth of a percentage point.

In every case, the mean scores of the successful pastors are significantly higher than the mean scores of the average group. Statisticians generally accept the .05 level or lower as indicating a

were returned with a refusal to participate, 14 that were returned as undeliverable, and 2 that arrived after the cut-off date. There were 122 congregations identified, with the survey being sent to three lay members per church—or 366 total surveys. If we eliminate the 14 “undeliverables,” 352 are presumed to have reached their destination. If we add the 199 usable surveys, the 8 with problems, and the 2 that were late, the total of returned surveys equals 209. This represents 59 percent of the 352 that were presumably delivered.

significant difference between the means of two groups. This indicates that there are fewer than five chances in a hundred that these differences could be obtained if there were no real differences in the population group (all NAD pastors) from which these samples were drawn.

In four of the five differences, the level is .001. This indicates that only one chance in a thousand exists that these groups are not really different. The one exception is "Modeling the Way." Even here the .013 level indicates that only about thirteen chances in a thousand could yield these results if no difference actually existed. Furthermore, if we combine all the practices into one super-leadership scale, we find an average mean of about 228 for the "success" group of pastors and only about 190 for the "average" group. Adventist pastors who meet the success criteria adopted are significantly more likely (.001 level) to be rated higher on leadership skills than pastors whose performance is considered average.

Conclusions

The goals of this study required three components. First, it was necessary to establish a set of criteria that could distinguish "successful" pastors from those more average or "less successful." Second, it was essential to accept or construct some standard to measure leadership skills in a pastoral setting. Third, a standard to demonstrate a relationship between success criteria and leadership practices was required.

The first goal was met by reviewing the literature on pastoral success, querying judicatory officials, a focus group of ministerial directors, and a survey of conference committee members including administrators, pastors, and lay leaders. Pastors and administrators valued the criteria similarly, with higher priorities given to evangelism, church growth, and vision casting, while persons not in ministry professions or church employment gave higher ranking to the ability to bring about unity in the church and the ability to develop trust and confidence throughout the church—to act with integrity. This group gave significantly lower value to the ability to grow the church in membership—soul-winning in all its forms. From all these sources a list of thirteen "success" criteria was developed.

The second objective was obtained by using a well-researched, standard questionnaire, The Leadership Practices Inventory, to survey lay leaders in congregations served by pastors who qualified under the "success" criteria and pastors who represented "average" performance. These lay leaders filled out an Observer's report on the practices of their pastors.

The third goal was reached by the statistical testing of the differences between the two groups. On each of the five leadership practices (Challenging the Process, Inspiring a Shared Vision, Enabling Others to

Act, Modeling the Way, and Encouraging the Heart), the pastors who qualified under the “success” criteria were significantly higher than the pastors who were rated as “average.” This was also true when all five practices were combined into a “super-leadership-practice” scale.

Of course this relationship does not prove that one causes the other. It could be that being successful encourages one to use better leadership practices. Or, possibly, some other factor promotes both success and good leadership. But it seems logical to assume that using superior leadership practices enables pastors to be more successful in their ministry. This study has demonstrated a strong correlation between the two. Thus, it would seem wise to devote a portion of graduate ministerial education to inculcating and developing the leadership practices described herein. The next stage of this research, Part 2, will investigate the question of the relationship between graduate ministerial education and leadership practices, while observing what contributes to the development of leadership skills in such advanced education.

APPENDIX A CRITERIA FOR PASTORAL SUCCESS

A Survey

Skip Bell, Associate Professor of Church Leadership and Director of the D.Min. program at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, is conducting a research project: "Assessment and Analysis of Leadership Traits in Selected Successful Seventh-day Adventist Pastors in North America." This research is the first stage of a larger project: "The Making of a Pastor: Leadership Formation in Ministerial Education."

You are being asked to contribute to this project by helping us form a list of criteria for pastoral success. Your responses will be combined with those made by church administrators, pastors, and lay members. These responses will aid us in our research, which will include the formation of a study group and comparisons of our results to other similar studies. Please help us by selecting what you believe are the five most important pastoral abilities and ranking them on a scale of 1-5 with 5 being the most important.

- The ability to cast a compelling and inspiring vision for the growth of the church
- The ability to offer kind, wise, and helpful counsel to members in need of personal guidance
- The ability to help a church grow in membership—soul winning in all its forms
- The ability to preach and teach the Word of God in a way that helps members grow spiritually
- The ability to motivate and develop members for effective ministry
- The ability to develop trust and confidence throughout the church, to act with integrity
- The ability to help a church improve its stewardship
- The ability to carry out church programming—take care of organizational detail
- The ability to lead a church in effective long-range planning
- The ability to model spiritual strength in personal and family life
- The ability to bring about needed and helpful change in the church
- The ability to bring about unity in the church
- The ability to work effectively with youth and children

Check one—() I am a pastor, () I am not a church employee, () I am a church administrator.

Thank you for your help! Please use the enclosed stamped envelope to mail your response to: Rodney Davis; #2 - 9004 Maplewood Drive; Berrien Springs, MI 49103.

APPENDIX B
CRITERIA FOR PASTORAL SUCCESS SURVEY
RESULTS—PASTORS

There were 11 respondents in this category. The first column represents the ranking that each criterion was given, based on the total raw score for that criterion. The second column is the total raw score given for each criterion. The third column represents the total raw score given for each criterion as a percentage of the total possible raw score it could have received (number of respondents multiplied by 5).

1	34	62%	ability to preach and teach the Word of God in a way that helps members grow spiritually
2	29	53%	ability to model spiritual strength in personal and family life
3	24	44%	ability to help a church grow in membership—soul winning in all its forms
4	21	38%	ability to motivate and develop members for effective ministry
5	16	29%	ability to develop trust and confidence throughout the church, to act with integrity
6	15	27%	ability to cast a compelling and inspiring vision for the growth of the church
7	9	16%	ability to bring about unity in the church
8	7	13%	ability to lead a church in effective long-range planning
9	5	9%	ability to bring about needed and helpful change in the church
10	3	5%	ability to offer kind, wise, and helpful counsel to members in need of personal guidance
11	2	4%	ability to work effectively with youth and children
12	0	0%	ability to help a church improve its stewardship
13	0	0%	ability to carry out church programming—take care of organizational detail

CRITERIA FOR PASTORAL SUCCESS SURVEY RESULTS—ADMINISTRATORS

There were 17 respondents in this category. The first column represents the ranking that each criterion was given, based on the total raw score for that criterion. The second column is the total raw score given for each criterion. The third column represents the total raw score given for each criterion as a percentage of the total possible raw score it could have received (number of respondents multiplied by 5).

1	56	66%	ability to motivate and develop members for effective ministry
2	53	62%	ability to preach and teach the Word of God in a way that helps members grow spiritually
3	30	35%	ability to help a church grow in membership—soul winning in all its forms
4	26	31%	ability to model spiritual strength in personal and family life
5	23	27%	ability to cast a compelling and inspiring vision for the growth of the church
6	18	21%	ability to offer kind, wise, and helpful counsel to members in need of personal guidance
7	14	16%	ability to develop trust and confidence throughout the church, to act with integrity
8	8	9%	ability to bring about needed and helpful change in the church
9	8	9%	ability to work effectively with youth and children
10	7	8%	ability to lead a church in effective long-range planning
11	5	6%	ability to help a church improve its stewardship
12	4	5%	ability to bring about unity in the church
13	3	4%	ability to carry out church programming—take care of organizational detail

CRITERIA FOR PASTORAL SUCCESS SURVEY RESULTS—LAY PERSONS

There were 34 respondents in this category. The first column represents the ranking that each criterion was given, based on the total raw score for that criterion. The second column is the total raw score given for each criterion. The third column represents the total raw score given for each criterion as a percentage of the total possible raw score it could have received (number of respondents multiplied by 5).

1	119	70%	ability to preach and teach the Word of God in a way that helps members grow spiritually
2	78	46%	ability to motivate and develop members for effective ministry
3	48	28%	ability to bring about unity in the church
4	47	28%	ability to develop trust and confidence throughout the church, to act with integrity
5	46	27%	ability to cast a compelling and inspiring vision for the growth of the church
6	43	25%	ability to model spiritual strength in personal and family life
7	32	19%	ability to offer kind, wise, and helpful counsel to members in need of personal guidance
8	32	19%	ability to help a church grow in membership—soul winning in all its forms
9	17	10%	ability to bring about needed and helpful change in the church
10	17	10%	ability to work effectively with youth and children
11	11	6%	ability to help a church improve its stewardship
12	10	6%	ability to carry out church programming—take care of organizational detail
13	10	6%	ability to lead a church in effective long-range planning

**CRITERIA FOR PASTORAL SUCCESS SURVEY
RESULTS—ALL**

There were 62 respondents in this category. The first column represents the ranking that each criterion was given, based on the total raw score for that criterion. The second column is the total raw score given for each criterion. The third column represents the total raw score given for each criterion as a percentage of the total possible raw score it could have received (number of respondents multiplied by 5).

1	206	66%	ability to preach and teach the Word of God in a way that helps members grow spiritually
2	155	50%	ability to motivate and develop members for effective ministry
3	98	32%	ability to model spiritual strength in personal and family life
4	86	28%	ability to help a church grow in membership—soul winning in all its forms
5	84	27%	ability to cast a compelling and inspiring vision for the growth of the church
6	77	25%	ability to develop trust and confidence throughout the church, to act with integrity
7	61	20%	ability to bring unity in the church
8	53	17%	ability to offer kind, wise, and helpful counsel to members in need of personal guidance
9	30	10%	ability to bring about needed and helpful change in the church
10	27	9%	ability to work effectively with youth and children
11	24	8%	ability to lead a church in effective long-range planning
12	16	5%	ability to help a church improve its stewardship
13	13	4%	ability to carry out church programming—take care of organizational detail

APPENDIX C
LEADERSHIP PRACTICES
JAMES M. KOUZES/BARRY Z. POSNER

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OBSERVER
INSTRUCTIONS

You are being asked to assess to the best of your ability the leadership behaviors of your pastor. On the next two pages are thirty statements describing various leadership behaviors. Please read each statement carefully. Then look at the rating scale and decide *how frequently your pastor engages in the behavior* described.

Here's the rating scale that you'll be using:

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1 = Almost never | 6 = Sometimes |
| 2 = Rarely | 7 = Fairly Often |
| 3 = Seldom | 8 = Usually |
| 4 = Once in a While | 9 = Very Frequently |
| 5 = Occasionally | 10 = Almost Always |

In selecting each response, please be realistic about the extent to which your pastor *actually* engages in the behavior. Do *not* answer in terms of how you would like to see this person behave or in terms of how you think he or she should behave. Answer in terms of how your pastor *typically* behaves—on most days, on most projects, and with most people. For each statement, decide on a rating and record it in the blank to the left of the statement.

On the final page (back side), you will find an additional five questions about you as the respondent. These are generic demographic questions that will help us in our research. Please do not use the rating scale to answer these questions, but simply circle the appropriate answer that applies to you as the respondent.

When you have responded to *all* the questions, please return this survey form in the stamped, return envelope that is provided to the Institute of Church Ministry at Andrews University for processing. All answers are completely confidential and will *never* be connected with your name.

APPENDIX C
LEADERSHIP PRACTICES

JAMES M. KOUZES/BARRY Z. POSNER

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OBSERVER

To what extent does your pastor typically engage in the following behaviors? Choose the number that best applies to each statement and *record it in the blank to the left of the statement.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Almost Never	Rarely	Seldom	Once in a While	Occasionally	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Usually	Very Frequently	Almost Always

He or She:

1. Seeks out challenging opportunities that test his or her own skills and abilities.
2. Talks about future trends that will influence how our work gets done.
3. Develops cooperative relationships among the people he or she works with.
4. Sets a personal example of what he or she expects from others.
5. Praises people for a job well done.
6. Challenges people to try out new and innovative approaches to their work.
7. Describes a compelling image of what our future could be like.
8. Actively listens to diverse points of view.
9. Spends time and energy on making certain that the people he or she works with adhere to the principles and standards that have been agreed on.
10. Makes it a point to let people know about his or her confidence in their abilities.
11. Searches outside the formal boundaries of his or her organization for innovative ways to improve what we do.
12. Appeals to others to share an exciting dream of the future.
13. Treats others with dignity and respect.
14. Follows through on the promises and commitments that he or she makes.

- ___ 15. Makes sure that people are creatively rewarded for their contributions to the success of projects.
- ___ 16. Asks "What can we learn?" when things do not go as expected.
- ___ 17. Shows others how their long-term interests can be realized by enlisting in a common vision.
- ___ 18. Supports the decisions that people make on their own.
- ___ 19. Is clear about his or her philosophy of leadership.
- ___ 20. Publicly recognizes people who exemplify commitment to shared values.
- ___ 21. Experiments and takes risks even when there is a chance of failure.
- ___ 22. Is contagiously enthusiastic and positive about future possibilities.
- ___ 23. Gives people a great deal of freedom and choice in deciding how to do their work.
- ___ 24. Makes certain that we set achievable goals, make concrete plans, and establish measurable milestones for the projects and programs that we work on.
- ___ 25. Finds ways to celebrate accomplishments.
- ___ 26. Takes the initiative to overcome obstacles even when outcomes are uncertain.
- ___ 27. Speaks with genuine conviction about the higher meaning and purpose of our work.
- ___ 28. Ensures that people grow in their jobs by learning new skills and developing themselves.
- ___ 29. Makes progress toward goals one step at a time.
- ___ 30. Gives the members of the team lots of appreciation and support for their contributions.

For this last section we are looking for demographic information about those filling out the survey. Please do not use the rating scale but simply circle the appropriate answer that applies to you as the respondent. Please answer all questions.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 31. What is your gender? | 1. Male 2. Female |
| 32. Circle the number that indicates how long you have been a baptized Seventh-day Adventist. | 1. Less than 1 year
2. 1-5 years
3. 6-10 years
4. 11-20 years
5. More than 20 years |

-
33. What is your ethnic background?
1. Asian/Oriental
 2. Black, African-American
 3. Black, West Indian
 4. Caucasian
 5. Hispanic
 6. Multiracial
34. Please circle the number of the highest level of formal education that you have completed.
1. Elementary school
 2. Some high school
 3. High-school graduate
 4. Some college
 5. College graduate
 6. Post-college (M.A., etc.)
35. Please circle the number of your age group.
1. Under 25
 2. 25-39
 3. 40-54
 4. 55-65
 5. Over 65

Thank you for your participation!!

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

THE SEED IN GENESIS 3:15: AN EXEGETICAL AND INTERTEXTUAL STUDY

Name of Researcher: Afolarin Olutunde Ojewole
Advisor: Richard M. Davidson, Ph.D.
Date Completed: May 2002

The Topic

This dissertation seeks to ascertain the meaning and referent of the “seed” and its related pronouns in Gen 3:15.

The Purpose

The meaning and referent of “seed” and its related pronouns in Gen 3:15 have been discussed throughout the history of Jewish and Christian interpretation. This dissertation analyzes Gen 3:15 exegetically and intertextually, tracing the meaning of this “seed” in Genesis, the rest of the OT, and the NT.

The Introduction surveys Jewish and Christian interpretations of Gen 3:15, classifying them into related categories such as literal, naturalistic, historical, political, allegorical, figurative, eschatological, and christological.

Chapter 1 surveys Gen 3:15 and its context. The textual analysis shows that the ancient texts significantly follow the Hebrew text. The literary, structural, linguistic, syntactical, and thematic analyses of the context of Gen 3:15 show vividly that this verse is the center of the message of Gen 3.

There is an intentional narrowing movement in the Hebrew text of Gen 3:15 that reveals the Messianic import of this watershed verse. The clash between the serpent and the woman becomes the long-lasting enmity between their respective plural collective seed which consists of all human beings. This narrows down into a fatal clash between Satan, represented by the singular serpent, and the Messiah, the special, singular, individual, representative Seed of the woman.

Chapter 2 examines the intratextual use of the seed and its related pronouns of Gen 3:15 within the rest of the book of Genesis, beginning from Gen 1:28. The narrowing from the plural collective seed to the singular, individual, representative Seed establishes a pattern for signifying Messianic intention in some of these seed passages, especially Gen 22:17-19 and Gen 24:60. The special Seed is already described as Messianic, royal, and priestly in Genesis.

Chapter 3 shows that the Pentateuch is consistent in its understanding and portrayal of the seed of Gen 3:15. The intertextual study of the seed shows that subsequent authors of the OT and NT recognized and followed the same understanding of the seed.

Chapter 4 examines the similarities and differences between Gen 3:15 and the relevant ancient Near Eastern literature. This illuminates the figurative understanding of some of the expressions in Gen 3:14-15.

Chapter 5 enumerates the theological implications of the seed of Gen 3:15 by showing the major themes and minor motifs.

Conclusions

This dissertation concludes that there is a Messianic intention in Gen 3:15, based on the proven, narrowing phenomenon of the seed in the Hebrew text of this verse. The Seed and the serpent have a fatal and deadly clash, in which the Messiah is eternally victorious on behalf of all the righteous seed.

THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD: AN EXEGETICAL STUDY FROM THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

Name of Researcher: David Russell Tasker
Advisor: Jacques B. Doukhan, D.H.L., Th.D.
Date Completed: July 2002

The purpose of this dissertation is to develop a theology of the fatherhood of God from the Hebrew Scriptures. Although many studies have explored the topic from the perspective of other disciplines, the actual theology of God's fatherhood, as revealed in the Hebrew Scriptures, has been neglected until now. This has resulted in a dichotomization of the concept of God as presented in the so-called OT and NT.

Because of the tendency to explain God through the lenses of Greek and Roman mythology, chapter 1 surveys ANE thought, showing that the fatherhood-of-God concept precedes it and is more pervasive than the more modern mythologies seem to indicate. However, although similar terms and concepts are found (e.g., creative, salvific, kind, compassionate, merciful), the relationship that the ANE gods enjoyed with humans was not nearly as personal, intimate, or widespread as the relationship that God enjoys with his "children."

The eighteen occurrences of God's fatherhood explicitly mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures are exegeted in chapter 2. These texts are grouped together in the "Song of Moses" (Deut 32), the "Vision of Nathan" (2 Sam 7; 1 Chron 17; 22; 28; 29), in the Psalms and Wisdom literature (Pss 68; 89; 103; Prov 3), and in the prophets (Isa 63; 64; Jer 3; 31; Mal 1; 2). The theological themes within them are discussed in chapter 3, arriving at a picture of God as one who is passionately involved with his individual children.

One of the main contributions of this dissertation is that it explores God's fatherhood from a theocentric perspective, rather than an anthropocentric one. However, the implications of this view of God impact human experience, since the attributes of God's fatherhood found in the Hebrew Scriptures provide researchers and practitioners in family dynamics a positive, multidimensional role model for human fatherhood.

M.A. THESIS ABSTRACT
HELL, HERMENEUTICS, AND THEOLOGY:
A METHODOLOGICAL APPRAISAL OF
THE CONTEMPORARY EVANGELICAL
DEBATE ON THE DURATION OF HELL

Name of Researcher: Cezar R. Luchian
Faculty Adviser: Peter M. van Bemmelen, Th.D.
Date Completed: September 2001

Problem

The debate on the duration of hell is one of the major doctrinal controversies within contemporary evangelicalism, well known for its wide impact and the notoriety of the scholars involved. The purpose of this present study was to evaluate the consistency with which each side adheres to the principles of theological method endorsed by contemporary evangelical scholarship, a perspective never taken before in other similar studies.

Method

Once the hermenutical and theological presuppositions which make up the evangelical theological method for doing doctrinal theology are documented from current evangelical works on hermeneutics and theological method, the methodology of a comparative study was followed, and each phase in the development of the two competing views on hell, traditionalism vs. annihilationism, was evaluated in light of the above principles.

Results

The annihilationist view is more in line with the larger paradigms of biblical interpretation and theological investigation. Its supporters build their view on those *sedes doctrinae* containing a teaching repeatedly emphasized throughout the entire Bible, interpret NT metaphors and apocalyptic passages primarily in the light of their OT background, and, as a general principle, allow for the *clear* texts to guide the interpretation of the *obscure* ones.

On the other side, the traditionalists neglect certain such basic principles. They classify all NT *sedes doctrinae* on hell as alternative imagery, choose as their foundational doctrinal blocks a limited number of apocalyptic and figurative passages, pay less attention to the question of genre, and, in their exegesis, rely heavily on the testimony of the noncanonical literature, over and against the OT background.

Conclusions

Contemporary evangelical theologians, who are trying to save at any cost the traditional teaching of the church on hell, are, in the end, found guilty of disregarding important principles of hermeneutics and theological method to which they otherwise give their consent. Such discrepancy shows the need for the theologian's hermeneutic conscience to prevail over his or her confessional loyalties.

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS AND REVIEWERS

Thank you for considering *AUSS* as a potential publishing outlet for your article. Before submitting it, however, please take a few moments to review the following publishing guidelines. Articles that do not conform to these guidelines will be returned to the author for corrections. *AUSS* strives for the highest quality in publishing content. Therefore, an article must represent an original and previously unpublished study, must not have been submitted to other journals concurrently with the submission to *AUSS*, and must be in what the author intends as its final form.

Article Submission Guidelines

Topics Accepted for Publishing

AUSS publishes research articles and brief notes on the following topics: biblical archaeology and history of antiquity; Old and New Testaments; church history of all periods; historical, biblical, and systematic theology; science and religion; ethics; history of religions; and missiology. Occasionally, selected research articles on ministry and Christian education will also be published (it is recommended that authors query the editor before submitting on these topics).

Focus of Published Works

AUSS accepts articles written by authors of different faith persuasions. However, the focus of the journal, as that of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, where *AUSS* is based, is biblical. A high regard for Scripture, along with elevated standards of research, characterizes the choice of articles.

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AUSS is a refereed journal. Thus each article is read by at least two and often three scholars who are competent in the area treated in the article. *AUSS* editors refer helpful referee comments to the author to facilitate the process of any necessary rewriting. After revising the manuscript, the author may resubmit the article. Revised manuscripts should be accompanied by a cover letter detailing the changes requested and the action taken (or the author's argument for retaining the original text). To maintain objectivity, the author's name is deleted from the manuscript copies sent to the referee, and the referees' names are deleted from any comments furnished to the author. A final decision on whether or not the article will be published in *AUSS* is made by the editors.

Language Requirements

AUSS accepts articles written in the scholarly languages of English, French, and German. Articles submitted to *AUSS* in English must conform to acceptable English

language standards. American spelling and punctuation will be used in editing. Authors are asked to use inclusive gender language, such as “humanity” rather than “mankind,” “person” or “human being” rather than “man.”

Style Manual

For general style matters, *AUSS* uses Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), and subsequent editions. Scholarly abbreviations and biblical issues not covered in Turabian follow *The SBL Handbook of Style For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Patrick H. Alexander, John F. Kutsko, James D. Ernest, Shirley A. Decker-Lucke, and David L. Peterson [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999]). For spelling, authors may refer to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam, 1986).

Preferred Length of Articles

AUSS prefers articles of 10-25 pages, including footnotes. Both the main text and footnotes are to be double-spaced. Longer articles may occasionally be accepted, if they are particularly significant and space is available in the journal (it is recommended that authors query the editor for such articles). When the editors deem that an article needs to be substantially shortened, they will return the manuscript to the author with instructions regarding the areas needing attention. *AUSS* also solicits shorter notes of 1-9 pages, including footnotes.

Editorial Modification and Copyright

AUSS reserves the right to make necessary modifications to articles that have been submitted in order to comply with the journal's content and style. Authors of articles edited for publication will receive a set of first page proofs. Authors will carefully review the article, compare it to the original draft, note any corrections on the manuscript, and provide a cover letter detailing the changes and corrections made. *AUSS* asks that articles be reviewed in a prompt and timely manner. Authors will also be asked to sign the accompanying copyright release form.

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AUSS sends ten copies of offprints to each author following publication of an article. Book review authors and book publishers receive two copies each.

Book Reviews

Books in the areas of *AUSS* interest are assigned for review by the Book Review Editor. Interested persons may contact the Book Review Editor to request or recommend book(s) for review.

Book Review Content and Method

A review should summarize the main content of the book and provide a critique, the latter usually being given the larger amount of space. Brief reference to the

author's background and qualifications is also useful.

The review should be evaluative. It may compare the book with others of similar topic, as well as with other books written by the author. Footnotes are not to be used; any needed references are to be incorporated into the text in parentheses. Long quotations from the book are discouraged. All quotations must be followed by the exact page reference in parentheses. Reviews must maintain courteous language, free from invectives of any kind. The basic outline for a review should contain the following sections: introduction, evaluation, and conclusion.

Introduction. Begin with a full bibliographical reference. Author (last name first). *Title.* Place of publication: Publisher, Date of publication. Number of pages (Roman numerals + arabic numerals). Hard (or soft) bound. Price.

Identify the author, and place both the author and the title in the context of earlier works in the same field of study. State the author's main argument briefly in very specific terms.

Evaluate. Describe and evaluate the sources from which the author derived his/her information (primary or secondary, many or few). Then evaluate the development of the author's argument. How well does he/she succeed in carrying out the stated purpose of the book? List and comment on the book's strengths and weaknesses.

Conclusion. Give your judgment on the general value of the book and the type of reader who will likely find it useful.

Style

Reviews should be no longer than 2 to 4 double-spaced pages. No more than half of the review should be used to describe the contents of the book; the rest should be used for evaluation and comment. Reviewers should use precise language, clear syntax, and avoid unreasonably long and complex sentences.

Symposia, such as *Festschriften* and collected essays, can be treated within the prescribed limits by listing the titles of the articles and selecting for special treatment a few articles in which the reviewer is specifically interested or that fall into the specialty area of his/her expertise.

Form of the Manuscript

General Instructions

Manuscripts for articles and reviews should be double-spaced (including footnotes and indented quotations), have one-inch margins, and be left-justified. Excessive formatting should be avoided, with only block quotations, tables, figures, headings, and subheadings included. Tabs, rather than single spacing or first-line indentation should be used. Tables should be formed using standardized table templates provided in the author's word-processing software. The motto for formatting is, Keep it simple!

Article Submission

Articles may be submitted (1) by postal mail with a printed copy and accompanying electronic copy on diskette or CD; or (2) by email (with a hard copy sent by postal mail). AUSS will accept articles prepared in WordPerfect or Microsoft Word. Tables,

charts, or diagrams should be reproducible in WordPerfect or Microsoft Word. Photographs should be black and white with strong contrast and high resolution. The preferred method of receipt is in .jpg formatting delivered by postal mail on CD. Email is also acceptable if the files are not excessively large.

Article Formatting

Please note the following formatting techniques:

Quotations. Quotations longer than five lines are to be indented and double-spaced. Spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and abbreviations must be reproduced exactly as in the original and care should be taken to preserve the original author's intent.

Citations and Abbreviations. All biblical, classical, and patristic literature, Dead Sea Scrolls and related texts, Targumic material, Mishnaic and Rabbinic literature, Nag Hammadi Tractates, and journals, periodicals, and major reference works should follow the *SBL Handbook of Style* 8.2-8.4.

For biblical references, no period is used following the abbreviations; a colon is used between chapter and verse. Biblical references should be placed in parentheses in the text of the article, rather than in footnotes (see *SBL Handbook of Style*). Citations of classical and patristic literature should follow *The SBL Handbook of Style*.

The following abbreviations should be used in parenthetical or footnote references. The terms should be spelled out when they occur in the text.

Abbreviation		Abbreviation	
chap(s).	chapter(s)	n(n).	note(s)
col(s).	columns(s)	pl(s).	plate(s)
frg(s).	fragment(s)	v(v).	verse(s)

Footnotes. For footnote formatting techniques, see *SBL Handbook* 7.1-7.4. Page numbers included in footnotes should be all-inclusive, e.g., 110-111; 234-239 rather than 110-11 or 234-39.

When a note of comment includes a bibliographical reference, this reference should be set in parentheses at the end of the comment. For instance: "But C. C. Torrey thinks that the name Cyrus has been interpolated in Isa 45:1" ("The Messiah Son of Ephraim," *JBL* [1947]: 253).

Biblical Languages. Greek and Hebrew fonts are generally preferred rather than transliteration. Transliteration should be used primarily for ancient nonbiblical languages. Due to the problem of font compatibility, *AUSS* accepts only BibleWorks or SBL fonts. SBL provides free downloadable fonts at its website: <http://www.sbl-site.org/e-resources.html>. BibleWorks may be purchased from <http://www.bibleworks.com>. Before submitting Greek and Hebrew in other fonts or transliterations, please query the editor for directions.

BOOK REVIEWS

Achtemeier, Paul J., Joel B. Green, and Marianne Meye Thompson. *Introducing the New Testament: Its Literature and Theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. xii + 624 pp. Hardcover, \$35.00.

Introducing the New Testament: Its Literature and Theology is an apt title for this volume, which approaches the NT from a strong literary viewpoint. Rather than seeking to expose the earliest sources and forms of NT books and piece together the successive strata of each book's composition, the authors use a literary approach to investigate the meaning conveyed in the final form of the text and to explore how this meaning was communicated. In addition, the authors make thoughtful use of historical and social science methodologies to assist the reader in understanding the sociocultural assumptions shared by the NT author and his audience.

Achtemeier, Green, and Thompson have produced a text which, though imposing in size, provides a more reader-friendly approach than the traditional scholarly NT introduction. The book jacket states that the book is directed toward Bible students and "those approaching the Christian Scriptures for the first time," and it does indeed sketch the outlines of NT life and literature with a breadth helpful to the first-time student. However, the additional wealth of pertinent information about interpretation, history, and culture also makes the volume valuable to the more knowledgeable Bible student in college and seminary, as well as church study groups. Unlike many NT introductions that read more like reference books, the style is engaging and readable. The font is attractive, and the organization and layout—with judicious use of sidebars, charts, maps, and pictures—seem to guide the reader through the experiences of NT authors.

The book opens with a chapter introducing the NT from three different angles—literary, historical, and scriptural. It then moves to an excellent overview of the world of the NT, beginning with the pervasive influence of Hellenism and the experience of Roman domination, followed by an examination of some of its central cultural institutions, including kinship and family, reciprocity, patronage, and status and power relationships. In dealing with each NT book, the authors avoid the formulaic outline of author-date-audience-purpose, instead allowing the concerns of the biblical author, as displayed in the text, to guide the topics discussed.

Each book is treated in canonical order, with additional chapters introducing major themes and genres. The discussion of the four Gospels is preceded by a chapter on their nature and is concluded by a portrait of Jesus gathered from the Gospels and history (209). In addition, two chapters devoted to the NT epistles and to the life of Paul precede the presentation of his letter to the Romans. The volume closes with a brief overview of the formation of the NT canon.

One aspect of the book that makes it particularly readable is the avoidance of any scholarly argument the authors do not consider essential for helping the student to grasp the meaning of the text. In some cases, this means presenting only the viewpoint that the authors find most compelling. In others, issues they judge to be side points are ignored altogether. While this has resulted in a text that might

be described as an "introduction to the NT" rather than an "introduction to scholarly debates about the NT," the uninitiated reader may be left overconfident about the certainty of some of the statements made and unaware of many issues faced by NT scholars. Those who choose to use this book as a text must make the choice, as the authors have apparently done, to seek primarily to arouse a growing interest in the messages conveyed by the canonical texts and how they were shaped by the world in which they arose, rather than to view it as a source for informing readers of the current state of various historical debates.

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TERESA REEVE

Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, eds. *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2d ed., 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, Vol. 1: xii+876 pp., Vol. 2: vi+823 pp. Hardcover, \$295.00.

In an attempt to answer the question, "What is the status of Christianity worldwide?" nothing even comes close to the extensive response provided by this massive work. Volume 1 looks at the world by countries and is geographically oriented. About 90 percent of the book consists of a country-by-country survey of the world's 238 geopolitical units. Each country survey includes general survey data, charts of religious adherents and organized churches/denominations, an exposition of the religious situation in the country with an emphasis on Christian activity, suggested future trends, and a bibliography. The volume also includes an introduction to the status of Christianity and religions in the modern world, concluding with an atlas that provides a visual explication of the data discussed in the book.

Volume 2 is people-oriented. It views the world in segments—religions, peoples, languages, cities and civil divisions. The last 180 pages consist of references: a dictionary of Christianity, a world bibliography, a directory of religions and ministries, and indices.

Everything about this encyclopedia is impressively large, from comprehensive world coverage to page size (10" x 12½"). It spans 167 statistical indicators for all 238 countries and incorporates ten million annual reports that form the raw material for this work. No wonder another large volume has been published to interpret the data contained in this set! The editors specifically state that this work is "empirical" (1: 1, vi) and that analysis and interpretation of the data is a separate task (1:1, vii). We will be pursuing that challenging task for a long time to come.

The work is also large-hearted and inclusive. Groups that many would not classify as part of the Christian family are given space—from ancient heretics such as Nestorians and Monophysites to modern Unitarians, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses. So are African independent churches. No country is too small (Pitcairn Island with a population of forty-seven) nor any language/dialect too insignificant to study.

This set represents a major updating and expansion of the one-volume first edition of this work (1982). The new edition has more than 700 pages and has been reorganized. The biggest change comes in the ethnolinguistic area. The original work had eleven pages on ethnolinguistics, while the second edition has 230 pages on the

cultures of the world and 288 pages on “linguametrics” (2: v).

Undoubtedly, these volumes will be the standard reference work in this area for years to come. All seminary libraries should view this set as a “must buy.” Anyone who wants to study, work in, or visit any country or church in the world should come here for initial orientation and basic information.

A hard-core statistician would probably hope for more explanation regarding the dating of the latest numerical data and criteria for projections into the future. Most bibliographic sections for countries seem to have the cut-off date of 1996 (see, e.g., Japan) or 1997 (see, e.g., Kenya) or even earlier. When were the last bibliographic entries made, or does this vary by section or country?

Such questions detract little from this monumental work, which is a major contribution to the world church. Hearty congratulations and thanks to the editors, publisher, and the unsung contributors, who made it possible. One cannot help being amazed at the immense size, spread, and diversity of world Christianity.

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JON L. DYBDAHL

Burton, Keith Augustus. *Rhetoric, Law, and the Mystery of Salvation in Romans 7:1-6*.
Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2001. xiv + 159 pp. Hardcover, \$79.95.

This book represents a revision of a doctoral dissertation supervised by Robert Jewett and submitted at Northwestern University in 1994. The author is currently Associate Professor of Religion at Oakwood College in Huntsville, Alabama.

The passage treated in this study (Rom 7:1-6) is, by common consent, one of the more difficult in the Pauline corpus. After noting that the law “rules” a person as long as that person lives, Paul cites, by way of illustration, the case of a married woman who is bound to her husband by the law forbidding adultery. But though she is bound by the law as long as *she* is alive, in the illustration she is said to be so bound throughout the lifetime of her *husband*: should her *husband* die, she is free from the law and may marry another. Paul then tells his readers that they, by sharing in Christ’s death, have died to the law and are now free to belong to another, namely, to Christ, who has been raised from the dead. Here it is not, as in the illustration, the living spouse of a deceased partner who is free to enter a new relationship; rather, in keeping with the initially stated principle, freedom from the law is enjoyed by the one who has died.

Though the analogy is not very felicitous (but what analogy from everyday life *could* Paul have invoked that would illustrate how death sets one free to pursue a different way of life?), the main point is clear—believers, by sharing in Christ’s death, are freed from the law to serve God in the new life of the Spirit. Burton, however, is not prepared to concede either the standard interpretation or the implication that the passage betrays “Paul’s argumentative inadequacy” (xiii). Burton believes that when due attention is paid to “the correct understanding of the analogical form” and to the precise definition of (Greek) *nomos*, Rom 7:1-6 proves “a fine specimen of [Paul’s] rhetorical acumen” (17, 99).

The book begins with a rapid summary of previous interpretations of the

passage, a rhetorical analysis of Romans as a whole, and a look at other analogical arguments in the letter. None of these surveys is pursued with sufficient rigor or detail to stand on its own; each sets the stage for the author's argument on Rom 7:1-6. Chapter 4 notes that *nomos* in Romans "means" a code governing community action. The author then proposes that since *nomos* is used in several passages in Romans (2:21-22; 7:7-12; 13:8-10) where commands from the Decalogue are quoted, and because the same referent is to be expected in other usages of the term in the immediate context, the primary referent of *nomos* throughout Romans is the Decalogue. Chapter 5 suggests that, since the specific law under discussion in 7:1-6 is the prohibition of adultery, "law" refers to the Decalogue in each of the eight occurrences of the term in this passage as well.

Chapter 6 contains the author's proposed reading of Rom 7:1-6. In addition to the identification of "the law" with the Decalogue, three features stand out.

First, the author insists that the point of v. 1 is not that death frees a person from the law, but that every living person is under the law's domain. In the illustration, the widow who marries a second husband is as bound by the law forbidding adultery as she was during her first marriage. In the case of believers, their death with Christ changes the nature of their relationship to the law ("one is transferred from the old life of sin where *nomos condemns*, to the new life in the Spirit where *nomos commends*" [87]), but they remain its subjects.

Second, the Christian audience, Burton believes, must identify first with the husband in the analogy who dies (inasmuch as they share in the death of Christ), then with the wife who is freed to belong to another (inasmuch as they now belong to the resurrected Christ). In the former case, the believer's "flesh" is in view—the flesh that dies with the crucified Christ. In the latter case, the believer's physical self (Greek *soma*) is in view, a neutral "self" that comes to share in the being of the resurrected Christ.

Third, as the widow is temporarily freed from the law when her first husband dies, but is again its subject when she remarries, so, Burton proposes, believers are temporarily freed from the law when the flesh "dies" with Christ, but are again its subjects in their new life in Christ.

The study ends with a brief conclusion (99-101), followed by nine appendices (103-135), including an introduction to classical rhetoric (110-116) and a survey of what the rhetorical handbooks say about arguments from analogy (117-128).

The book presupposes an academic readership (one would expect nothing different of a doctoral dissertation!), but should be accessible to the nonspecialist. In terms of the secondary literature, Burton is both well informed and informative. Whether his own reading—which he believes to be marked by its simplicity (98; cf. 37)—can restore Paul's reputation for rhetorical acumen is perhaps open to doubt, partly because the interpretation does not seem (to this reader, at least) more straightforward than alternative proposals, partly because, should Burton's reading be correct, Paul's rhetorical skill is paradoxically displayed in a passage that two millennia of readers have evidently misunderstood. In the end, however, Burton's construal of Paul's thought is more important than his proposals about Paul's rhetoric. Two aspects of his reading call for brief comment here.

First, does Paul refer to the Decalogue when he speaks of the “law” in Romans as a whole, and in 7:1-6 in particular? Burton’s argument, it seems to me, does not succeed in establishing the point. Though he correctly notes that several quotations from the “law” are taken from the Decalogue, the same quotations are also (necessarily) found in the Mosaic “Torah” that *contains* the Decalogue. On what basis, then, are we to conclude that Paul intends the more narrow rather than the broader referent? None is suggested. In fact, it is clear from Galatians that when Paul says that the “law” and its “works” do not justify (see, e.g., Gal 2:16; also Rom 3:28, 28), circumcision and the observance of “days, months, seasons, and years” (Gal 4:10) were included in “the law’s” demands. Indeed, the issue of whether Gentiles should be subjected to the distinctively Jewish observance of the “Torah” was what provoked Paul’s discussions about the “law,” its purpose, and its relation to the believer in Galatians; presumably the same issue lies behind the discussion in Romans as well. There appears, then, to be no reason to limit the “law” to the Decalogue.

Second, does Paul mean that believers were *temporarily* freed from the law, then became its subjects again (albeit in a new kind of relationship) through their union with the resurrected Christ? This may seem a logical reading of the analogy in Rom 7:2-3. Should the widow remarry, she would in effect become subject again to the law forbidding adultery. But such a conclusion, however logical, presses the analogy beyond Paul’s point. The apostle *ends* the analogy with the widow’s freedom to remarry, saying nothing of any subsequent relationship to the law should she do so. In the same passage, Paul says of Christians that they have “died to the law” in order that they might belong to “another” (7:4). Here Christ appears to be an alternative not simply to life in the “flesh” (the “flesh” is not even mentioned before 7:5), but *to the law itself*. To use Paul’s analogy, a fresh relation with the law would entail marriage to two husbands! In Rom 7:6, Paul repeats that Christians have been released from the law—with no hint that the discharge was enjoyed only during a brief period of transition. How Paul’s various statements of Christian freedom from the law are to be combined with his claims of their continuing moral obligations remains a perennial problem for his interpreters. But nowhere does he suggest a resolution by which the purported freedom is momentary, nor the continuing obligation the result of a *reconstituted* subjection to the law.

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STEPHEN WESTERHOLM

Carroll, James. *Constantine’s Sword: The Church and the Jews: A History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001. xii + 756 pp. Hardcover, \$28.00.

Constantine’s Sword is a history of the Christian cross interlaced with personal vignettes from James Carroll’s own life, a mixture of personal confession, personal anguish over the contempt for Jews, which he witnessed since early childhood, and a history of the church’s sins. A former Catholic priest and the son of an American general of Irish descent and a devout Catholic mother, Carroll is deeply tormented by the cross planted at Auschwitz. It was the cross, he says, which caused him to become a priest, but it was the cross at Auschwitz that caused him to leave the priesthood. Though he claims to be Catholic and a Christian, many will question

that claim. He is uncomfortable with Christianity, condemning it in general and the Catholic church in particular. For him almost everything the church teaches and does is wrong.

The greatest value of *Constantine's Sword* is the author's ability to patiently present one question after another and to expose problems in Christian teachings and practice. He takes the reader to new heights of understanding regarding the history of Christian contempt for the Jews. Not lacking in knowledge of church and European history, he questions not only Christianity, but Western civilization as well. The reader will benefit by *thoroughly* reading *Constantine's Sword* not only for factual information, but also for insight, stimulus, and the spiritual challenge the work poses. Carroll forces the reader to be unsatisfied with *what* happened, to ask *why* it happened. This is truly a book of questions—either penned by Carroll or raised in the reader's mind—many of which the reader will hardly be able to answer.

Carroll begins by stating the problems in the church and society that relate to Jewish-Christian relations. The narrative exposes the forces behind anti-Semitism, against which few will argue. Loyal Christians will, however, challenge Part 2 and certainly disagree with Part 8, where Carroll sets forth five proposals for the agenda of a possible Vatican III. The new council is to correct the shortcomings of the previous church councils in general, and Vatican II in particular. He expects it to desanctify those parts of the church's sacred texts that promote anti-Judaism—the primary culprit is the Gospel of John; to curtail the church's political power to make it less imperial; to articulate a new Christology in which Jesus is demoted from his divine status, in order to set the focus on “the God of Jesus Christ, and therefore the Church, [who] is the God of Israel” (566), and to proclaim that Jesus is “the expressive Being of God” (587); to set forth a policy of “holiness of democracy”—that is, religious pluralism; and to publicly and openly articulate the church's repentance. Carroll argues that only after the church has officially acted on these five items can it ask for forgiveness for its crimes against the Jews.

Carroll blames the early Christians for conjuring up stories which, according to him, turned the tide against the Jews for centuries to come. Their claim about Jesus' messiahship and divinity set the stage for the dogma of supersession, for the charge of deicide, and for the contempt of the Jews. He blames Constantine for making the cross the central focus of Christianity and for enslaving theology to imperial politics. Constantine is presented as a shrewd statesman, whose objective was unity of the church and the empire rather than theological purity. Constantine's forceful personality and heavy-handedness at Nicaea showed the Church Fathers how to force doctrinal unity and to act imperially. The Emperor turned the cross, that Roman instrument of torture, into a holy relic and endowed it with salvific powers. By making the cross holy, he decided the fate of the Jews and introduced the “dark ages” of continual discrimination, pogroms, persecutions, and death of the Jewish people. However, Carroll does not mention that the Catholic Fathers of Elvira (ca. 306) began to restrict the freedoms of the Jews years before Constantine came on the scene.

“Auschwitz is the climax of the story that begins at Golgotha,” says Carroll (22). “Once the crucifixion was made central to Christian piety, the Jews came to the forefront of Christian consciousness as the enactors of that crucifixion” (54).

Whereas the central tenet of Judaism is the *living* God, Christianity made the death of Jesus the central focus. By making the death of Jesus central to its theology and then blaming the Jews for killing Christ, the church made hatred of the Jews holy and lethal.

In spite of the author's wish, *Constantine's Sword* has little chance of bridging the gap between Christians and Jews. Like the work of John Dominic Crossan, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and others, this work also argues that the seeds of anti-Semitism were planted within the writings of the Apostles (which Christians unfortunately call the "NT"). Although Carroll tries to distance himself from The Jesus Seminar, Crossan, and Robert Funk, he nevertheless argues similarly. Certain parts of the NT are not holy, i.e., they are uninspired. That argument sits well in the halls of intellectual debate, but it will never make it in the leading circles of Christianity.

Carroll's work shows disappointment and tension. While he faults the Catholic church, disdains the Protestant Reformers, and professes to be a Christian, he also defends the right of the Catholic church to shape Christian theology, echoes the Protestant charges against the Papacy, and sounds like an agnostic. His stress on *love*—"the final revelation of Jesus is not about knowing but about loving"—does not seem to go beyond *tolerance*. He falls short in showing *how* one would express divine love to fellow human beings and to God. With his criticism of the church's emphasis on the death and suffering of Jesus, one would expect that Carroll would stress the resurrection of Christ, but he does not. He avoids the subject of the resurrection, but makes it clear that he does not take it to be a historical event. For him, it is a postcrucifixion figment of the imagination of Jesus' followers. The dispirited Christians created the resurrection "reality" on the basis of selected texts, which they appropriated for their dead Lord, supposedly predicting the death and resurrection of the Messiah. This argument is not new.

Few Christians are aware that the followers of Jesus were truly Jewish, that they observed the requirements of the Torah—such as the Sabbath, kosher diet, and Jewish festivals—and centered their lives around the temple. Reminding the reader of the Jewishness of Jesus and his disciples is timely and necessary, but Carroll fails to show *what* happened, and *why*, that caused the church to drift afar and lose its original Jewishness. Carroll expends much effort emphasizing the Jewishness of Jesus, but too little to call the church to recover something of what it has lost. Interestingly, the reconsideration of the Torah does not make it to the list of his proposals for Vatican III. Carroll fails to realize that at the core of Christian contempt for the Jews lay the church's contempt and hatred for what the Jews stood for—the *living* and transcendent God, and the Law of God, the same Law that Jesus himself affirmed and his disciples observed. Carroll's own historical narrative shows that the church sought imperial power rather than divine truth, and as Constantine usurped God's place, so did the church. Judaism was a thorn in the side, always reminding the church of its apostasy. The Jews may have had a problem in accepting the messiahship of Jesus, but it was the Christians who paganized themselves. No Jew in his right mind could accept Christianity and thereby openly trample on the Law of God, which served as the ultimate test of religious legitimacy and of loyalty to the living God.

Constantine's Sword is greatly weakened by the author's lack of primary sources; the work is based on secondary sources alone. The writing style is easy to read, and Carroll is a good storyteller. His work yields almost seventy pages of endnotes, supplemented by six pages of chronology and an extensive bibliography and index. His handling of historical documents, however, is fickle. He suspects the authenticity of the four Gospels and Acts because they were written decades after the fact, and likely not written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John. Yet, he takes the Jewish chronicles of the eleventh century, also written decades after the fact, without reserve. Much could be said about his use of the term "totalitarian" for the medieval church, rather than the more accurate "authoritarian" or "dictatorial." Finally, a knowledgeable reader may question the complete omission of the fate of the Jews in the seventh-century Visigothic Kingdom, an episode in the history of the Jewish people as dark as that of the year 1096.

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JOHN JOVAN MARKOVIC

Crenshaw, James L. *The Psalms: An Introduction*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. x + 187 pp. \$15.00.

Professor James Crenshaw has written an introduction to the book of Psalms that is evidently the product of years of studying and teaching. A lifetime of research and contemplation on psalmic wisdom and related OT concerns are brought to bear on this recent volume. *Evidence* of Crenshaw's lifelong work is *evident* in his publications, including *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (1981, 1998), *Ecclesiastes* (1987), *Story and Faith* (1992), *Urgent Advice and Probing Questions* (1995), and *Education in Ancient Israel* (1998).

Crenshaw's work has two principal aims: to engender a deeper appreciation of the "literary artistry and theological sensitivity" of the psalms and to encourage readers to study the book with a fresh perspective (169). To accomplish this, he divides his book into three parts—origins, approaches to the Psalms, and some readings.

In Part I, Crenshaw examines several issues of introduction. He explores the question of composition and collections in the Psalter and discusses their individual authorship and settings. He also compares them to other related materials inside and outside the Bible. In Part II, he discusses three approaches to the Psalter. The first highlights the Psalms as prayers and resources for devotional life. The second examines them as a resource for historical data. A final approach examines the literary classification of and social setting for the individual Psalms. In this section, Crenshaw also provides an evaluation of some recent literary and theological approaches and an excellent excursus on the wisdom psalms. In Part III, he offers detailed exposition of four specific Psalms (24, 71, 73, and 115).

Crenshaw succeeds admirably in accomplishing his stated aims. This is a needed volume and in spite of its brevity, it contains all the hallmarks of an introduction. His careful methodology makes the book a useful resource for any student. It will also be beneficial to those who teach entry-level exegesis of the Psalms. The rich bibliographical data are especially helpful for those seeking to conduct further research.

In my estimation, the outstanding contribution of this book is the exposition

in Part III that will prove valuable not only to students and teachers, but also to those who use the Psalter for preaching. Especially noteworthy is the exposition of Ps 73, which offers an abundance of literary, theological, and homiletical insights. Each of the four expositions displays remarkable theological and homiletical insight and evidences the work of a skilled exegete. Crenshaw has selected his four Psalms well, as each one reflects a specific concern. He demonstrates how they tackle, respectively, the perennial questions of theodicy, the true essence of worship, the problem of aging, and encounter with the holy.

If there is any major weakness in this book, perhaps it concerns its length. As good as the book is, exposition of a few more Psalms would enhance its value. I can only hope that an accompanying volume will be forthcoming.

I cannot help but notice Crenshaw's evident reticence to grant authorship to the Psalms as stated in their superscriptions. He appears to hold the commonly accepted position that reinterprets the superscriptions as designations of collections rather than authorship. Such labels could carry several connotations, but that they indicate authorship cannot be simply written off. While Crenshaw does not entirely dismiss this idea, neither does he adequately explain his approach. Another issue I have with the book is the sudden and unexplained attribution of feminine authorship to Ps 24. I find this somewhat puzzling since nowhere does Crenshaw shed any light on this choice. Is it simply a question of political correctness, or does he possess some deeper but unexplained knowledge that would be of great interest to his readers?

In spite of my reservations regarding a few relatively minor issues, I find this book to be an excellent introduction to the Psalter and would strongly recommend its use for teaching and pastoral professionals.

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WANN M. FANWAR

Dembski, William A. *No Free Lunch: Why Specified Complexity Cannot Be Purchased without Intelligence*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002. xxv + 404 pp. Hardcover, \$35.00.

A mathematician and a philosopher, William A. Dembski is a leading proponent of intelligent design. In his earlier work, *The Design Inference: Eliminating Chance through Small Probabilities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Dembski argued that specified complexity reveals intelligence. However, his critics have claimed that evolutionary algorithms can convey specified complexity apart from intelligence. In answering this criticism, *No Free Lunch* proves the inadequacy of any naturalistic apparatus, in particular the Darwinian mechanism, to generate specified complexity.

According to Dembski, science unjustifiably eliminated design as an acceptable mode of explanation and gave exclusive rights to chance and necessity. He shows that design is empirically detectable if two features are present: complexity and specification. Thus the concept of specified complexity is used as a criterion for detecting design empirically. Against his critics, Dembski defends specified complexity as a well-defined, detectable, and testable concept.

In order to assess the Darwinian mechanism, Dembski translates intelligent design into an information-theoretic framework. In the theory of information, specified complexity is redefined as complex specified information. He presents a rigorous case for the law of conservation of information, which may lead to new scientific discoveries. Dembski proposes a “fourth law of thermodynamics” dealing directly with the conservation of complex specified information. He refers to those theorists who “hope to find in the fourth law an answer to how complex systems—especially biological systems—organize themselves and evolve” (167-168). However, “none of the formulations of the fourth law to date propose a naturalistic mechanism for generating order and complexity” (168).

The book received its title from a set of mathematical theorems elaborated in the past five years in the domain of evolutionary algorithms. Consistent with *No Free Lunch* theorems, evolutionary algorithms displace the problem of generating specified complexity but do not solve it. The displacement from the original-phase space to an information-resource space increases exponentially the complexity of the problem. In this way, the *No Free Lunch* theorems point out the insufficiency of evolutionary algorithms to account for all biological complexities. These theorems “show that evolutionary algorithms, apart from careful fine-tuning by a programmer, are no better than blind search and thus no better than pure chance” (212), and consequently “we are no longer entitled to think that the Darwinian mechanism can offer biological complexity as a free lunch” (213).

Following this fundamental result, Dembski proceeds to show how to identify specified complexity in a physical system. He insists that the concept of irreducible complexity as used by Michael Behe in biology is a special case of specified complexity. Dembski not only suggests that the use of probabilistic calculations may establish specified complexity in practice, but in his final chapter he confidently begins tracing the framework of a new scientific research program which readmits design to a full scientific status. He is confident that intelligent design conceptually encompasses more powerful tools for investigating nature than does Darwinism.

Dembski's book is the first part of a research project sponsored by the Templeton Foundation, while a follow-up volume intends to explore the metaphysics of information. The study is based on an impressive research, as shown by the endnotes of each chapter. However, the core of the book reveals the original thinking of the author, informed by the extensive ongoing dialogue he pursues with representative thinkers and scientists. In this way, Dembski is situated on the front line of cutting-edge scientific exploration.

Dembski's line of reasoning clearly and logically pursues what he proposes in the introduction of the book. The strength of his argumentation evidently results from his methodology. It seems that for the first time Dembski found in information theory the necessary tool to objectively and commensurably compare the conflicting claims of evolutionary biology and intelligent design. Applying the results of advanced mathematics to a neo-Darwinian naturalistic mechanism is a very provocative and highly revolutionary move.

No Free Lunch is addressed to everyone interested in studying the dialogue between Darwinism and intelligent design. The book has some highly technical

chapters with interesting mathematical demonstrations. However, the frustration of math phobics in not being able to enjoy the savor of mathematical discussions will be fully compensated by the clear explanations and applications in selected chapters recommended by the author in the introduction of the book. The valid philosophical arguments and historical examples make the study really agreeable to a large audience.

Is there any theological value in the book? At the beginning, the author states that "it is not my aim to force a religious doctrine of creation upon science" (3). Even the references to God are minimal in the study. However, those contemporary theologians who are in a large measure influenced by scientific theories and who have manifested an easy willingness to incorporate scientific claims in their theological edifice need to take a careful look at the on-going dialogue between naturalists and advocates of intelligent design. When Dembski considers that a paradigm shift is necessary in conceptual science, theologians may take it as a warning to not ground their work on a shifting base. The need is not for a new compass reading according to the wind trajectories of cutting-edge scientific dialogue, but a new look at the old Scriptures that are able to provide a more solid ground for an enduring theological understanding.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

ERNŐ GYÉRESI

Dundes, Allan. *Holy Writ as Oral Lit: The Bible as Folklore*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. xii + 129 pp. Paper, \$15.90.

Can one consider the Bible as folklore and still revere it as "holy" writ? This is the question Allan Dundes, Professor of Folklore at the University of California, Berkeley and one of the world's leading folklorists, attempts to answer in his well-researched and fascinating book.

In his Acknowledgment, Dundes claims: "This book combines a lifelong love of the Bible with a career in the study of folklore." In the Conclusion, he reiterates his main thesis: "1. Folklore is characterized by multiple existence and variation. 2. The Bible is permeated by multiple existence and variation. 3. The Bible is folklore." He underlines his conviction that the Bible indeed is folklore by assuring the reader of his belief that "Jesus would have understood my arguments."

In spite of all these assurances the question remains, can anyone who takes the Bible to be the infallible Word of God go along with calling the "Book of Books" "folklore"? The answer, of course, lies primarily in definitions of folklore, oral literature, and written folklore. Isn't the term "oral literature" an oxymoron? What happens when folklore is written down? Does it retain flexibility to be molded by its environment? Does labeling the Bible "folklore" say anything about its truth value? Didn't God write the Ten Commandments with his own hand? Dundes grapples with these questions.

In his discussion "What is Folklore?" Dundes puts to death the phrase "that's just folklore" by contending that folklore "is not synonymous with error or fallacy." In this context he develops his thesis about the nature of folklore and the biblical accounts, contending that all genres of folklore, whether oral or written, "are characteristic of multiple existence and variation which may be reflected in

such details as different names, different numbers, or different sequences of lines." All three of these types of variations are, of course, found in the Bible and people are often puzzled by them. Dundes compares a large number of examples from the OT and NT. For instance, he compares the account of Jesus' healing the blind man/men in Matt 20: 29-34 with Luke 18: 35-43 and Mark 10:46-52. Matthew refers to two blind men but Luke and Mark to one. There is also a discrepancy between the accounts as to whether Jesus was entering or leaving the city of Jericho. What does one make of these differences? The answer is simple. The accounts are folklore. The stories have been handed down from generation to generation and some details have changed. When they were written down, they were considered sacred and the writers did not dare to adjust them.

Speaking about the "infallibility" of the Bible as seen by Christian critics, Dundes summarizes the discussion with "the governing paradigmatic syllogism" by Geisler and Howe (1992): "God Cannot Err. The Bible Is the Word of God. Therefore, the Bible Cannot Err."

He then proceeds with an enlightening discussion of duplicate texts in the OT, "harmonizing" the Gospels, and the "authentic words of Jesus" in the NT. Researchers of the "authentic words of Jesus" formed the so-called Jesus Seminar in 1985 and tried to distinguish between what Jesus said from what they term "common lore" in their book entitled *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus*. In their volume *Acts of Jesus*, they try to separate the acts Jesus actually performed from fictitious ones. According to Dundes, these researchers continue in the footsteps "of the 'folklore in the Bible' tradition," from which he distances himself. Rather than separate the goats from the sheep, i.e. separate the folkloristic elements from the nonfolkloristic ones in Scripture, he "takes the bull by the horns" and claims that "the Bible is folklore"; it is "codified oral tradition."

In the process of his investigation, the author provides ample examples of different genres of folklore, so that the reader receives a crash course on the nature of folklore. Most of his examples are not only amusing, but also give the reader an idea of how sayings are slanted to make them "politically correct" for socialistic, communistic, fascistic, and many other forms of government.

The chapter entitled "Previous Studies of Folklore and the Bible" reviews the most important research done so far on the Bible and folklore and shows that scholars have tried to keep the two apart by attempting to prove that Scripture is not folklore. Dundes sympathizes with biblical scholars who dare to "recognize or acknowledge its folkloristic nature" by citing a large number of them who lost their credibility and jobs for being too *avant garde* in their writings.

Dundes boldly contradicts these scholars, however, by making a clear case for the Bible as folklore because of its basis in oral literature. He substantiates this with many examples of different numbers, names, sequences and repetitions of events in the accounts of the Bible. At no point does he question the truth value of Scripture.

The one disappointment that I have is the author's affirmation that "all Scripture is given by the inspiration of God (2 Tim 3:16)," yet nowhere does the author discuss or qualify this point. Granted, his book is not a theological discussion. Its strength lies rather in his evaluation of folklore. But given such a

subtitle, the reader—at least this reader—expects some reference to it.

In summary, *The Holy Writ as Oral Lit* is a worthwhile book. It is enlightening, convincing, entertaining, and familiarizes the reader with the most important research on Scripture and folklore. In addition, it gives the reader a bird's-eye view of the nature and genres of folklore. The “stumbling block” for the Christian reader might be the subtitle—“The Bible as Folklore”—due to the fact that everyone has his or her own preconceived notion of the meaning of “folklore.”

Berkeley, California

MARGARETHE SPARING-CHAVEZ

Dybdahl, Jon L., ed. *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century: The Joys and Challenges of Presenting Jesus to a Diverse World*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1999. 314 pp. Paper, \$19.99.

As the third Christian millennium approached, interest in missiological issues surged, resulting in the publication of numerous works. Perhaps inspired by this trend, Adventist mission practitioners took the opportunity to reflect upon the status of Adventist missions. *Adventist Mission in the 21st Century* is the latest of four recent anthologies to examine current missiological issues and propose strategies to meet the challenge of “presenting Jesus to the diverse world.” The first of the three are: *Adventist Missions Facing the 21st Century: A Reader* (Hugh I. Duntun, Baldu Ed. Pfeiffer, and Borge Schantz, eds. [Frankfort am Main: Peter Lang, 1990]), *Cast the Net on the Right Side: Seventh-day Adventists Face the Isms* (Richard Lehmann, Jack Mahon, and Borge Schantz, eds. [Berks: European Institute of World Mission, 1993]), and *Re-Visioning Adventist Mission in Europe* (Erich W. Baumgartner, ed. [Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998]).

Jon L. Dybdahl, former Chair of the Department of World Mission at the Theological Seminary at Andrews University, has recently accepted appointment as President of Walla Walla College, College Place, Washington. The book was written not only for scholars, but to “appeal to the heart and head of *mainstream Adventism*” (14). This anthology has two objectives: to provide an overview of Adventist achievements in mission while not neglecting honest and critical analysis of the current challenges and mission practice in the light of new opportunities, and to stimulate Adventists to “an ongoing, fervent, intelligent commitment to missions” as the twenty-first century dawns (14).

Dybdahl felt that these objectives could not be met by a single author. Thus he engaged a wide spectrum of contributors: scholars, administrators, pastors, teachers, missionaries, and lay people, with personal involvement in cross-cultural missions as a common denominator. The book has thirty-five brief chapters by thirty authors and is divided into four sections: backgrounds, biblical and theological issues, strategies and methods, and case studies.

The first section sets the stage. In chapter 1, the editor introduces current trends in Adventist missions, identifying both successes and challenges. The second chapter provides a brief historical overview of Adventist mission from the 1880s to the present.

The second section is theoretical, discussing biblical and theological issues

confronting Adventist missions. Concerns brought to the fore include: the place for cross-cultural missionaries, how Adventists should respond to the challenge of world religions, the fate of the unevangelized, secularism, contextualization (disguised under the term "cultural adaptation"), the place of socioeconomic development in evangelism, the importance of retaining the SDA prophetic heritage as the movement's missiological mainspring, financing missions, and vocation as mission.

The third section focuses on meeting these challenges. Topics addressed include: prayer, signs and wonders, the value of research as illustrated by the church-growth movement, tentmaking missionaries, lessons that can be learned from megachurches, the relationship between structure and mission, the roles of laity, youth, and women in mission, a contextualized approach to Muslims, the role of the Adventist Development and Relief Agency and Adventist World Radio in reaching inaccessible audiences, and urban evangelism.

The last section is devoted to case studies and what Adventists can learn from their current experience in various contexts: reaching Buddhists in Asia; work in China; mobilizing youth, the 1,000 Missionary Movement and the Go Mission conferences; Adventist Frontier Missions; the ethnic conflict in Rwanda; the involvement of Fernando and Ana Stahl in personal and social transformation in Latin America; the Global Mission initiative; and Adventist evangelism in Eastern Europe.

The variety of themes and approaches should appeal to a wide spectrum of readers. There would seem to be something for everyone. Most chapters are discussed in a straightforward and clear manner and deal with live and relevant issues. This anthology is well organized and all chapters are informative and stimulating. Although there are strengths and weaknesses in each section, it achieves its objective of engaging Adventists in serious reflection about the status and challenges of Adventist missions at the dawn of the third Christian millennium.

This is a valuable publication for all those interested in thoughtful reflection about Adventist missions: lay members, pastors, theologians, and church administrators. It offers an Adventist perspective on the crucial missiological issues, challenges, changes, new opportunities confronting those engaged in missions anywhere in the world and those supporting them. Adventists generally learn about the status of missions through reports intended to inspire. In contradistinction, the articles in this volume are intended to stimulate serious reflection of the Adventist mission in the new century. The volume's most valuable contribution is that it reminds all connected with mission or evangelistic work of the need for serious reflection about what is and what is not being done. Taking a serious look at issues, learning from successes and failures, proposing innovative approaches and identifying areas for further study are important dimensions of corporate and personal involvement in the mission of the church.

Numerous chapters stand out for their relevance and the manner in which the authors treat their subject. Among the most insightful and thought-provoking articles are those dealing with the challenges posed by world religions, secularization, cultural adaptation to differences, the finances of missions, and the mission consequences for the church should we forsake our prophetic heritage.

In spite of its many excellent benefits, I would venture a few brief criticisms. First, all sections, other than the brief introductory background section, would benefit from a brief introduction of the themes under discussion. Several current issues were overlooked. No criteria based upon Adventist theology and missionary self-understanding are proposed for evaluating mission practice and evangelistic strategies. There is also a need to demonstrate how the strategies reflect Adventist theology, particularly biblical anthropology. Adventist mission praxis is in need of an Adventist theology of mission. Another neglected subject is the evaluation of the Net 95, 96, and 98 evangelistic series. Whom did these intercontinental programs reach, and why? Is the local church becoming overdependent upon these large-scale efforts? Another issue deserving attention is how to involve the local church in world mission. A strategy is also needed to coordinate the missionary involvement of parachurch organizations such as *It Is Written*, *The Quiet Hour*, and *Faith For Today*. Our limited resources need to be maximized. Finally, a topical index and a comprehensive list of additional references would enhance the book's use as a reference work.

This anthology is a must read for those concerned about contemporary Adventist missions.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

FAUSTO EDGAR NUNES

Egglar, Jürg. *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14: The Research History from the End of the 19th Century to the Present*. *Orbis biblicus et orientalis*, 177. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000. vi + 143 pp. Hardcover, € 36.00.

Daniel 7 is a scholarly bonanza. No other text in the book of Daniel, perhaps besides 9:24-27, has drawn and still draws so much attention as the vision and interpretation of chapter 7. Within that vision, the expression אֶלֶּן אֱוֹן ("like a Son of Man") in 7:13 is without a doubt the book's most noteworthy phrase. It is also one of those few instances of OT texts that bridge the gap between OT and NT scholarship and invite lively discussion from both camps. So it is no wonder that the literature on Dan 7 and related background issues has grown—indeed, it is nearly inexhaustible. There are endless studies on the background of the imagery and motifs used in this chapter, a topic that has bearing on the unity, structure, genre, and purpose of the vision. For these reasons, it should be rather obvious that an extensive research history on the religion-historical and tradition-historical background of the vision of Dan 7 presents a formidable task. Egglar should be congratulated for having taken the challenge in a remarkably systematic manner. The present book originated in his 1998 dissertation *Iconographic Motifs from Palestine/Israel and Daniel 7:2-14* at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, and is almost identical to the first chapter of that study.

Egglar divides his presentation of the research history (from 1895 to 1997/2000) into two parts. One deals with Dan 7:2-8 and the motifs of the sea, the four winds, and the four beasts, and the other with Dan 7:9-14 and the motifs of the judgment scene, the Ancient of Days, and the Son of Man. In each of these parts, he surveys the different, suggested backgrounds for the vision, starting with

the most influential extrabiblical proposals, followed by other, often more exotic, extrabiblical proposals in chronological order, concluding with suggested OT and iconographic influences.

The point of departure in both parts is Gunkel's 1985 proposal of a Babylonian background to Dan 7. For the imagery of Dan 7:2-8, Egger then considers in different sections those views that postulate underlying Greek, Canaanite, astrological, Phoenician, Iranian, Egyptian, treaty-curse imagery, birth omen, Vision of the Netherworld, and "Kosher Mentality" influences. For Dan 7:9-14, the various tradition-historical suggestions canvassed by Egger are the Babylonian, Canaanite, Iranian, Indian, astrological, Greek, Egyptian, Tyrian, Syro-Palestinian, and Vision of the Netherworld influences. Of course, scholars who suggest different backgrounds for various motifs or images are found in several sections, e.g. E. G. H. Kraeling is correctly mentioned as holding views of Babylonian and Iranian influence (56, 75).

The following sections on OT and iconographic influences should not lead to the assumption that these types of influences exclude extrabiblical ones, because many scholars who hold a particular extrabiblical background for Dan 7 recognize influences from the OT and ancient Near Eastern iconography. In fact, other OT passages are not infrequently seen as belonging to the same extrabiblical tradition.

In the "OT influence" sections, Egger offers a valuable discussion on the different ways in which scholars use the OT in the study of Dan 7 (28-35). He surveys the various tradition-historical explanations of the "Son of Man" figure (88-95) and those OT passages and traditions that have been proposed as structural tradition-historical explanations for the whole of Dan 7:9-14 (95-101). Another feature is noteworthy. Under each section on "OT influence," Egger supplies a table with a comprehensive listing of the bibliographic references for the most-cited OT parallels to the different motifs and imagery in Dan 7:2-14. For example, the OT texts cited most often in reference to "the four winds" (7:2) are Gen 1:2; Dan 8:8; 11:4; Zech 2:6; 6:5. Such a table provides a quick overview on the issue and is extremely helpful when one wants to assess the possible influence the biblical tradition has had on Dan 7.

The survey of proposed iconographic influences is subdivided into motifs: lion, bear, leopard, and fourth beast for Dan 7:2-8, and the images connected with the Ancient of Days and the Son of Man in Dan 7:9-14. The paucity of scholarly studies on iconography, especially on the second half of the vision, opens the field for a comprehensive iconographic analysis of Daniel's vision. Here lies the *raison d'être* for Egger's doctoral dissertation, of which the other chapters will hopefully be available in the near future.

Egger supplies his study with numerous footnotes (379 notes on 110 pages!) that often contain substantive quotations of the original publications (in English, German, and occasionally in French). Their purpose is "to elucidate underlying concepts and present critical scholarly responses more accurately in order to highlight the impact certain ideas have had" (2). For the latter purpose, the last footnote at the end of each background section brings together the critical scholarly remarks. Here Egger summarizes the arguments brought forth against a specific proposal.

A bibliography and several indices (authors, subjects, biblical references)

conclude the book. For a camera-ready text submitted by the author, this work is clearly organized, having a pleasing layout. A particularly beneficial feature in this "book of the thousand names" is the setting of each author's name in bold-face type when his or her view is presented. One wishes that a similar feature had been incorporated in the author index to facilitate finding passages belonging to specific authors.

Egglar is to be commended for striving toward a complete picture of the research history. His meticulous description of the various positions is exceptionally clear. However, while he surveys the proposals, he remains at a purely descriptive level. It is here that readers may be disappointed as Egglar makes hardly any original contributions to discussions. In general, he refrains from critical observations, weighing arguments, or deciding in favor of one or another proposal. The summary of scholarly critical responses in the last footnote of each section, important as it is, cannot substitute for discussion of the respective backgrounds that Egglar could have provided. Egglar does "not attempt to engage in the discussion" (1) since, as noted above, the present material is originally part of a dissertation on iconographic motifs. Nevertheless, one could wish that he had taken the opportunity to add a concluding section with his personal assessment of the current state of research and the different proposals, or at least to intersperse a few critical and evaluative remarks of his own along the way.

There are two basic points that almost always receive attention when one critically assesses a survey of a research history and Egglar's study is no exception in this regard. First, one could dispute the system of categorization and arrangement of authors. For example, under the section on Babylonian influence Egglar could have included P. A. Porter, who proposes that the animal anomalies of the Babylonian birth-omen traditions in *Šumma izbu* form the extralinguistic, stylistic context of some of the visionary symbolic imagery of Dan 7, i.e. the animal metaphors. Also, H. Kvanvig's proposal that Dan 7 draws from the tradition preserved in the Akkadian *Vision of the Netherworld* could be categorized under the Babylonian influence section. Instead, Egglar chooses to devote a separate section each on the birth-omen influence and on the "Vision of the Netherworld," probably because these texts are unique in the Mesopotamian milieu.

Second, one might feel that some authors or essential contributions on the topic are misrepresented or excluded. For example, before Egglar delves into the suggested backgrounds, he might have included a brief overview of other research histories on the topic. Unfortunately, the section on Canaanite influence neglects to mention Susan Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition* (Chico: Scholars, 1983), who deals quite elaborately with the vision in Dan 7 and the background of its symbols (177-215). On Assyrian-Babylonian iconographic influences, note should be taken of U. Worschech, "Der assyrisch-babylonische Löwenmensch und der 'menschliche' Löwe aus Daniel 7,4" in *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum*, ed. G. Maurer and U. Magen, AOAT, 220 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988), 321-333, who argues that the author of Daniel uses and contorts the neo-Assyrian image of the lion man. On the "Son of Man" figure, several works have been overlooked. For example, Mogens Müller, in *Der Ausdruck "Menschensohn" in den Evangelien* ([Leiden: Brill, 1984], 27-63), tentatively assumes a Canaanite background for the imagery in Dan 7:9-14, but argues that the meaning should be understood primarily from the context of

Dan 7 itself. R. D. Rowe ("Is Daniel's 'Son of Man' Messianic?" in *Christ the Lord* [Leicester, InterVarsity, 1982], 71-96) argues for a background of Dan 7:13-14 in the Davidic kingship (Ps 8) and the role of man (Gen 1:26-28). Also, three additional works are important for the explanation of Daniel 7 in light of the theophany tradition of Ezek 1 (Eggle, 98-100): S. Kim, "*The 'Son of Man' as the Son of God*" (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), 15-37, esp. 15-19; W. Bittner, "Gott - Menschensohn - Davidssohn: Eine Untersuchung zur Traditionsgeschichte von Daniel 7,13f.," *FZPhTh* 32 (1985): 343-372, who also argues that there are affinities to the Davidic kingship tradition (Ps 8; 89); and particularly T. B. Slater, "One Like a Son of Man in First-Century Judaism," *NTS* 41 (1995):183-198, esp. 191-193, who follows Bowman (1947) and offers further evidence that Daniel 7 should be primarily compared with Ezekiel.

More serious is the omission of the new proposal by Ulrich Kellermann who advances the thesis that Dan 7:9-10, 13-14 is a "martyr psalm" that combines the traditions of death and postmortal elevation of the righteous (Ps 49; 73) and of the divine servant (Isa 52:13-53:12) ("Das Danielbuch und die Märtyrertheologie der Auferstehung," in *Die Entstehung der jüdischen Martyrologie*, ed. J. W. van Henten [Leiden: Brill, 1989], 50-75). Likewise missing is the suggestion by C.H.T. Fletcher-Louis that Daniel 7 has both a Near Eastern mythological background, the *Chaoskampf*, and, similar to 1 Enoch 14, a temple focus, particularly a Day of Atonement focus. He argues that both aspects can be combined religion-historically, the high priest having taken on Baal's identity and role in the *Chaoskampf*. For him, Daniel 7:9-14 then describes the high priestly "son of man" entering into God's presence surrounded by clouds of incense on the eschatological Day of Atonement by which the impurity of the beasts that contaminated the Temple is purged ("The High Priest as Divine Mediator in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 7:13 as a Test Case," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1997 Seminar Papers*, SBLSP 36 [Atlanta: Scholars, 1997], 161-193). Such a connection of Daniel 7 with the Day of Atonement certainly merits more attention.

Also not mentioned in Eggle's study is the proposal by L. T. Stuckenbruck that Dan 7 adapted Enochic apocalyptic traditions to its own interests (*The Book of Giants from Qumran* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997], 119-123; idem., "The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants: Some New Light on the Background of Dan 7," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures*, ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans, JPSSup 26 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 211-220; "The Book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth [N. Richland Hills: BIBAL, 2000], 135-171, esp. 142-149; and idem., "Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint [Leiden, Brill, 2001], 368-386). A comparative analysis of the *Book of Giants* from Qumran (4Q530 ii. 15b-20) and Dan 7:9-10, 28 leads Stuckenbruck to the conclusion that the *Book of Giants* preserves an earlier form of the throne-theophany that has been expanded in Daniel. According to Stuckenbruck, the theophanic tradition in the giant's vision then illuminates the tradition-historical background of Dan 7 which also has been influenced by other Enochic traditions preserved in the *Book of Watchers* (1 En. 14:17-22) and the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 En. 90:20, 24). It is clear that Stuckenbruck's hypothesis deserves a section on its own in Eggle's system of extrabiblical explanations for the background of Dan 7:9-14. However, it must be taken into consideration that the publication of Stuckenbruck's suggestion, as well as of Louis-

Fletcher's hypothesis, might have been too late for Egger to incorporate in his research history. Since Egger completed his dissertation in 1998, his survey ends with the year 1997, although he tried to update it in at least one instance (see the inclusion of E. Lucas's article "Daniel: Resolving the Enigma," *VT* 50 [2000], 66-80).

Proposals for influences on Daniel 7 that are certainly published too late to be considered by Egger are those by O. Keel, A. E. Gardner, and J. H. Walton. For Keel, (1) the traditions to which the Canaanite myths refer represent the best example for the mythic pattern used in Daniel 7; (2) the description of the four beasts shows at the most indirect references to ancient Near Eastern iconography; and (3) the central distinction and contrast between beasts and humanity (Dan 4; Dan 7), and thus the "son of man" figure, derives from Greek philosophy, in particular Aristotelian and Stoic concepts ("Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," in *Hellenismus und Judentum*, ed. O. Keel and U. Staub, OBO 178 [Fribourg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000], 1-35)—the study is noted by Egger as forthcoming (79 n. 282). Gardner, rejecting a Canaanite background, resurrects Gunkel's thesis and suggests that Daniel 7 was drawing from the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* ("Daniel 7,2-14: Another Look at its Mythic Pattern," *Bib* 82 [2001]: 244-252). Walton argues for a Mesopotamian background of Daniel 7 and proposes that the author of Daniel used in an eclectic manner elements of the chaos combat myth paradigm (as exemplified in the Ugaritic myth of *Baal and Yam*, the Mesopotamian *Enuma Elish*, and the *Anzu* myth) and creatively arranged and adapted them, adding its own unique features, to create a new literary piece that serves his own theological purpose ("The *Anzu* Myth as Relevant Background for Daniel 7?" in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint [Leiden, Brill, 2001], 69-89).

The above list of additional references in no way diminishes Egger's accomplishment. It does show, however, that research on the religion- and tradition-historical background of Dan 7 is difficult to exhaust and has by no means come to a halt.

In conclusion, Egger has prepared a convenient and excellent survey of the research history on the influences and traditions underlying Dan 7:2-14. Since his book lays the foundation for further study, there is no question that it will be the first choice on the topic.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

MARTIN PRÖBSTLE

Flint, Peter W., ed. *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. x + 266 pp. Paper, \$22.00.

This symposium is an addition to the helpful series, *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, which responds to the need for reassessments resulting from the release of previously unpublished texts from Qumran Cave 4 since 1991. The present volume contains eleven essays organized under two main rubrics: the biblical text (the authors write "Bible" with quotations marks around it, because the Scriptures were not a closed collection with a front and back cover) and "shape" (meaning something approaching a canon) at Qumran, and second, scriptural interpretation at Qumran. The scope of the book is wider than the title

might suggest, because the authors generally seek to place what was found at Qumran within a broader theological and historical context.

The first essay, "Canon as Dialogue," by James A. Sanders, uses the phenomena of intertextuality in the Qumran literature as a pretext for exploring an issue that he apparently found more interesting or urgent than the Scrolls: how the three Abrahamic faiths (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) can engage in meaningful, interreligious dialogue.

Bruce K. Waltke's "How We Got the Hebrew Bible: The Text and Canon of the OT," essentially reproduced from its first appearance as an article in *NIDOTTE*, (Willem VanGemaren, ed. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997]), will prove immensely illuminating, at least to the nonspecialist. However, many will want to quarrel with his thesis that OT textual criticism should aim only at recovering the text-type behind the MT. He argues that such text-types as those behind the LXX or the Samaritan Pentateuch are the province of literary critics, not textual critics: "Radically dissimilar to his NT counterpart, the OT text critic does not prefer the earlier and shorter readings! In fact, he turns them over to the literary critic" (44). Yet when Waltke gets down to the nuts and bolts of the craft, he himself seems to be unable to ignore such textual witnesses, even when working on the MT (cf. 39-42).

Eugene Ulrich's "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures Found at Qumran," after providing a succinct history of the OT canon, not only finds various text traditions at Qumran preserved by several faith communities, but in contrast to Waltke, he argues that none should be considered superior to the others.

Craig Evans's first contribution in the book, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Canon of Scripture in the Time of Jesus," addresses the question of the antiquity of the threefold division of the Hebrew Bible, especially with a view to determining how to understand the putative references to it in Luke 24 and also in light of a reference in 4QMMT. Evans sees a transitional phase in the first century C.E., with basically two divisions, but the second was pregnant and porous, with the Psalms thought of as an extension of the Prophets.

Peter Flint concludes the first half of the book with the longest article, "Apocrypha, Other Previously Known Writings, Pseudepigrapha." After proposing a sharper definition of the terms, Flint proceeds with a detailed survey of the Qumranic documents that might come under these rubrics and concludes with a consideration of whether they were viewed as Scripture at Qumran. (Daniel, Pss 151, 154, 155, 1 Enoch, and Jubilees apparently were so considered.)

The second part of the book begins with James VanderKam's "The Interpretation of Genesis in *I Enoch*," where he shows that the Enochian primary interest was in the errant angels ("sons of God") of Gen 6:1-4 and the situation that provoked the Deluge.

Craig Evans's second article, "Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure," discovers, not surprisingly, that the literature explains that God chose Abraham because he rejected idolatry and revered God, and places the blame for Abraham's seeming moral lapses upon those who provoked them—Pharaoh and Abimelech.

James Bowley's "Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed" documents the centrality of the Law of Moses as authoritatively interpreted by the community, which had no biographical interest in the man, but included the

book of Jubilees along with the Pentateuch as the foundational documents of the community and ascribed other writings to Mosaic authorship as well.

James Scott, in "Korah and Qumran," discusses a problematic possible reference to Korah in 4Q423 frg. 5. Korah, the rebel against Moses, was apparently used to represent a schismatic individual in the history of the community.

Martin Abegg contributes a significant chapter, "4QMMT, Paul, and Works of the Law," which basically supports E. P. Sanders's contention, seconded by James Dunn and others, that the traditional understanding of first-century Judaism's view of the law, and consequently of Paul's, is mistaken. The Qumran reference and the epistle to the Galatians are the only places in ancient literature discovered so far where the expression "works of the law" was used, and both were talking about the same idea. Abegg shows that the Judaism of Paul's time did not regard obedience to the Torah as the requirement for entrance into a relationship with God, but rather as the requirement for remaining in that relationship, the covenant. In Galatians, Paul insists that the relationship is maintained in the same way as it had been begun, by faith in Christ. Hence, Paul was indeed at odds with Judaism, but not in the way that Christians have traditionally taught. Neither Judaism nor Paul thought that anyone could earn God's mercy.

Robert Wall's fascinating contribution, "The Intertextuality of Scripture: The Example of Rahab (Jas 2:25)," illuminates several neglected corners of Scripture, but has little or nothing to say about Qumran. He shows how "the ideal reader" of James would tie both Abraham and Rahab together on the basis of their both having "entertained" angels/messengers. This, rather than the binding of Isaac, is the real subtext of the reference to Abraham. The bald statement of this conclusion may seem implausible without a reading of Wall's careful argumentation. It is a rich chapter that excavates many a gem from unexpected places. The essay has an appendix, "Faith and Works' in Paul and James: A Brief Footnote to a Long-standing Debate," which could as well have served as an appendix to Abegg's chapter.

The volume concludes with excellent indices and a bibliography. Flint's article is also equipped with a select bibliography and a special index.

The preface by the editors of the series to which this volume belongs states that "the series aims to make the latest and best Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship accessible to scholars, students, and the thinking public" (i). Several of the essays do in fact so serve, but it is doubtful that the average student or layman, however habituated to thinking they may be, could easily digest some of the others, which presuppose not only familiarity with the primary literature, but even a good deal of secondary literature. Nevertheless, it is an instructive volume that has something for all interested readers, whatever levels of technicality they can manage.

Andrews University

ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Fox, Nili Sacher. *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah*. Hebrew Union College Monographs 23. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 2000. xvi + 367 pp. Hardcover, \$49.95.

A wide variety of court officials are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible from the period of the kings. Some are identified only by title, but in many cases the names of the

officials who occupied these posts are also given. Unfortunately, however, the Hebrew Bible does not provide us with a handbook that identifies the specific functions of these officials. That being the case, their functions must be deduced from descriptions in the text of how they operated. In many cases these are quite sketchy. Thus, our picture of how officials functioned in these ancient courts is incomplete. Fox has done as much as possible to elucidate these roles by a careful study of the text and extrabiblical materials. In spite of the extensive amount of information collected in this volume, the profiles of the realms of authority of the various officials remain incomplete.

In this work, nineteen titles used for various officials are examined. They are divided between those of status, i.e., by personal relationship to the king, and those of function, i.e. the tasks of officials who occupied appointed offices. Including military officials, who are not examined in this study, the personal names of 225 individuals who occupied these various offices, according to the biblical text, are listed in Table A.1. They range from King Saul at the beginning of the united monarchy to the time of King Zedekiah at the end of the divided monarchy. So there is a considerable body of evidence to be investigated in such a pursuit. Fox examines each of these titles in an orderly fashion. Beginning with the biblical text, he proceeds to inscriptions, mainly seals, and concludes with comparative materials outside of Israel, mainly from Mesopotamia and Egypt but occasionally including Ugaritic and Hittite sources.

Some of the titles may be singled out for notice. In Mesopotamia, the title of *mār šarri* ("son of the king") was used only for the crown prince. In the Bible, on the other hand, the title of *ben-hammelek* appears to have been applied more generally to "members of Israelite royal families, many of whom took part in the state administration" (48). The title *ʿebed hammelek* ("servant of the king") could also be used more generally, especially in the plural, but also in the singular. When connected with a personal name, it was frequently used for individuals of especially high status who were close to the king (62). On the basis of function, the official "who was over the house" is considered to be the most prestigious. Six such individuals are named in the Bible and another is mentioned only by title. Discussions of this title have involved the question of whether the sphere of influence was limited to the royal palace or whether it extended more broadly in the kingdom. Fox leans toward the former position, but notes that since the king owned estates elsewhere in the kingdom, his authority could well have extended beyond the palace (90). The title of *mazkir* ("herald") does not clearly delineate the particular functions of this position. It is, however, commonly found in lists with other officials. There are similar titles of this nature for officials in Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Egyptian sources, although in each case different roots are used for their titles. Since the title "herald" is described in more detail in extrabiblical sources, they may help us to understand the function of the herald in Israel (119- 120). The Egyptian usage of "herald" indicates a "friend" or "companion" of the king and was a technical term for a high official whose function is not entirely clear. Most of the information about this office comes from the case of Hushai the Archite in the time of David, where he appears as an advisor to the king. Some of the discussion of this title revolves around the question of whether Hebrew usage was borrowed from Egypt, where a similar official was known. Fox does not support this suggestion. Rather, he finds closer affinity of the Hebrew "herald" with the idea of "minister over the corvée,"

a director of conscripted gangs that worked for the king as a levied form of taxation (138). This unpopular office functioned only during the time of the united monarchy. In general, Fox leans away from making connections between the titles for Israelite officials and similar officers in the courts of the ancient Near East outside of Israel. She is also skeptical about the authenticity of Israelite seals that have not come directly from excavations. In her methodological introduction, she relates several examples of notable forgeries and lists these unprovenanced materials in Table A.2.

For those interested in the functions of officials at the courts of the kings in Israel and Judah, this work will serve as a useful contribution and a convenient reference source. Thanks are due to Fox for the evaluation of these sometimes difficult materials and for the elucidation of them.

Red Bluff, California

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Freedman, David Noel, ed. *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000. xxxiii + 1425 pp. Hardcover, \$45.00.

This one-volume comprehensive companion to the Bible was prepared by an editorial team consisting of editor-in-chief David Noel Freedman, Professor of Hebrew Biblical Studies at the University of California, assisted by Allen C. Myers (senior editor at Eerdmans) and Astrid B. Beck (University of Michigan) as associate and managing editors respectively, and twelve consulting editors. The volume contains nearly 5,000 alphabetically ordered articles written by about 600 authors, with 134 illustrations and charts and 16 color maps.

The dictionary is designed to provide a quick-response reference guide to the Bible. The articles feature a wide spectrum of topics, embracing all of the OT and NT books as well as the Deuterocanonical writings against their historical, cultural, geographical, and literary backgrounds. Topics include persons, places, and significant terms and concepts of the Bible, biblical theology, transmission of the biblical text, extracanonical writings, Near Eastern archaeology, and even early ecclesiastical history. Some articles deal with topics that go beyond the Bible and the Deuterocanonical writings, e.g., "Antigonus," "Christ and Abgar," "Decretum Gelasianum," "Dura-Europos," "Horns of Hattin," "Hippos," "India," "Manichaeism," "Mark Antony," and "Talmud."

The dictionary is generally well written and a pleasure to use. In general, the articles reflect up-to-date scholarly research. Since it is a dictionary, the book unavoidably duplicates other dictionaries to a certain extent. However, it contains new material that reflects recent scholarship, including archaeological discoveries, making it an excellent tool for informed readers, pastors, college and graduate students, as well as scholars.

In my view there are several weaknesses. First, while many brief articles (e.g., "Acacia," "Akeldama," "Alpha and Omega," "Ataroth-Addar," "Beer," "Dial of Ahaz," "Ebal," "Hadid," "Tob") are supplied with bibliographies, many major and lengthy articles discussing important topics lack bibliographies (e.g., "Abraham," "Baal," "Death," "Food," "Holiness/Holy," "Marriage," "Time," "Water").

Although the documentation is generally adequate and reflects the latest research, a number of articles show the imbalance of their authors, who fail to treat

work done in disciplines other than their own. For instance, the article exploring the topic "Angels" devotes only two short paragraphs to the OT, while five paragraphs focus on occurrences in the NT. Also, of fourteen paragraphs dealing with "Clean and Unclean," only a short paragraph deals with the concept in the NT. Articles on topics such as "Army," "East," "Israel," "Jewelry," "Lament," "Law," "Son of Man," "Trade and Commerce" are based totally on the Hebrew Bible, leaving the reader without valuable insight into early Christian understanding and background. Authors of such articles as "Dragon," "Locusts," "Many Waters," "Plague," and "Serpent" do not even mention their symbolic usage in the book of Revelation. A few articles, such as "Honor/Shame," do not refer to any biblical texts in support of their interpretations. The volume claims to be a dictionary of the Bible and, as such, the topics should be discussed in light of the Bible as whole.

Correspondingly, another major weakness, in my view, is that some authors show a substantial lack of homework. For instance, the author of "Armageddon" jumps to the conclusion that "no actual battle is described in Revelation; for the author, the battle in principle had already been won through the death and resurrection of Jesus." The author seems to be unaware that although the battle of Armageddon is introduced only in Rev 16:12-16, the real battle is described in Rev 19:11-21, as recognized by many scholars including Ladd [256-257], Fiorenza [940], and most recently by Aune [866-867] and Beale [834-835, 838]. Another example is the article titled "Descent Into Hell," where the author ignores 1Pet 3:19-20, one of the most difficult NT texts on the subject.

Finally, I would like to see the articles on the books of the Bible follow a standard form or outline dealing with, for instance, authorship and date, composition, contents, and major themes. It appears that each author follows his or her own outline.

In spite of the above criticisms, I find *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible* to be an excellent mine of information for a Bible student. Its quality speaks for itself. The dictionary does not claim to contain all the answers pertaining to the Bible, and it would be unrealistic to have such expectations of any one-volume dictionary on the Bible.

Andrews University

RANKO STEFANOVICH

Hastings, Adrian, ed. *A World History of Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000. x + 608 pp. Hardcover, \$35.00.

Most church-history texts are primarily Eurocentric and North American in their focus. This is natural, for the history of Europe and Christianity is so intimately intertwined that Christianity has come to be seen mainly as a Western religion. It is no wonder that when Western imperialists set out to subjugate the world, Christianity was perceived as a tool of colonialism and imperialism by many non-Europeans. Many people wrongly assume that there is hardly any noteworthy history of Christianity outside of the West. *A History of World Christianity* sets out to dispel this notion. It is obviously a monumental task.

This book is a welcome change from traditional church-history texts. It is a multiauthored book edited by Adrian Hastings, who himself contributed the

chapters on Latin America and the history of Christianity in the Roman world from A.D. 150 to 550. It is a plural history that looks at the story of Christianity from the viewpoint of different ages and continents, with little effort to impose a dominant theme. Thirteen chapters, each of which is structured differently, seek to reflect the various spiritual, intellectual, political, and social trends. An attempt is made to include the diversity of the world's culture as it is expressed in Asia, Africa, North America, Australasia, and the Pacific.

In his Introduction, Hastings suggests that the nature and history of Christianity is hard to understand because of the variety of its manifestations (1). Misunderstanding arises when people impose upon the whole of Christianity, past and present, their limited experience of it or their observation or opposition. Christianity shows incredible contrasts. For example, among the Quakers it is a rather unritualistic religion. In Eastern Orthodox and monastic traditions, it is ceaselessly ritualistic. In some areas and certain periods of the world, it was and is an apolitical and minority religion, while in other places and times it has been an imperial and persecuting religion. In some forms it is activist, evangelistic, and missionary, while in others it is purely contemplative. It has lauded celibacy, but has also glorified marriage. It has pursued poverty as an ideal, but has also been linked to the growth and triumph of capitalism.

As Christianity was carried to areas of traditional and animistic religions, it tended to draw people not because they became converted, but because of the superior technology of missionaries who sought not only to convert but also to civilize. This was evident in many parts of Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific. In places like China, Japan, and India, with long traditions of advanced civilization and entrenched religious tradition that was sometimes part of state bureaucracy, Christianity made little headway and progress was only possible with the permission of the ruling class.

The strengths of this book lie more in its intention rather than its outcome. It has sought to present Christianity as a global religion and has somewhat succeeded in giving voice to areas of the Christian world that have been severely neglected. However, it has still devoted 220 of its 533 pages to North America and Europe, showing its Western bias. The book seeks to keep a balanced perspective regarding the role of Catholic and Protestant streams within Christianity without tilting toward one of these traditions. The annotated bibliography of church-history texts from the various regions of the world is extremely valuable. The chapters on India and China provide information on the history of Christianity in that part of the world that is seldom known by students in the West. Inclusion of places such as Australia and the Pacific, which are rarely considered in any text concerning the history of Christianity, is very helpful.

Some of the weaknesses of this work are exemplified by the omission of the role of the radical Reformers in the Reformation and their subsequent impact upon modern Protestantism. The Caribbean region is not mentioned, even though it was the first place in the New World to be Christianized, and many of the mistakes and tragedies that would be repeated all over the Americas had their genesis here.

This volume is worth reading because it has expanded the horizon of Christianity beyond the narrow confines of Europe and America. It has brought

into focus the repeated mistakes of Western missionaries in their misguided attempt not only to convert but also to civilize non-Christians. The book fills a tremendous void in the literature of Christian history and I hope it will spur other church historians to research and write on the history of Christianity with a broader global perspective.

Andrews University

TREVOR O'REGGIO

Hostetter, Edwin C. *An Elementary Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Biblical Languages: Hebrew, vol. 1. Ed. Richard Hess and Stanley E. Porter. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000. 176 pp. Hardcover, \$85.00.

This book covers a large spectrum of grammatical information in relatively few pages. Though intended for the elementary level, its thirty-four lessons also introduce information well suited even for intermediate students. Lessons 1 to 13 deal with the basic and nominal aspects of the language (e.g., alphabet, accents, adjectives, nouns) and lessons 13 to 34 present strong and weak verbs. Each lesson engages a specific topic (e.g., lesson 1—alphabet; lesson 2—vowels; lesson 4—dagesh). This organization, along with a subject index provided at the end of the book, makes it easy to locate topics. Another commendable aspect is the fact that most exercises presented at the end of each chapter require the student to use a Hebrew Bible along with a lexicon. For example, the lesson 11 exercise (“Construct”) instructs the student to identify five words in Gen 12:11, 15, 17 that are in the absolute state and preceded by constructs.

Some minor flaws in the presentation can be observed. In the Introduction, the author promises “to inject certain labels of contemporary linguistics” (7). The exposition, however, follows traditional grammar, and one looks in vain for contemporary linguistic labels in this work.

In lesson 9 (41-45), section 3, nominal patterns are discussed, but there is no mention of segholate words or the concept of changeable and unchangeable syllables. A brief exposition of these matters would enable the student to better understand how some words inflect when they receive suffixes or change to the construct state. Later in the book, the expression “segholate” simply appears without any reference to previous explanations (114). In lesson 11, the author should have explained that the *taw* in the feminine construct comes from an original feminine ending *at*, which for the most part dropped out in the subsequent development of the language but which appears when a word becomes construct or receives a suffix. The term “mobile shewa” is employed for the first time on page 63, while in the earlier section devoted to “shewa” the author referred to it as “vocal shewa” (30). To avoid confusion, a more unified terminology should have been used. A few typographical errors could be mentioned. The Hebrew clause in lines 3 and 4 of page 61 should be inverted. There is no vowel for the *taw* in 2ms and *teth* 2fs/1cs on page 79. Page 130 reads “linterpret” for “Interpret.”

This grammar does not go beyond the traditional Hebrew textbooks. One could ask what the purpose of such a publication would be. Its major advantage is conciseness. Though small, it covers the content needed for an elementary Hebrew course, and even beyond. I would not recommend it for self-study, but it could be profitably adopted as a textbook for use in a Hebrew course under the guidance of a teacher.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

ELIAS BRASIL DE SOUZA

Jobs, Karen H., and Moises Silva. *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000. x + 351 pp. Hardcover, \$29.99.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 has had a profound effect on biblical studies, perhaps nowhere more so than in LXX studies. In the middle of the last century, the conclusion was widely held that the LXX was at best a series of inadequate translations and at worst poor paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible. When a point of reference different from the Masoretic text became available from the Dead Sea Scrolls, it became clear that many—and in some books, most—of the differences between the MT and the LXX were due to translation from a different Hebrew text type. With that realization came the modern study of the LXX.

In many respects, the current volume is the last of a trilogy: Henry Barclay Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (2d rev. ed., R. R. Ottley [Cambridge, 1914]); Sidney Jellicoe's *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1968; reprint: Eisenbrauns, 1978), a work that was written consciously as a successor and update of the Swete text; and the current volume. For many LXX scholars entering the field consisted of reading Swete and Jellicoe and whatever else one could find. Silva's background represents this approach, a discipline of which I was a part. Jobs, on the other hand, studied under Silva at Westminster Theological Seminary and represents the modern LXX scholar, who is able to enter formal study in the context of an established discipline. In this volume, we have the advantage of vast experience, sensitive to the dual needs of the seasoned scholar seeking up-to-date information and the beginner desperately seeking a road map and travel guide.

The book is divided into three sections and fourteen chapters: "The History of the Septuagint," "The Septuagint in Biblical Studies," and "The Current State of Septuagint Studies." When first opening the book, it is easy to be dismissive since the table of contents is little more than one page in length (only the appendices and indexes are listed on the next page). However, this book is a worthy successor to its predecessors and deserves to be read in its entirety as a prelude to studying areas of interest in detail.

Scholarship has been dismissive of the LXX for too long. This is due to old attitudes, disdain for textual studies, and failure to understand the importance of the witness of the LXX. It is not only students of the Hebrew Bible who stand to gain. The Greek LXX also bridges East and West. Less than one-hundred years after the conquest of Alexander the Great, Jews, who were attracted to the Hellenistic way of life and had moved to Alexandria in Egypt, found themselves progressively less able to read their sacred Hebrew Scriptures. So they decided to translate them into Greek. Despite attempts of the Maccabees to stem the tide, Palestine also underwent change. Here on the primary level, Hebrew was supplanted by Aramaic, a language closely related to Hebrew; but on the secondary level both Greek and Latin were becoming widely known. Thus when Christianity spread, its Scriptures were written in Greek—even to the church at Rome, where Latin would seem to be the more logical choice. Thus, the LXX naturally became the Bible of choice for the early Christian church. Consequently, no one in biblical studies can safely ignore the LXX, making this book an excellent way to learn about it. How, then, is this volume best read?

The first step is to read the book in its entirety, cover to cover. How arduous this will be depends on the reader's experience in related fields. New Testament scholars who are unfamiliar with the Hebrew Bible will predictably find it more difficult, but perseverance brings its rewards. Maps, charts, a chronology, and 24 illustrations heighten the learning experience. However, it is surprising to note that on page 16 the list of Bible books covers only the thirty-nine of the English Bible (these are not the Hebrew names, but come from the LXX via Jerome's [Latin] Vulgate). None of the so-called Apocryphal books are listed.

Part 2 is likely to be the most challenging, but the reader's experience will determine which parts will challenge. If the reader has no experience with textual criticism, there is much ground to cover. Again, I recommend reading this section as a whole first, even though many parts immediately invite detailed attention. The reader should be advised not to ignore areas that appear to lie outside one's immediate interest, which can easily happen.

The authors took pains to present more than theory. They have also included examples that illustrate their theory. The authors provide full-page examples from key volumes such as *The Larger Cambridge Septuagint*, Rahlfs' *Septuaginta*, and the Göttingen *Septuaginta*, with explanations of all of the elements that go into a critical edition such as the text, the variants, and the various apparatuses. Readers would do well to study at least some of these on their own first, then use the book as a resource to compare results and learn the methodology.

Part 3 addresses a long-standing need. It provides a clear indication of where LXX studies are today, especially in light of research in the last half of the twentieth century. Great strides have been made. The authors have managed to detail a broad range of scholarship and to cover it well. This is not an easy discipline to grasp, let alone to keep pace with the various related issues such as the rebirth of hexaplaric studies, lexicography, current LXX translations, the so-called "daughter versions," Dead Sea Scroll studies, the relation to the Old Latin, the Peshitta, and the Targums, to mention just a few.

Several other features of the book deserve mention. The synopsis at the beginning of each chapter includes an explanation of key terms. The numerous illustrations include pictures of key scholars of the past, while appendices provide "Major Organizations and Research Projects," "Reference Works," a "Glossary," and "Differences in Versification between English Versions and the Septuagint." Finally, the "To Continue Your Study" section at the end of each chapter gives valuable reference material for further study. Having access to notes and bibliography directly related to the topic of discussion is invaluable. The student who studies them along with the footnotes in the chapter will be able to make great strides in understanding the LXX.

General advances in lexicography have made their way into LXX studies, and attention is being given to such issues as the relationship between Hebrew as the source language and Greek as the target language. The authors provide excellent summaries of the current issues, but must leave much unsaid.

At the turn of the millennium, a work of similar size is needed to address the current state of LXX studies. Issues raised in the present volume form a suitable backdrop, but a benchmark rather than a mere description is needed. Jobs and Silva

pay tribute to pioneers like Thackeray and de Lagarde, but a clear delineation of what has stood the test of time needs to be made available. For example, does Thackeray's b section end in 2 Reigns 10, or at the end of chapter 9 as Shenkel proposed? While it is a small point in itself, when gathered with all such similar research it can help to establish the field on a firm footing. If discussion and debate are needed, let them take place. When we venerate the pioneers, we too easily fail to appreciate current research. LXX studies have an incredible group of well-trained young scholars who need to know that what they do matters.

In conclusion, I wholeheartedly endorse the book. It is an invitation to a difficult field in which so much is necessarily technical. I found myself making footnote references for further reading all the way through and noting details here and there. The volume is well written and well edited. My critical reading of the Greek and Hebrew found very few glitches, which are of a minor nature. This text is an excellent graduate-level text, especially when used alongside such works as Tov's *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Simor, 1997, 2d ed.), the portions relevant to the LXX in Tov's *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Fortress, 2001, 2d ed.), and Natalio Fernández Marcos's *The Septuagint in Context* (Brill, 2001).

Loma Linda University
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BERNARD TAYLOR

Johnson, Luke Timothy. *The First and Second Letters to Timothy: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible, vol. 35A. New York: Doubleday, 2001. xiv + 494 pp. Paper, \$40.00.

For more than a decade there has been a conspicuous absence of critical commentaries in English dealing with the Pastoral Epistles. However, with the publication of four such works by such notable authors as I. Howard Marshall, Jerome D. Quinn, William D. Mounce, and Luke Timothy Johnson within the last three years, that is no longer the case. While each of these commentaries reflects the diversity of opinion among scholars about the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles (for my review of Quinn, see *AUSS* 39 (2001): 149-151), the perspective taken by Johnson makes his commentary the most distinctive, if not unique. Building on his previous work in the Pastorals, Johnson, who is New Testament Professor at the Chandler School of Theology, Emory University, Atlanta, challenges the scholarly consensus that the Pastoral Epistles are pseudepigraphical and interprets 1 and 2 Timothy as authentic letters "written by Paul to his delegate Timothy" (98).

While advocating the minority position, Johnson does not attempt to avoid the multiple problems raised by the Pastoral Epistles; rather, he acknowledges that "virtually everything about these compositions is a matter of dispute" (14). To provide readers with a context in which they can base their own judgments, the introduction begins with an extensive account of the history of interpretation of 1 and 2 Timothy. In twenty-three pages of noteworthy insights, Johnson chronicles the use of these epistles in the Apostolic Fathers, Patristic and Medieval commentaries, as well as in commentaries from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The final section then concisely traces the decisive turn in the history of interpretation that occurred during

the nineteenth century. This section is one of the primary strengths of the commentary and is worthy of consideration regardless of one's position on the authorship of the Pastorals.

The General Introduction is divided into three sections. In the first section, "Assessing the Authorship of the Pastoral Letters," Johnson begins with an examination of what he considers to be tendencies in the current debate. He argues that the present consensus reflects uncritical acceptance of the position of inauthenticity as a settled "fact." He believes that the social fact of this consensus has become more relevant than the "textual evidence itself" (56). The commentary then examines the problematic textual evidence associated with the Pastorals—their historical setting, style, opponents, and ecclesiastical organization. After describing the conventional solution, Johnson outlines what he believes are five basic difficulties with the conventional hypothesis: selective use of evidence, comparison between composite constructs, faulty assumptions about pseudonymity, unconvincing circumstances of composition, and the failure to account for the "irreducible differences between the Pastoral Letters" (89).

While Johnson notes the "impossibility of *demonstrating* the authenticity of the Pastoral Letters," in the second and third sections of the General Introduction he proposes a way of reading each of the letters as independent literary entities "that is compatible with placement within Paul's ministry and with Pauline 'authorship'" (91). He contends that 1 Timothy (and Titus) are best understood when classified as part of the literary genre that has been termed broadly "royal correspondence" (*mandata principis*, commandments of a ruler). This genre, which includes quasi-public letters for newly appointed delegates, containing personal and communal instructions and sometimes even focusing on the character of a delegate, provides a striking analogy to the social situation envisioned in 1 Timothy. While he acknowledges that there are difficulties with locating the *mise-en-scène* of 1 Timothy in Acts, Johnson suggests that it is possible to place it during the three-month period after the uproar in Ephesus when Timothy's presence is unreported during Paul's activities in Macedonia (Acts 20:1-2).

Due to a combination of personal exhortation and polemic against false teachers, Johnson suggests that the literary genre of 2 Timothy is best understood as a combination of personal, paraenetic letter and Hellenistic protreptic discourse. Though this classification is plausible, I did not find it nearly as intriguing or convincing as his classification of the genre of 1 Timothy. Johnson contends that the setting of 2 Timothy is congruous with the description of Paul's Roman imprisonment described in Acts.

The present work contains the author's own translation of 1 and 2 Timothy, a separate introduction and commentary for each letter, concluding indices to Scripture references, ancient sources and authors, and a full and up-to-date bibliography. A particularly helpful feature of the bibliography is the chronological division of citations into Patristic, Medieval, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Will Johnson's work stimulate a reevaluation of the academic consensus against Pauline authorship of the Pastorals? Only time will tell. Whether it ultimately does or does not, his examination of the history of interpretation,

coupled with his scholarly critique of the majority position and arguments for Pauline authorship make his work a necessary consideration for anyone interested in a study of the Pastorals.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

CARL P. COSAERT

Keener, Craig S. *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. xxii + 1040 pp. Hardcover, \$60.00.

Keener begins by outlining the focus of his commentary. He is aware of the insights provided by source criticism (he adopts the two-source hypothesis), form, redaction and literary criticism, and sociological interpretation, and at times draws on these disciplines. In general, though, he remains true to his declared methodology: "This commentary focuses especially on two aspects of interpretation: analysis of the social-historical contexts of Matthew and his traditions on the one hand, and pericope-by-pericope suggestions concerning the nature of Matthew's exhortations to his Christian audience on the other" (1). Thus, the commentary deals primarily with the meaning of the various passages, generally considered from the perspective of the whole pericope under discussion. These comments are often supplemented by excursuses dealing with particular points of interest. The excursuses range over a variety of topics—debates about the virgin birth (83-86); some contemporary views on wealth (229-230); demons and exorcism (283-286); the development of antichrist tradition (573-575); mysteries, resurrection, and salvation (705-708); and Jewish resurrection theology (710-711)—all of which add interest and value to the work.

Keener has provided a commentary that will be useful to a number of different groups. Its strong academic base and extensive references to both ancient sources and modern secondary literature will help to facilitate further research into particular points. Further, by concentrating on the meaning that the text has for the community in which it was originally used, Keener has produced a work that will also be of interest to those outside of the academic community. It has much material, for example, on which sermons could be based, which does not distract from the serious nature of the commentary. The work is based on the Greek text of Matthew, but the few Greek words cited are transliterated, making the commentary accessible to a wider reading audience.

Keener evaluates the reliability of Jesus' teachings in Matthew and concludes that they have a strong claim to reliability. Indeed, "in any given instance the burden of proof weighs on those who deny, rather than on those who affirm, historical authenticity" (24). The narrative sections of the Gospel also contain reliable information (32-36). In an earlier commentary on the Gospel, Keener declared himself uncomfortable with the usual identification of the evangelist as the disciple Matthew, but further thought has now led him to the opinion that indeed Matthew is the most likely author. He locates the Matthean community in an urban center in Syro-Palestine and dates it in the mid-70s.

In a work of this size, it is unlikely that a reader will agree with everything stated in the text. Even the lower estimate of 500 inhabitants given as the population of first-century Nazareth seems rather high (113) and, likewise, his

estimates of the yield of seed planted in Palestine are high. Four to five times what is sown is more likely than the seven-and-a-half to ten times that is suggested by Keener (377). Furthermore, his supposition that “even a hundredfold harvest is not ‘miraculous’ for some parts of Palestine” (377-78) is highly unlikely to be true. These points, of course, do not lie at the center of Keener’s concerns in the commentary, and he is not alone in his positions. So they do not distract from the generally sound and helpful comments that he makes about the Gospel. This commentary is a welcome addition to the literature on Matthew.

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Koch, Klaus, and Martin Rösel. *Polyglottensynopse zum Buch Daniel*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000. 322 pp. Hardcover, € 99.00.

With the *Polyglottensynopse zum Buch Daniel*, Klaus Koch (one of the foremost Danielic scholars) and Martin Rösel (a text critic and LXX expert) have prepared a valuable reference tool for study of the book of Daniel. Originally a project carried out from 1975 to 1988 at the University of Hamburg under Koch, the polyglot was taken up in 1997 by Koch and Rösel, who recorded the text-critical apparatus anew. The final product’s content is straightforward: After a short introduction comes the heart of the volume—almost 150 double pages of synopsis with apparatus—concluded by an appendix and a list of abbreviations.

The *raison d’être* for such a polyglot edition of Daniel goes without saying. The textual variety of Daniel is a challenge to anyone studying the text and composition of this apocalyptic book. For textual criticism of Daniel, one must usually wade through the text-critical editions of the different versions, the more recent publications of the Qumran manuscripts, and the Chester Beatty Papyrus 967. With the *Polyglottensynopse*, it is now possible for the first time to have a quick overview of the different versions and their variants, including the recently published Qumran material and Papyrus 967. For this reason, the volume greatly facilitates the initial steps of text-critical study and thus should be heartily welcomed.

In the Introduction, the editors describe the problem of textual variety of the book of Daniel, briefly discuss which text editions of the various versions they used for the *Polyglottensynopse*, and explain how the apparatus was brought up-to-date. The features of the polyglot itself are explained and several lists and tables supply information on the versions’ different witnesses to Daniel. Here, the preserved lengths of some of the extant fragments from Qumran need to be corrected: 4Q^d 4:12-16 and 7:15-23 (instead of 4:12-14; 7:15-19; 7:21-23?) and 4Q^b 5:10-12 (instead of 5:10-11).

In the synopsis proper, five text columns are arranged in parallel lines on each double page. From left to right these texts are the MT, Peshitta, Theodotion, Old Greek, and Vulgate. The specific arrangement is explained in the introduction in terms of text affinity: MT functions as the text basis, Peshitta generally shows identical lexemes to the Aramaic parts of the MT, Theodotion is close to the Peshitta as well as closer to the MT than the Old Greek, Old Greek and Vulgate then follow. In each column, each clause is placed on a separate line and numbered

consecutively for easy reference. The Hebrew (MT) column is the text of *BHS*. The Syriac column is the Leiden *Vetus Testamentum Syriace* (supplied with historical rubrics according to Walton's polyglot), presented here in square script with vocalization for the purpose of comparison with the MT and to enhance its accessibility. The text columns of Theodotion and Old Greek are according to A. Rahlfs's *Septuaginta*, rather than the first Daniel edition of the Göttingen Septuagint series (1954) in which J. Ziegler tends to correct the text toward the MT, particularly in Dan 7:13, where the Old Greek closely identifies the "Son of Man" figure with the "Ancient of Days." The *Polyglottensynopse* notes differences between Rahlfs and Ziegler in the apparatus. The Vulgate text is from R. Weber's *Biblia Sacra*.

The text-critical apparatus printed below the five columns lists the individual textual variants, but not the orthographic differences or conjectures. Here the line numbers of the parallel columns function as a reference system for the comments in the text-critical apparatus. For this apparatus, the text-critical notes of the *BHK*, *BHS*, the Leiden Peshitta, and the Göttingen *Septuaginta* (1954 edition) have been collated. It is commendable that Koch and Rösel have attempted to bring the apparatus up-to-date. In addition to the above sources, the apparatus includes the variants in the eight Daniel scrolls from Qumran and in a Yemenite Daniel manuscript (Y) that probably dates from the fourteenth century (Shelomo Morag, *The Book of Daniel: A Babylonian-Yemenite Manuscript* [Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sepher, 1973]). The inclusion of the latter is unusual. Koch and Rösel justify it by pointing to textual variants of Y that supposedly reflect a textual tradition different from the Tiberian, but it is clear that the Tiberian tradition of biblical Aramaic has to be regarded as older than the Babylonian tradition of biblical Aramaic (so Morag, xv). For the Old Greek, the whole of Papyrus 967 is referenced in the apparatus, whereas Ziegler (1954) had access only to chapters 3 to 8. It is regrettable that Koch and Rösel could not use the second edition of *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco* in the Göttingen Septuagint series (1999), which presents an extensive revision of the Old Greek text, along with a new text-critical apparatus by O. Munnich and an addendum by D. Fraenkel on the new fragmentary textual witnesses to Theodotion.

The value and usefulness of a text-critical apparatus is determined by its level of accuracy. Absolute preciseness should be expected. At times, however, the apparatus in the *Polyglottensynopse* lacks such a high standard. After checking the text-critical notes that refer to the Qumran manuscripts, I have found several corrections and additions that should be made. Of course, regarding the Daniel manuscripts from 4Q, Koch and Rösel could only use the preliminary editions, since the *editio princeps* published in DJD 16 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) were not available to them. However, the differences between these editions are minimal and would have almost no effect on the text-critical notes.

The following corrections are needed in the apparatus of the *Polyglottensynopse*:

on 1:13	p. 21/41:3	read "פח בנ 1Q ^a " instead of "פח בנ 4Q ^a "
on 1:16	p. 22/50:3	read "זרעים 1Q ^a " instead of "זרעים 4Q ^a "
on 6:11	p. 170/078:7	read "4Q ^b [קוד]ם" instead of "4Q ^b [ק]ם" (cf. 6:14 where 4Q ^b reads קודם instead of MT קדם)
on 7:28	p. 213/153:2	read "4Q ^a יהשנון" instead of "4Q ^a יהשנין"
on 8:1	p. 214/002a	the note "דבר נלה 4Q ^a " creates the impression that 4Q ^a inserts these words before חזון נראה as a variant to MT. However, the scribe of 4Q ^a first wrote דבר נלה (apparently using the formula in Dan 10:1) and then, after realizing his error, crossed out the two words with a double horizontal stroke.
on 10:8	p. 262/034:4	read "הגדול 4Q ^c הוה" instead of "הגדול 4Q ^c "
on 11:15	p. 286/089:1	read "ושפך 4Q ^{ac} " instead of "ושפך 4Q ^a "

The following textual variants should be added to the apparatus of the *Polyglottensynopse* (the MT reading is provided in brackets for the sake of convenience):

on 2:27	p. 40/131:4	4Q ^a חרשמים	(חרטמין MT)
on 3:25	p. 76/287p	4Q ^d נבכר נצ[ר]	(plus of 4Q ^d)
on 4:15	p. 100/106:1-2	4Q ^d כלקבל	(כל-קבל MT)
on 6:10	p. 170/068:1-2	4Q ^b כלקבל	(כל-קבל MT)
on 7:6	p. 194/033:7	4Q ^a גביהא	(גביה MT)
on 10:13	p. 266/059:1	4Q ^c [נ]שרי	(ושר MT)
on 11:15	p. 286/089:2	4Q ^c סולל	(סוללה MT)
on 11:16	p. 286/097:2	4Q ^c המא	(הבא MT)
on 11:16	p. 286/100:2	4Q ^c בעזו	(בירו MT)
on 11:17	p. 288/101:2	4Q ^c בינו	(פניו MT)
on 11:17	p. 288/102:3	4Q ^c כע	(obviously an error of the correct MT כל)

There is one problematic case that should receive a further note: On Dan 10:15 (268, line 068:2) the apparatus of the polyglot notes “pap6Q יבא” according to DJD 3:115. However, E. Ulrich now argues that the ink traces favor, and the spacing demands, the longer reading [·]ב ר[א] (E. Ulrich, “The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Book of Daniel*, vol. 2, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 579).

Since a synopsis of the additions (Dan 3:24-90 and 14:1-42) has been published earlier (Klaus Koch, *Deuterokanonische Zusätze zum Danielbuch*, AOAT 38/1-2 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1987]), they are not repeated in the present volume. However, in an appendix, the Aramaic text of the additions Dan 3:24-90 and 14:23-42 from the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* is presented according to the edition by M. Gaster and supplied with text-critical notes. The *Polyglottensynopse* concludes with a list of abbreviations employed in its text-critical apparatus.

The *Polyglottensynopse zum Buch Daniel* is a quick reference for comparing the different versions and will be an invaluable tool for those who investigate the textual variety and text-critical issues of the book of Daniel. Although it could have profited from later publications (e.g. DJD 16 and the second edition of the Göttingen Septuagint of Daniel), the *Polyglottensynopse* will surely find its place next to the critical editions of the various versions. However, these editions remain irreplaceable for one who wants to delve deeper into the text-critical study of specific passages and the complex history of the text of Daniel.

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MARTIN PRÖBSTLE

Krahmalkov, Charles R. *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 90. Studia Phoenicia, 15. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2000. 499 pp. Hardcover, \$70.00.

Charles Krahmalkov's contributions to Northwest Semitic studies, including Phoenician and Punic, span a period of over three decades. Thus, the dictionary under review and a companion volume, *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), represent the product of many years of fruitful research.

The dictionary contains the entire lexicon of Phoenician and Punic occurring in extant continuous texts, including personal names. For the sake of consistency, entries are given in Standard Phoenician spelling in the order of the West Semitic alphabet. Phoenician words are rendered in italicized transliteration. Verbs are listed with hyphens between root letters. Hollow verbs are treated as biradical. The author also includes phrases such as *lpn z* (“earlier, in the past”), and gives special attention to items that shed light on culture and religion. Each entry begins with a line having a list of selected cognates in brackets, followed by another indented line with the part of speech and a simple gloss of a word or two or a phrase. Glosses with different semantic meanings are given in separate lines, such as for verbs occurring in different stems, or nouns with more than one meaning. Each gloss is followed by a paragraph of examples, translations, and source references. Proper names are not always glossed or translated. Sometimes there are special comments, cross-references to other entries, or references to the secondary literature. Due to the small size of the corpus of Phoenician and Punic texts, the

time has not yet come for separate dictionaries of the various dialects and stages of the language. Nevertheless, the reader will find a helpful identification of the sources as Phoenician (Ph), Punic (Pu), or Neo-Punic (NPu), and sometimes even the exact geographic location (e.g., "Ph, Byblos," "Pu, Carthage").

Scholars interested in reading Phoenician or Punic texts have until now relied on R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), M.-J. Fuentes Estañol, *Vocabulario Fenico* (Barcelona: Biblioteca Fenicia, vol. 1, 1990), and J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 1995). Although Krahmalkov does not claim to present any major breakthrough in Phoenician and Punic lexicography, his dictionary is a welcome resource tool because it brings together the most complete dictionary of Phoenician and Punic to date. Krahmalkov's significant contributions include his insightful remarks on matters pertaining to Phoenician culture and religion as well as the inclusion of words drawn from Neo-Punic inscriptions in Roman letters from Roman Tripolitania and from Punic and Neo-Punic passages in Latin letters from Plautus's *Poenulus*.

The critical observations that follow are not meant to detract from the value of this dictionary, but are offered in a spirit of deep appreciation for the author and his work. The dictionary seems to be devoid of any underlying lexicographical theory. To some extent, this is understandable. For instance, the time has not yet come to attempt a classification of words according to semantic domains, since the corpus of extant Phoenician and Punic texts is at present so limited. Nevertheless, the judicious use of some lexicographical principles would have enhanced the author's contribution. For example, although the decision to include separate entries for phrases is certainly welcome, the choice concerning which groups of words deserve separate entries as "phrases" was purely subjective. No objective lexicographical principles are ever presented for these choices. Thus, for instance, no explanation is given for why a separate entry is given for *bn bn* ("grandson"; e.g., KAI 15), but not for *bn msk ymm* ("at the age of a few days"; KAI 14.3; nor is there a gloss under *bn* for "at the age of"!). The author does not explain why *sr w'rb`* ("fourteen"; KAI 14.1) does not qualify for a separate entry as a phrase. I am not arguing here for the inclusion of more entries, but simply for an objective rationale.

Similarly, since the author states that entries are given in a standardized orthography "regardless of their original spellings" (17), it is curious to find detailed separate entries for *z*, *z'* and *z'* (and Neo-Punic *s* and *st*), which are simply orthographic variants. Furthermore, although it is true that the Byblian *z* (= entry *z III*) is part of a set of demonstratives peculiar to the Byblian dialect (*z* near demonstrative, *zn'* far demonstrative), it is not clear that it is a different word from the Tyro-Sidonian *z* (= entry *z II*). In spite of the author's plausible suggestion that the latter was pronounced *zde*, a difference in pronunciation across dialects does not constitute a lexical distinction, especially in a dictionary that otherwise lists words from many dialects spanning many centuries in a standardized orthography. Besides, the plural form *ʔ* (= entry *ʔ III*) occurs in all dialects, including both Byblian (e.g., KAI 4.3) and Standard Phoenician (e.g., KAI 12.1, KAI 14.22).

Since the dictionary does not generally discuss the secondary literature (as Hoftijzer and Jongeling have done), it cannot replace the earlier works. However,

if it were priced lower, it would have been an ideal glossary or “concise” dictionary for beginning students of Phoenician. In spite of the above criticisms, Krahmalkov must be thanked for giving us the most comprehensive dictionary of Phoenician and Punic to date. That is no small task! Philologists, historians, and students of religion are all indebted to him for this contribution.

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TARSEE LI

Pöhler, Rolf J. *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching: A Case Study in Doctrinal Development*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000. 380 pp. Paper, \$52.95.

Young denominations, such as the Seventh-day Adventist Church, are reluctant to admit to doctrinal change over time, preferring instead to speak of doctrinal continuity. Rolf Pöhler, professor of systematic theology at Friedensau University, Germany, argues in *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching* that “doctrinal readjustments were not only a historical fact but constituted a theological challenge which the Seventh-day Adventist Church could not ignore” (7). His recent book is adapted from the second part of his doctoral dissertation, “Change in Seventh-day Adventist Theology: A Study of the Problem of Doctrinal Development,” which he defended at Andrews University in 1995, and follows publication of the first part in a companion book, *Continuity and Change in Christian Doctrine: A Study of the Problem of Doctrinal Development* (Peter Lang, 1999).

In this book, Pöhler investigates the extent, nature, and direction of doctrinal developments that have occurred in the history of the denomination from its inception to about 1985. The first chapter presents a historical survey and analysis of some theological developments within Adventism, as well as of certain sociological factors that seem to have been involved in them. The second chapter assesses what Adventists have written regarding doctrinal continuity and change. The last chapter takes a brief look at Ellen G. White’s involvement in and views on doctrinal development. The book ends with appendices of official Adventist doctrinal statements and an extensive bibliography.

Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching displays a rich collection of historical and theological information on Adventism in which Pöhler demonstrates a good knowledge of Adventist literature and its religious roots. The footnotes are sometimes just as important and informative as the text. However, one obvious weakness is the unfortunate layout: Pöhler’s book is the publication of a doctoral dissertation with confusing headings and subheadings and extremely long chapters (2 and 3). It is a scholarly work of historical theology and is not user-friendly for lay people.

In his attempt to demonstrate and assess doctrinal continuity and change within Adventism, Pöhler begins with a survey of various examples taken from Adventist beliefs. A basic methodological approach he uses is to study not only officially recognized teachings of the church (such as statements of beliefs) but also general expressions of fundamental beliefs as expressed in books and leading Adventist journals (33-34). Overall, Pöhler’s examples are persuasive and prove his thesis that there has been both continuity and change in the development of Adventist teaching. However, a few of his examples are weak. Regarding the

meaning of the Sabbath, a core doctrine of Adventism, he prefers to highlight trends toward reorientation of thought among some theologians rather than the continuity with past teaching to be found in leading journals (68-70). The same can be said regarding the delay of Jesus' second coming. While the church still clearly teaches the imminence of the Parousia, Pöhler again emphasizes those who wish to reinterpret this teaching in a manner relevant to today's world (83-87). For both of these examples, footnote references tend to emphasize literature that supports the idea of change rather than giving adequate weight to an overwhelming amount of literature that would support the idea of continuity. With Jaroslav Pelikan, one could say that Pöhler is "like most other historians, [who tend] to be more interested in change than in continuity" (20, n. 1).

Pöhler also discusses the sealing of the saints (a teaching taken from Rev 7 and 14) as an example of doctrinal change between 1844 and 1856 (72-74). However, in my opinion, this doctrine was a secondary teaching within the overall Adventist eschatological framework, and was being studied and discussed by early pioneers for a number of years. No firm teaching had been arrived at in the period Pöhler refers to. Can we then speak of doctrinal change? I would raise the same question in reference to his treatment of teaching on the time of trouble (75-77). Finally, I also question the validity of Pöhler's dabbling in the sociology of religion and concluding that the Adventist doctrine of the sanctuary, among others, may be the result of some cognitive dissonance among early pioneers of the church (136). This section of the book (134-143) is too brief, in my opinion, to be convincing.

Toward the end of his first chapter, Pöhler suggests some conclusions regarding the general direction of doctrinal development within Adventism (123-133). He identifies these trends as progressing from flexible and simple to fixed and compound statements of faith, from heterodox to orthodox doctrines, from distinctive to fundamental truths, and from legalistic to evangelical tendencies. I found this section to be very helpful and to reflect a fair analysis of the information he has presented in the chapter.

The second chapter is an assessment of the various responses Adventists have given to theological developments in the past. After analyzing significant events and statements related to doctrinal continuity and change in seven periods of twenty years from 1846 to 1985 (146-179), he goes on to discuss catchwords in Adventist phraseology (180-196) that have reflected the denomination's intent "to uphold the fundamental doctrines of the church as well as the readiness to constantly advance in the understanding of revealed truth" (180). His third section deals with models of conceptual doctrinal development. Of the models he discusses, Pöhler appears to prefer some form of a "dynamic approach which reckons with the factuality and possibility of doctrinal development and change and, at the same time, respects the necessity of, and demand for, substantial doctrinal continuity" (219). In his discussion of these various models, Pöhler is tentative and indecisive as to which one best exemplifies the model the church should favor. He seems to tend toward some form of moderately situationist or revisionist models, but does not spell out his personal views. This is a weakness in his argument and conclusions.

The last chapter is a short excursus on Ellen White's thoughts about continuity and change in doctrinal teaching. Here also, Pöhler is ambivalent and

guarded. On the one hand, he affirms that her ministry had a lasting impact upon the church in providing both doctrinal influence and an ideological framework for the church's mission, while, on the other hand, he seems to hold that such an influence was historically conditioned by her nineteenth-century heritage. I believe he is right in saying that Ellen White upheld a dialectical approach to continuity and change in Adventist teaching: changes to the fundamental doctrines tended to jeopardize the church's self-understanding while revisions to secondary teachings would not constitute a threat (239-240). Furthermore, I agree that she supported the idea that "doctrinal development was first and foremost a process in which old truths were rediscovered and restored to the church" and that such truths may need to be reinterpreted or recontextualized for a new generation (241-242). However, I feel uncomfortable with the general thrust of Pöhler's conclusion in this chapter. I somehow doubt that Ellen White would be open to such an unrestrained revisionist model of doctrinal change as he seems to imply.

In his conclusion, Pöhler argues that the best approach to doctrinal development in Adventism appears to be a dynamic restorationist model of faithfulness to the Bible (249). This approach, he thinks, will help the church accept and deal positively with its growing theological/doctrinal pluralism without further endangering its unity. Seventh-day Adventists who wish to reinterpret fundamental beliefs will be pleased with this proposed model; others will find the book's conclusions indecisive and tentative. The discussion regarding continuity and change in Adventist teaching is certainly not over.

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DENIS FORTIN

Webb, William J. *Slaves, Women and Homosexuals: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Cultural Analysis*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001. 301 pp. Paper, \$24.99.

This book is about developing church policy in relationship to the biblical text. Webb first introduces the basic questions of the Christian and culture. The second section examines biblical authority in terms of the prominence and trajectory of themes through the Scriptures. Over half of the book details his criteria for the authority of scriptural themes. Webb finds some themes "persuasive" and others "inconclusive" based on such criteria as whether there is a purpose statement in the text or whether it is grounded in Creation or the Fall. In general, the NT has greater authority than the OT. In fact, "Appeal to the OT" is the title of one section in the chapter "Inconclusive Criteria." The emphasis of this section is on the inconsistent manner in which NT texts appropriate OT statements, but there also is a generalized preference for NT authority.

The third section examines the use of "Extrascriptural Criteria." These criteria are cultural values and scientific and social-scientific evidence. This section is a scant thirty-five pages, followed by a ten-page conclusion. There are four appendices, three of them examining Paul's statements on women in the church. There is also a bibliography and indices.

Slaves, women, and homosexuals are the case studies which Webb uses to explore his methodology. The superficial similarity to *Slavery, Sabbath, War and Women* by Willard Swartley is not accidental, but Webb is prescriptive where

Swartley is descriptive. In spite of Webb's title, the attention paid to slavery and homosexuality is marginal. The book is about women and their roles in the church and society. All other topics are foils for Webb's interest in gender issues.

In spite of Webb's interest in gender issues, he misses some rather large targets. He notes that the biblical emphasis on procreation and disdain for singleness may be dismissed because church consensus has found value in singleness and does not require sexual reproduction for Christian fulfillment (124-126). But he seems unaware that these reproduction values are limited to the OT and that the NT nowhere connects sexuality with reproduction or promotes reproduction even among the married members of the church. The dramatic shift in reproductive values between the Testaments should have been a strong point in his analysis. Likewise, he ignores the significant gender distinction between Matt 5:31-32 and 19:3-12. The first text explores the divorce issue through the woman, the second through the man. The distinction should carry some relevance in his study which focuses strongly on the issues of women in the church.

Webb's method mostly works from predetermined conclusions. The outcome is fixed and is merely tangential to any real biblical authority. Though Sabbath and vegetarianism are recognized as values stemming from Creation, the consensus of Christianity is to ignore or modify these practices, and Webb decides that consensus should determine church policy (124-126). Likewise, the food restrictions of Acts 15:20 may be ignored because Webb found them to be "culturally relative," even though he finds nothing in the text which indicates cultural relativity. When Christianity confronts culture, he grounds the Christian part of the confrontation in tradition with a façade of scriptural authority.

His comments on footwashing (John 13) are telling. Even though he finds the continuity of the OT, Jesus, and Paul "impressive," he states that "this continuity in tradition simply clouds the issue of cultural assessment" (204). He finds counter-cultural significance in the role reversal, for the rabbi (Jesus) washed the feet of the disciples, but fails to find continuity in modern churches. However, in several modern churches prelates wash the feet of paupers or church members wash the feet of their peers. Even tradition does not seem to impact Webb, unless it is his tradition.

Webb's method has much to recommend it, but not perhaps the way he applies it. It is well to pay attention to the ingredients that we use when determining how biblical authority will translate into church policy. Webb has provided a systematic set of questions, which we may ask of the text and ourselves when we seek to understand how biblical authority (and, e.g., authority of tradition, culture, science) shapes our church policies. But should we use this analysis to construct defenses for predetermined policies (Webb's method) or to critique our policies and ask openly whether we are satisfied with how we have used the Bible as an authority?

Madison, Wisconsin

JAMES E. MILLER

Winter, Bruce W. *After Paul Left Corinth: The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. xx + 344 pp. Paper, \$28.00.

Bruce W. Winter, a Fellow of St. Edmund's College and a member of the Divinity Faculty at the University of Cambridge, is no stranger to studying the NT in the

light of its Græco-Roman background. He is the series editor of *The Book of Acts in Its First-Century Setting*, and has also authored two books and several articles in this area. *After Paul Left Corinth* builds upon and complements his previous research.

In this book, Winter seeks to draw together “for the first time all relevant extant material about life in the first century in the Roman colony of Corinth from literary, nonliterary, and archaeological sources” (x, cf. xii) and apply it to the problems addressed by Paul in 1 Corinthians. Specifically, Winter claims that many problems discussed in 1 Corinthians developed only after Paul’s stay there and that their development came as a result of Corinthian Christians who responded to circumstances according to cultural norms and who encountered situations of social change. The two major parts of the book are an attempt to substantiate this claim, which offers an alternative to other scholarly explanations as to why problems existed in the Corinthian church.

An important methodological step for Winter is his argument that the dominant culture of Corinth in Paul’s day was Roman. This characterization of Corinthian culture influences the choice of historical material that Winter brings to bear on his thesis (20).

Winter’s book is “not an exposition of the letter nor . . . [an exploration of] how Paul argued his response to the situation” in the Corinthian church. He will address this issue in a later book (xii). Also, to limit the length of his book, Winter does not extensively engage “the vast body of literature on the text of 1 Corinthians by NT scholars” (xv).

Winter divides the main part of his presentation into two parts: “The Influence of Secular Ethics” and “The Influence of Social Changes.” The first part is about twice as long as the second (181 pp. [31-211; chaps. 2-9] versus 87 pp. [215-301; chaps. 10-13]). The first part examines various issues from 1 Corinthians in light of the following religious, cultural, and social matters: the secular relationship between students and teachers; the Roman legal system; the ethics of the social elite and its philosophical underpinnings; the cultural implications of men having head coverings and women lacking them; private dinners; the use of curses within paganism and early Christianity; and the patronage system. The second part examines four social changes that occurred in Corinth after Paul left and their apparent effects upon the Corinthian church: the experience of three grain shortages, the establishment of a federal imperial cult for the province of Achaëa in Corinth, the return of the Isthmian Games to their traditional location near Corinth, and the cessation of the official provision of kosher meat for Jews in the Corinthian meat market.

Winter includes four pages (xvii-xx) of photographs of archaeological material referred to in his presentation. Additional photographs are available online at <http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/Tyndale/staff/Winter/Corinth.htm>.

From my own research of 1 Cor 8-10, I was surprised to find that Winter makes no reference to Peter D. Gooch, *Dangerous Food: 1 Corinthians 8-10 in Its Context* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism, no. 5 [Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993]). Gooch presents archaeological information from Corinth in the first two chapters of his study. A footnote to the work would seem appropriate to Winter’s discussion of eating in a pagan temple (93-94). Winter is

not unaware of Gooch's work, to which he refers in his previous study, *Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* (vol. 1, First-Century Christians in the Roman World [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 170-171, 215). Nevertheless, numerous footnotes and an extensive bibliography reveal Winter's extensive familiarity with important primary and secondary sources.

The macrostructure of Winter's book is understandable and straightforward, being divided into three key sections and having the chapters logically sequenced within those sections. However, a concluding chapter to summarize all of Winter's subclaims is absent. On the microlevel, Winter helpfully begins almost every chapter by stating the issue under discussion and by outlining how he proposes to address the issue.

For the most part, Winter's book is readable and free from spelling and punctuation errors (on spelling see, e.g., Cluck for Klauck, 209; on punctuation see, e.g., a missing open quotation mark in the last sentence of the first complete paragraph, 55). Occasionally, however, I did have to read sentences and paragraphs more than once due to ambiguous or awkward wording (see, e.g., 87-88, 136, 197).

As one looks at Winter's arguments as a whole, his case for the influence of cultural norms on the origins of the Corinthian church's problems seems stronger than his case for the influence of social change on those origins. His most convincing presentations are the following: the involvement of secular student-teacher relationships in the conflicts addressed by 1 Cor 1-4 (chap. 2); the dynamics of the Roman legal system as a key force behind the issues addressed in 1 Cor 5:1-6:8 (chaps. 3-4); the influence of elitist ethics on the Corinthian Christians' claim to permissiveness (1 Cor 6:12-20; 10:23; 15:29-34; chap. 5); and his arguments that the typical patronage system was positively transformed for some Corinthian Christians, but that the same system played a significant role in contributing to the problems in the Corinthian church (chap. 9). Winter's least convincing arguments center around the involvement of grain shortages in some of the marriage issues raised in 1 Cor 7:1-5, 25-38. Specifically, Winter tries to draw links between the grain shortages, Corinthian eschatological views, and marriage-related problems as a response to the coming eschaton.

Winter's work fills a need in NT studies. The various data from first-century Corinth help to ground 1 Corinthians in its social, cultural, and religious contexts, a necessary step in interpreting the epistle (xiii). Yet, these data have generally been neglected by interpreters of the NT (xi-xii). Winter's book successfully narrows this gap and calls interpreters of 1 Corinthians to a deeper discussion on these matters.

Winter's intended audience seems to consist of other NT scholars (xv-xvi). His free use of Latin terms for Roman offices, institutions, and values (see, e.g., chaps. 4-5 involving the Roman legal system) and the way he disputes the arguments of some secondary sources assume that the reader has some familiarity with the material (see, e.g., his discussion of a work by W. Deming on 1 Cor 7 [231-232]). Winter's quotation of primary sources originally written in either Greek or Latin, however, always includes an English translation.

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ' (aleph)	ה = h	ט = t	מ = m	פ = p	שׁ = š
ב = b	ו = w	י = y	נ = n	צ = s	שׂ = ś
ג = g	ז = z	כ = k	ס = s	ק = q	ת = t
ד = d	ח = h	ל = l	ע = ' (ayin)	ר = r	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ְ = a	ֵ = e	ֶ = ê	ֹ = ô	ֻ = ô
ֶ = ā	ֶ = ē	ִ = i	ֹ = o	ֻ = û
ֶ = a	ֶ (vocal shewa) = e	ִ = î	ֹ = °	ֻ = u

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgeš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual Amer. Sch. Or. Res.</i>	<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>Anchor Bible</i>	<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum græcarum</i>
<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta orientalia</i>	<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum indaicarum</i>
<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual Dept. Ant. Jordan</i>	<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>	<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	<i>CJT</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>	<i>CQ</i>	<i>Church Quarterly</i>
<i>ANEP</i>	<i>Anc. Near East in Pictures</i>	<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i>	<i>CT</i>	<i>Christianity Today</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>	<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
<i>AnOr</i>	<i>Analecta orientalia</i>	<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Auf. und Nieder. der römischen Welt</i>	<i>CurTM</i>	<i>Currents in Theol. and Mission</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i>	<i>DOTT</i>	<i>Doc. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dict. of the NT</i>
<i>AusBR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>	<i>EKL</i>	<i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>	<i>EnclS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>	<i>ER</i>	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin Amer. Sch. Oriental Research</i>	<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>BCSR</i>	<i>Bull. Council on the Study of Religion</i>	<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia</i>	<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>	<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies</i>
<i>BibB</i>	<i>Biblische Beiträge</i>	<i>GJJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>BIES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Expl. Society</i>	<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin, John Rylands University</i>	<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>	<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>BKAT</i>	<i>Bibl. Kommentar: Altes Testament</i>	<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>	<i>IB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>	<i>ICC</i>	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>	<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>	<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>	<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>BZAW</i>	<i>Biehefte zur ZAW</i>	<i>ISBE</i>	<i>International Standard Bible Ency.</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	<i>Beihfte zur ZNW</i>	<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journ. American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>	<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journ. of the Amer. Or. Society</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>	<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journ. of Asian Studies</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>	<i>JATS</i>	<i>Journ. of the Adventist Theol. Soc.</i>

Abbreviations (continued)

JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	RevSém	<i>Revue sémitique</i>
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>	RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>	RHPR	<i>Revue d'hist. et de phil. religieuses</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangel. Theol. Soc.</i>	RL	<i>Religion in Life</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>	RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>	RR	<i>Review of Religion</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	RRR	<i>Review of Religious Research</i>
JMeH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>	RSPT	<i>Revue des sc. phil. et théol.</i>
JMES	<i>Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>	RTP	<i>Revue de théol. et de phil.</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>	SA	<i>Sociological Analysis</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	SB	Sources bibliques
JPOS	<i>Journal of Palest. Orient. Soc.</i>	SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>	SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>	SBL SBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>	SBL TT	SBL Texts and Translations
JRE	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>	SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
JReS	<i>Journal of Religious Studies</i>	SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the NT</i>	SCR	<i>Studies in Comparative Religion</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>	Sem	<i>Semitica</i>
JRT	<i>Journal of Religious Thought</i>	SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>	SMRT	<i>Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the OT</i>	SOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>	SPB	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i>
JSSR	<i>Journal for the Scien. Study of Religion</i>	SSS	Semitic Studies Series
JTC	<i>Journal for Theol. and Church</i>	ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>	TD	<i>Theology Digest</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library	TDNT	<i>Theol. Dict. of the NT</i>
LW	Luther's Works, American Ed.	TDOT	<i>Theol. Dict. of the OT</i>
LQ	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>	TEH	<i>Theologische Existenz Heute</i>
MQR	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>	TGI	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>	TJ	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies	TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
NICNT	New Internl. Commentary, NT	TP	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
NICOT	New Internl. Commentary, OT	TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
NIDNTT	<i>New Inter. Dict. of NT Theol.</i>	TRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
NIGTC	New Internl. Greek Test. Comm.	TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
NKZ	<i>New Kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	TT	<i>Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers	TToday	<i>Theology Today</i>
NRT	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>	TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
NTA	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>	TWAT	<i>Theo. Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
NTAp	<i>NT Apocrypha, Schneemelcher</i>	TWOT	<i>Theological Wordbook of the OT</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dict. of Christian Church</i>	UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>	USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia (Rome)</i>	VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens christianus</i>	VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
OTP	<i>OT Pseudepigrapha, Charlesworth</i>	VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum, Supplements</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studien</i>	WA	Luther's Works, Weimarer Ausgabe
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>	WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca, Migne</i>	WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina, Migne</i>	ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wisowa, Real Encyclopädie</i>	ZAW	<i>Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wissen.</i>
QDAP	<i>Quart. Dept. of Ant. in Palestine</i>	ZDMG	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. morgen. Gesll.</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'arch.</i>	ZDPV	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal. Vereins</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.</i>	ZEE	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>	ZHT	<i>Zeitsch. für historische Theologie</i>
RechSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>	ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
REg	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>	ZKT	<i>Zeitsch. für katholische Theologie</i>
ReS	<i>Religious Studies</i>	ZMR	<i>Zeitsch. für Mission. und Religion.</i>
RelSoc	<i>Religion and Society</i>	ZNW	<i>Zeitsch. für die neuest. Wissen.</i>
ReSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>	ZRGG	<i>Zeitsch. für Rel. und Geistesgeschichte</i>
RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>	ZST	<i>Zeitsch. für systematische Theologie</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>	ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
RevScRel	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>	ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissen. Theologie</i>