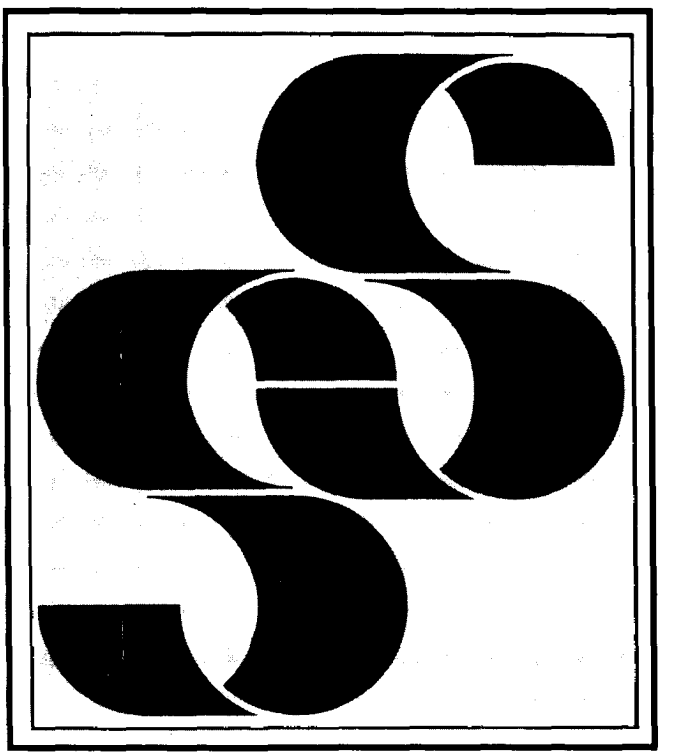
Andrews University

SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 43 Autumn 2005 Number 2



Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104-1500, U.S.A.

Communications: Phone: (269) 471-6023
Fax: (269) 471-6202
Electronic Mail: auss@andrews.edu
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Subscription Information: *ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES* is published in the Spring and the Autumn. The subscription rates for 2006 are as follows:

Institutions	$40.00
Individuals	22.00
Students/Retirees	16.00

*Air mail rates available upon request

Price for Single Copy is $12.00 in U.S.A. Funds.

Printing by Patterson Printing, Benton Harbor, Michigan.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 43 Autumn 2005 Number 2

CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS

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

 ISSN 0003-2980

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 43, No. 2, 229-246.

MADABA PLAINS PROJECT—TALL AL-ʿUMAYRI, 2004

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Introduction

A tenth season of excavation by the Madaba Plains Project—ʿUmayri occurred between June 23 and August 4, 2004 at Tall al-ʿUmayri, located about 10 km south of Amman's Seventh Circle on the Queen Alia Airport Highway at the turnoff for Amman National Park (Map 1). The project was sponsored by La Sierra University, in consortium with Andrews University School of Architecture, Canadian University College, Mount Royal College, Pacific Union College, and Walla Walla College.[1] This season, a team of twenty-six Jordanians and forty-four foreigners, primarily from the United States, took part in the interdisciplinary project.[2]

[1]Previous reports in *AUSS* include Lawrence T. Geraty, "The Andrews University Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report on the First Season at Tell el-ʿUmeiri," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 85-110; Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report on the Second Season at Tell el-ʿUmeiri and Vicinity (June 18 to August 6, 1987)," *AUSS* 26 (1988): 217-252; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1989 Season, Including the Regional Survey and Excavations at El-Dreijat, Tell Jawa, and Tell el-ʿUmeiri (June 19 to August 8, 1989)," *AUSS* 28 (1990): 5-52; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1992 Season, Including the Regional Survey and Excavations at Tell Jalul and Tell El-ʿUmeiri (June 16 to July 31, 1992)," *AUSS* 31 (1993): 205-238; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, Øystein S. LaBianca, and Douglas R. Clark, "Preliminary Report of the 1994 Season of the Madaba Plains Project: Regional Survey, Tall al-ʿUmayri and Tall Jalul Excavations (June 15 to July 30, 1994)," *AUSS* 34 (1996): 65-92; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, Øystein S. LaBianca, and Douglas R. Clark, "Preliminary Report of the 1996 Season of the Madaba Plains Project: Regional Survey, Tall al-ʿUmayri and Tall Jalul Excavations," *AUSS* 35 (1997): 227-240; Larry G. Herr, Douglas R. Clark, Lawrence T. Geraty, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "Madaba Plains Project: Tall al-ʿUmayri, 1998," *AUSS* 38 (2000): 29-44; Larry G. Herr, Douglas R. Clark, and Warren C. Trenchard, "Madaba Plains Project: Tall al-ʿUmayri, 2000," *AUSS* 40 (2002): 105-123; Larry G. Herr and Douglas R. Clark, "Madaba Plains Project—Tall al-ʿUmayri, 2002," *AUSS* 42 (2004): 113-128.

[2]The authors of this report are especially indebted to Dr. Fawwaz el-Khraysheh, Director General of the Department of Antiquities; Aktham Oweidi and Samia Khouri, Department of Antiquities representatives; and other members of the Department of Antiquities, who facilitated our project at several junctures. The American Center of Oriental Research in Amman, directed by Pierre Bikai and assisted by Patricia Bikai, provided invaluable assistance. The staff was housed in Muqabilayn at the Amman

During the 2004 season, the team worked in four fields of excavation, primarily at the western edge of the site (Fields A, B, and H), but also at the southern lip (Field L) (Map 2). Excavation centered on several time periods. First, we continued to clear three rooms of the major Late Bronze Age building in Field B dating from ca. 1400-1225 B.C.; however, because the walls were so high we did not reach the floor of the building. In previous seasons, we were able to fully excavate the two southern rooms of the structure. This season, we discovered a unique cultic niche in one of the walls. Second, we discovered what appears to be the northern perimeter wall of the early Iron Age 1 (ca. 1200 B.C.) along the top of the northern slope. Third, we cleared Iron 2 remains (ca. 600 B.C.) in order to reach the Iron 1 buildings in Field A, located west of the Iron 2 Ammonite administrative complex. Fourth, we hoped that excavations in the southern part of Field A would discover a possible gate into the city at the Iron I level. Fifth, we sought to expand our view of the open-air sanctuary courtyard, complete with cobblestones and plaster, which is located in Field H and dates from the late Iron I period (ca. 1100 B.C.). Sixth, we wanted to expand our exposure of the Hellenistic agricultural complex in Field L and fully excavate it to Iron 2 levels. This report will describe the results of this season's dig and interpret the finds from each field.

Training College, an UNWRA vocational college for Palestinians. We give special thanks to its Principal, Dr. Saleh Naji for making our stay a genuine pleasure. Mabada Plains Prjoct—ʿUmayri provided a new high-speed internet server for the computer lab. The Committee on Archaeological Policy of the American Schools of Oriental Research approved the scientific goals and procedures of the project.

The authors wish to thank each member of the staff. The field supervisors included John Lawlor of Grand Rapids Theological Seminary (Field A), Kent Bramlett of Walla Walla College (Field B), David Berge of Portland, Oregon (Field H), and David Hopkins of Wesley Theological Seminary and Mary Boyd of Coupeville Methodist Church (Field L). Square Supervisors for Field A were Brenda Adams, Gary Arbino, Christine Shaw, and John McDowell, who were assisted by Andrew Curtis, Audrey Shafer, Myron Widmer, Myken McDowell, and Ralph Kneller. Square Supervisors for Field B were Ellen Bedell, Shawne Hansen, John Raab, Carolyn Waldron, and Janelle Worthington, who were assisted by Matt Vincent, Monique Acosta, Janelle Lacey, Daniel Hantman, and Juliette Syamando. Square Supervisors for Field H were Marcin Czarnowicz, Andrea DeGagne, and Don Mook, who were assisted by Larry Murrin, Kristy Huber, and Magdalena Kamionka. Square Supervisors for Field L were Ruth Kent and Megan Owens, who were assisted by Tony Sears, Greg Kremer, Noni Zachri, and William Fitzhugh. Camp staff and specialists included Karen Borstad (object registrar), Denise Herr (pottery registrar), Larry Murrin (computers), Myron Widmer and John McDowell (photography), Elzbieta Dubis (artist), and Muhammad Ahmari (head cook). Iyad Sweileh again served as our camp agent. Laundry technicians at ATC washed our clothes once a week. Andrew Curtis was our emergency-medical person, assisted by Nurse Caroline Waldron.

Field A: West of the Administrative Complex

John I. Lawlor
Grand Rapids Theological Seminary

Previous seasons of excavation in Field A on the western side of the site have uncovered an impressive administrative complex[3] belonging to the Ammonite kingdom during the end of the Iron 2 period and the beginning of the Persian period, when it was incorporated into the Persian Empire (ca. 600-400 B.C.). Scores of seals and seal impressions give evidence of the administrative/bureaucratic nature of the structures. Associated private houses to the north and south of the administrative complex probably housed the officials who seem to have administered a series of rural farms for the production of wine.[4]

Field A also produced several phases of Iron 1 remains (ca. 1200-1000 B.C.) beneath the ruins of the administrative complex, with the most notable structures dating from the earliest decades of the Iron 1 period, ca 1200 B.C. These earlier buildings were located to the north and west of the later administrative complex. This season, the team removed the westernmost walls of the administrative complex (the least important and most ephemeral parts) to expose the Iron 1 phases. The ultimate goal is to uncover a larger portion of the early Iron 1 remains, which are so remarkable farther to the north in Field B. Two well-preserved houses from this time period were excavated, which produced a wealth of finds that contribute to our understanding of the biblical period of the judges.[5]

The area where more Iron 1 remains will be excavated in the future is north of the curving perimeter wall as it curves into the city, possibly forming the northern side of a gate or entryway into the city (Map 3). Excavation of this area will double our present exposure of the early Iron 1 period. We began the process of excavation this season by exposing parts of three phases of Iron 1. But the earliest phase has so far eluded us and must await further excavation next season. However, typical Iron 1 domestic architecture, characterized by flagstone pavements and pillar bases, was encountered (Figure 1). Parts of two houses abutted the curving perimeter wall, but no finds were made on the surfaces and not enough was excavated to be certain of the overall plan of the two buildings. Entryways seem to have led into the houses from a street running along the north side of the houses. A large broken store jar called a *pithos*, dating from the end of the Iron 1 period, was found on a floor, which was similar to eighteen others found in a nearby storeroom during an earlier season.[6]

The Iron 1 walls were partially reused and readapted throughout the Iron 2

[3]Younker, Herr, Geraty, and LaBianca, 1993, Plate 14.

[4]L. G. Herr, "Wine Production in the Hills of Southern Ammon and the Founding of Tall al-ᶜUmayri in the Sixth Century B.C.," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 39 (1995): 121-125.

[5]Herr, Clark, and Trenchard, 2002, Figures 3-5.

[6]Younker, Geraty, Herr, LaBianca, and Clark, 240.

history of the site as the Ammonite administrative complex was built and rebuilt. The reuse of the administrative structure during its last phases, dating to the Persian period, was most likely domestic. Many of the doors were blocked and new walls were constructed, but without the sense of strength and care used in the initial construction. The need for the administrative function of the site seems to have slowly abated until the site was abandoned around 400 B.C. Only limited occupation existed at the site after the Persian period.

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

Kent V. Bramlett
Walla Walla College

One of the initial aims of the Andrews University Expedition to Heshbon in the 1960s and 1970s was to discover the Amorite city of Sihon, mentioned in Numbers 21. But Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550-1200 B.C.) remains at Tall Hisban (biblical Heshbon) were never found. Indeed, remains from the period are rare everywhere in Jordan, especially in the central and southern parts of the country. Therefore, we were surprised in 1998 to discover two rooms of a monumental building that contained nothing later than Late Bronze pottery in Field B, the area at the northwestern corner of the site.[7]

The primary objective for Field B excavations this season focused on deepening excavation in the northern parts of this Late Bronze building and to discover the northern limits of the building and the site. The team opened two new squares north of our previous excavations and reopened three other squares. We already knew the building was an important structure: its thick walls, large rooms, and tall walls (more than 3 m in places) suggested it was an ancient palace—typical structures of society in the Late Bronze Age (Map 4).

The building remains are now mostly clear, with two previously excavated rooms in the south and three new ones in the north (Figures 2-3). The northern wall of the structure has also been discovered. The central room of the northern part of the building is the largest (3.5 x 8 m), with two broad rooms flanking it on the east and west. A doorway leads into the central room from the eastern room. Because no exterior doorways have so far been discovered, the northeastern corner of the eastern room must be where the main entrance to the building is located.

Behind the central room to the west there is another narrow room, but a doorway to it has not yet been discovered. The floor in this western room is higher than in the other rooms in the building, probably because the Middle Bronze Age rampart was high at this location. In this room, we found objects related to religious practices, including a painted goblet[8] and crude, unfired clay figurines. The room may have functioned as a *favissa*, a place to store votive

[7]Herr, Clark, and Trenchard, 118, Figures 6-7.

[8]Herr and Clark, 2004, 124, Figure 7.

objects. We have not yet discovered the floors of the central and eastern rooms.

The discovery of a cultic niche in the western wall of the central room was the prize find of the season (Figure 4). Cut out of the brick wall and coated with thin plaster or whitewash, the niche contained five natural limestone standing stones securely set into a stepped layer of thick plaster. The stones were, most likely, chosen for their natural oval or circular shapes and interesting solution deposits. The center stone was the largest , with a unique "domed" top. It was flanked by four smaller stones, two on each side, with the smaller stone toward the edge of the group. The stone at the far right was a chert nodule with solution deposits in interesting shapes (Figure 5). Standing stones usually represent deities, but no indication has been discovered thus far to identify the gods in this particular group. Of interest is the height of the niche above the floor. Because we have not yet discovered the floor, we do not know its exact height, but based on our present level of excavation it is located at least a meter above the floor. Most groups of standing stones are at ground or floor level. Was this niche placed higher in the wall to raise the sight line of the worshiper? Ancient depictions of people praying usually show them with eyes open and uplifted heads.

Several pieces of pottery were stacked on top of the stones at the right of the niche, probably laid there as votive gifts (Figure 6). The assemblage consisted of parts of four lamps, a complete small carinated bowl; a chalice with a broken, flared rim; and on the lower step, a large carinated bowl. There was no sign of a sacrificial altar and the niche may only have functioned as a votive shrine. Although earlier dig reports used the word "temple" to describe this building,[9] we should probably see the building as a palace, with a room dedicated to cultic use. However, as the niche is located in the largest room, it does seem to be the focal point of the building. Finds on the floor of the room, to be discovered next season, may provide more clarification.

The identity of the people who built the structure and worshiped at the cultic niche is still uncertain, although we believe that the Amorites are the best possibility. But so far there is no archaeological indication for this conclusion. Is it possible that the occupants could have been the people whom the Bible mentions as being ruled by Sihon of Heshbon (Numbers 21)? The pottery found within the fills of the building probably originated from the bricks of the destroyed upper parts of the building and most likely dates to the Late Bronze 2 period (ca. 1400-1200 B.C.). This ceramic evidence thus dates the construction of the palace.

On top of this building remains complete with pillars and beaten-earth floors were found, that date from the late Iron 2/Persian periods (the seventh to sixth centuries B.C.). Many of these remains were found in previous seasons[10] and probably belonged to at least one house. The culture at that time was Ammonite.

[9]Christine Shaw, "Tall al-ʿUmayri," *Jordan Times Weekender* (September 17, 2004): 4.

[10]Herr and Clark, 2004, 125, Figure 9.

Field H: Courtyard Sanctuary and Possible Gate

David R. Berge
Portland, Oregon

Field H, located at the southwestern corner of the site, was originally laid out to unearth the southern part of the large Ammonite administrative complex from the end of the Iron 2 period in Field A. This was largely accomplished in previous seasons. The major research questions this season revolved around a high-quality cobble-and-plaster floor discovered in a large room, dating to the late Iron 1 and early Iron 2 periods (ca. 1100-800 B.C.) (Figure 7).

This season, the team removed several later walls to expose the full extent of the well-laid cobble-and-plaster floor of an eleventh-century courtyard, which measured 6.5 x 10.5 m in size. Because of later deep construction farther north in the Ammonite administrative complex (at the far right of the photo in Figure 7), we are not certain that we have found the northern limit of the full structure. But it does appear that we have uncovered the northern limit of the courtyard. There are no signs of doorways into other rooms to the north.

Although no cultic objects were found on this floor, later floors in the same space have produced several model shrines,[11] figurines, statue fragments, and pottery forms usually associated with shrines. There were also heavy concentrations of burning, which suggest that the space functioned as an open-air sanctuary or shrine. It should be noted, however, that we have found no evidence of an altar for burning sacrifices nor burned animal bones. The sanctuary may have functioned more for the presentation of gifts that were not burned, saving burning activities for sacrificial sites outside the settlement, such as the high places known from the Bible (1 Sam 9). In the middle of the pavement, a large stone was found, which was laid before the cobbles were installed. It is possible that this stone was an altar of presentation for votive gifts. It is too far from the walls to have functioned as a pillar base.

Two annexed rooms were located on the south of the courtyard (left in Figure 7). No remains were found on the floors, but they may have held stores or offerings associated with the courtyard sanctuary.

A later phase, probably dating from the tenth century B.C., saw a slight reduction in the dimensions of the north section of the courtyard and an enlargement in the southwest, where a beaten-earth surface rose over the cobbles into an annexed area. An extra wall, comprised of five large stones was added to the northern wall of the courtyard (Figure 8). On the floors of this version of the courtyard sanctuary, fragments of model shrines were found in the 2000 and 2002 seasons.

As we discovered in earlier seasons, after a hiatus in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the space was again used during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., possibly in a similar fashion to the earlier phases, but no indication of cultic use was found. The space was paved with a series of plaster floors, one on top of the other as repairs to the floor were made. In the later Persian-period phase,

[11]Herr and Clark, 2002, Figures 12 and 14.

a large *pithos* was embedded into the floors in the middle of the courtyard, perhaps to receive offerings.

Field L: The Southern Edge

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Mary Petrina Boyd
Coupeville Methodist Church
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The Hellenistic Farmstead

We continued work at the southern edge of the site, exploring the Hellenistic farmstead and the remains below it (Map 2). Excavations began here in 1998, with three squares and the remains of a Hellenistic structure on top of Iron Age buildings and surfaces. The farmstead's only location on the site where architectural remains from this time period have thus far been found. This season, we opened one new square, deepened three others, and removed several balks between squares. Our specific goals were to discover the limits of the Hellenistic structure, and to clarify and positively date massive wall fragments under the Hellenistic structure that seemed to be Iron 1. We also wanted to understand the Late Iron 2 structures.

Previously, the most extensive Iron 1 remains in Field L emerged 5 m downslope (south) and parallel to the lip of the site. This season, we were able to confirm that the large walls, built of massive stones (some 1.5 m long), did indeed date to the Iron 1 period, although we are not certain of a specific date within that period. The wall remains suggest a building of at least two rooms (Figure 9—note that the walls with smaller stones in the photo belong to the Hellenistic period). Surprisingly, walls of this size and masonry have not been found elsewhere on the site, even though large exposures of excellently preserved Iron 1 remains were discovered in Fields A, B, F, and H. Only one Iron 1 wall fragment in Field A approaches this construction style.

We have not yet been able to determine if these large structures infer a social context different from that in the other fields. But structures like this do not seem to fit the relatively primitive social structures most highland Iron 1 sites seem to suggest. However, it fits with the significant labor and care that inhabitants at the site invested in the Field B fortification system—the most heavily fortified highland site from the Iron 1 period in all of the Holy Land. Apparently, Tall al-ʿUmayri was an important site during the period of the biblical judges.

Our work this season reduced the importance of the late Iron 2/Persian period in our field. Previously, we stated that many of the Hellenistic walls were founded on walls originally built during the late Iron 2/Persian period.[12] However, our work this season discovered unequivocal evidence that these walls are Hellenistic in origin. Few structural remains are left of the Iron 2 period. Field L seems to have been weakly settled at this time, while other parts of the site (Fields A, B, H, and F) contain important construction.

[12]Herr and Clark, 2004, 119.

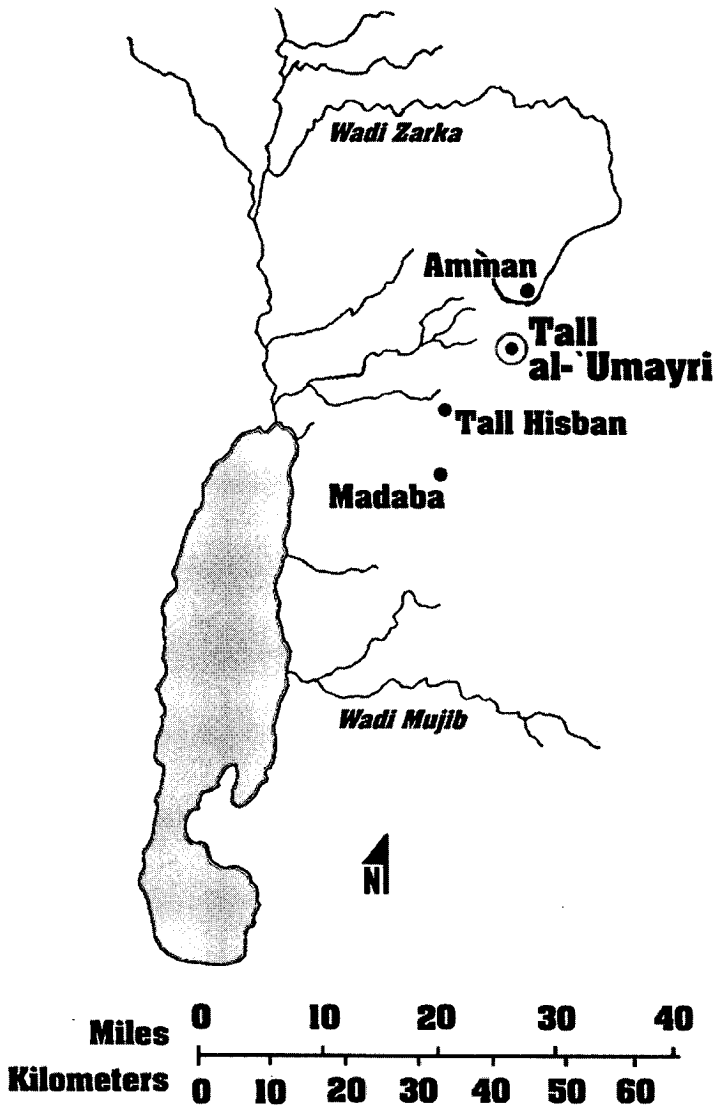
We must now divide the Hellenistic phasing into Phase 3A and 3B. The later phase saw the addition of bins, the blocking of doorways, and the construction of secondary phases of walls. It also means that our farmstead probably existed for most of the Hellenistic period.

We have now uncovered most of the Hellenistic structure along with an extensive plaster surface and finds on the surface (Figure 10), including many handmade juglets that reflect a rather limited, poor, and rural settlement. The few simple coins that have been found do not change this overall assessment. The building itself was divided into two major parts, divided by a north-south wall (Figure 9).

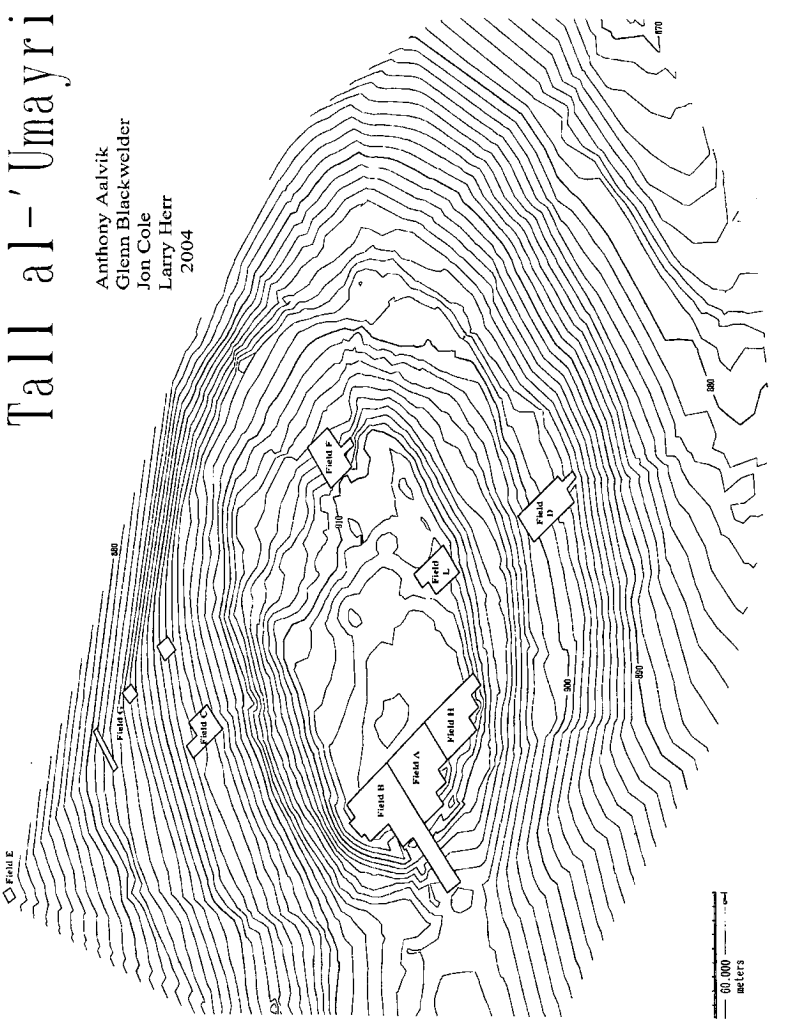
Persian-Period ᶜAmmon Seal Impression

We discovered the fifth Persian-period ᶜAmmon seal impression this season in Field B, Square 8K10, Locus 2 (sub-topsoil) (Figure 11). It was on the upper part of a jar handle. As with the four earlier seals,[13] it contained a personal name in one of the registers and the word ᶜAmmon in the other. In this impression, the top line carries the Ammonite personal name *ʾlʿr*, but the script is an Aramaic type that is best dated to approximately the sixth to fifth centuries B.C. These seal impressions were part of the economic world of the Province of Ammon during the Persian Empire. The personal name could have belonged to the chancellor or the governor.

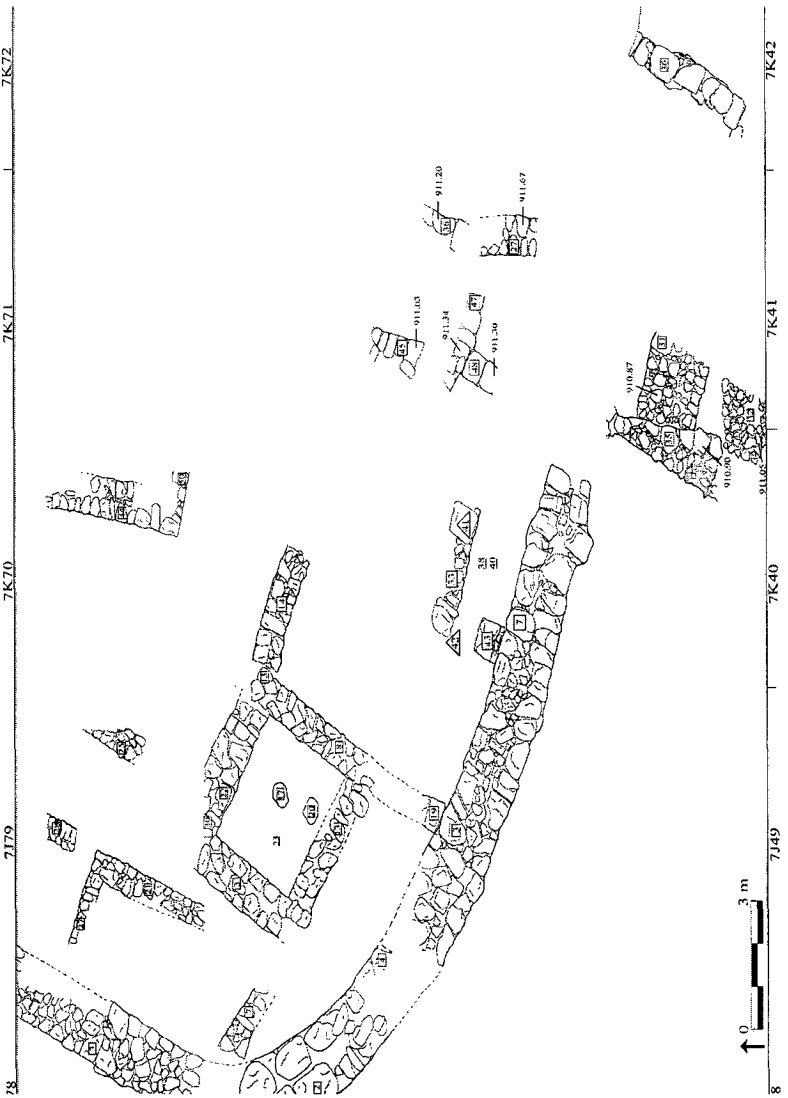
[13]Herr and Clark, 253, 263, 265, 275.



Map 1. Regional map of the Madaba Plains Project.



Map 2. Topographic map of Tall al-ᶜUmayri through the 2004 season.



Map 3. Field A: Plan of the Iron 1 perimeter wall and associated houses of early Iron 1 in Phase 11.

Map 4. Field B: Plan of the Late Bronze Age palace.

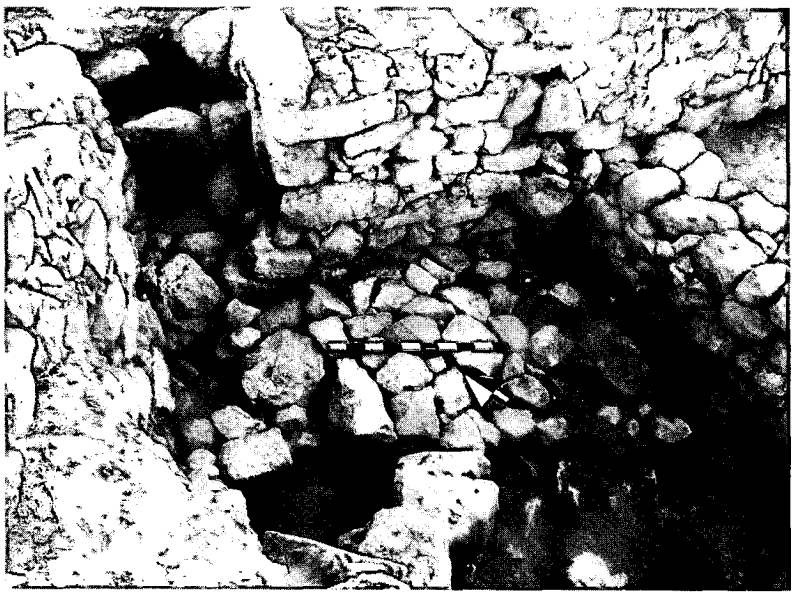


Figure 1. Field A: Iron 1 flagstone floor with a pillar base near a doorway.

Figure 2. Field B: View of the Late Bronze Age palace from the east.

Figure 3. Field B: View of the Late Bronze Age palace from the north.

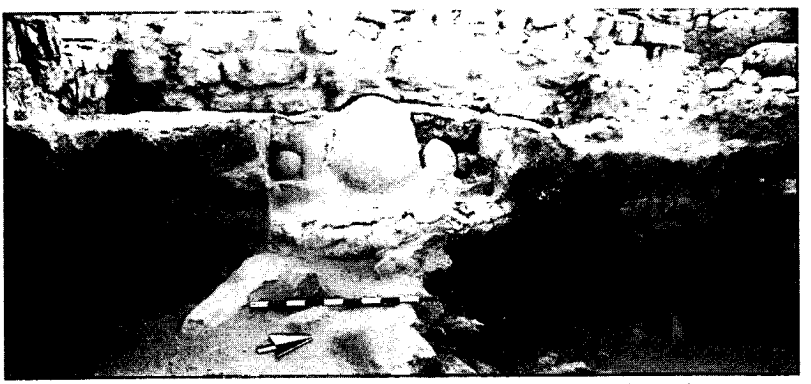


Figure 4. Field B: The cultic niche in Room 3 of the Late Bronze Age palace.

Figure 5. Field B: Closeup of the chert nodule with natural solution deposits.

Figure 6. Field B: The cultic niche with pottery vessels *in situ.*

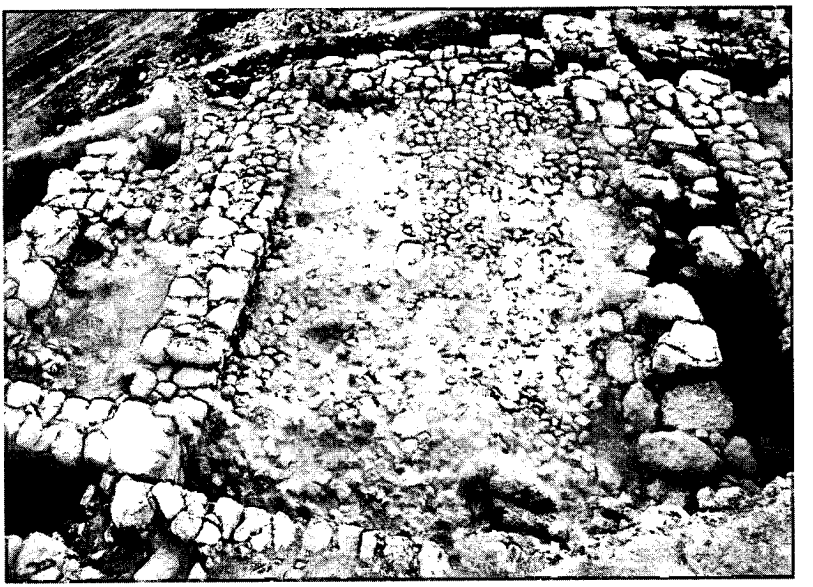


Figure 7. The cobbled courtyard sanctuary from the east with the earliest pavement thus far discovered.

Figure 8. Field H: The cobbled courtyard sanctuary in its second phase.

Figure 9. Field L: Overview of Field L at the end of the season.

Figure 10. Field L: Fragment of a fine plaster surface from the Hellenistic period.

Figure 11. Field B: Person-period seal of the Province of Ammon with a personal name.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 43, No. 2, 247-260.

LINTEL INSCRIPTION: TALL HISBAN, FIELD M, SQUARE 5, 2001

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The 2001 season (Figure 1) produced a unique find from the northern slope of Tall Hisban in the form of a "door lintel" (Figure 2)[2] with four lines of neatly chiseled Byzantine Greek letters. No chiseled inscription of this length has previously been found at Tall Hisban. Siegfried Horn led five archaeological expeditions to Tall Hisban between 1968 and 1974. Øystein LaBianca led five expeditions back to Tall Hisban as a part of the Madaba Plains Project beginning in 1997.[3] In 2001, Field M Supervisor Theodore Burgh and Assistant Field Supervisor Keith Mattingly opened two new squares, 4 and 5, north of squares 2 and 3, which had been opened by Lael Caesar and his team in the 1999 season. The focus of this article is to review Greek inscriptions discovered at Hisban, to offer a translation of the "lintel" discovered in 2001 and to provide preliminary discussion regarding its possible relation to the chronological phases of life at Tall Hisban.

During the Byzantine early Christian period, Tall Hisban (or Tell Hesban, Heshbon) was known as Esbus or Esbous.[4] During the first quarter of the fourth century C.E., Esbous had gained sufficient ecclesiastical stature to have become a seat of a bishopric.[5] In 649 C.E., Pope Martin I corresponded with

[1]The authors would like to thank their student research assistants: Alex Carpenter, Isaac Oliver, and Christie Goulart Ribeiro. The authors also thank Robert Bates for creating specialty fonts, and Paul Ray who so willingly gave help whenever he was asked.

[2]For the purposes of this article, the inscribed rock is referred to as a "door lintel." It may have been used, however, in some other fashion, such as in a foundation or in the side of a wall.

[3]Expeditions in 1996, 1997, 1998, 2001, and 2004: Øystein LaBianca and Paul Ray, "Preliminary Report of the 1997 Excavations and Restoration Work at Tall Hisban," *AUSS* 36 (1998): 245-257; Øystein LaBianca and Paul Ray, "Madaba Plains Project 1997: Excavations and Restoration Work at Tall Hisban and Vicinity," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* (1999): 115-126; Øystein LaBianca, Paul Ray, and Bethany Walker, "Madaba Plains Project: Tall Hisban, 1998," *AUSS* 38 (2000): 9-21; Bethany Walker and Øystein LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Hisban: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* (2003): 443-471.

[4]The site has also been referred to as "Exebon" (Egeria, *Egeria's Travels*, trans. J. Wilkinson [London: SPCK, 1971], 108).

[5]John Irving Lawlor, "The Esbous North Church in Its Stratigraphic and Historical Contexts" (Ph.D. dissertation, Drew University, 1990), 5. Lawlor, 250, notes that the records of the Council of Nicea (325 C.E.) register the attendance of "Gennadius, the bishop of Esbous," and that Bishop "Zosus of Esbountos" attended

Theodore Bishop of Esbous regarding questions of the bishop's orthodoxy. The bishopric of Esbous, along with Madaba, Philadelphia, and Gerasa, is mentioned as belonging to the province of Arabia.[6] The above, along with evidence provided by mosaics from two eighth-century- C.E. Christian churches in the Madaba region that refer to Esbous, indicate its recognition as an ecclesiastical town of some consequence in the province of Arabia during the late sixth to mid-eighth century.[7] Esbous, like every major site in Jordan, had numerous churches as evidenced by excavations at the Acropolis Church site, located at the acropolis, and the North Church site, located on the north side of the tall, and by traces of mosaics found in the vicinity of the tall.[8]

Archaeological evidence of Greek inscriptions at Hisban includes a Hellenistic ostracon, with approximately thirty-five Greek letters written on a sherd that appears to be the product of someone's doodling or scribbling.[9] Other artifacts include two Late Hellenistic Rhodian jar handles impressed with finely executed and well-preserved date-stamps,[10] and a plaster fragment discovered in the Acropolis Church with the letters ΑΝΙΗ, assumed to be the name ΔΑΝΙΗΛ, dated by Bjørnar Storfjell to 530-540 B.C.E.[11]

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the Council of Ephesus (431 C.E.). Michelle Piccirillo notes that "Esbus, modern Hesban, was one of the first Christian bishoprics in the area of Jordan (*The Mosaics of Jordan*, ed. Patricia Bikai and Thomas Dailey [Amman, Jordan: American Center of Oriental Research, 1992], 250).

[6]Pamela Watson, "The Byzantine Period," in *The Archaeology of Jordan*, ed. Burton MacDonald, Russell Adams, and Piotr Bienkowski (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 494.

[7]The first church is located near the village of Macin, and the second is the eighth-century-C.E. basilica of Saint Stephan at Umm er-Rasas (Lawlor, 9-13).

[8]Bastiaan van Elderen, "Byzantine Christianity at Hesban: Its Churches and Mosaics," in *Hesban After 25 Years*, ed. David Merling and Lawrence Geraty (Berrien Springs: Institute of Archaeology, 1994), 146.

[9]Bastiaan van Elderen, "A Greek Ostracon From Heshbon," in *Heshbon 1973: The Third Campaign at Tell Hesban, A Preliminary Report*, ed. Roger Boraas and Siegfried Horn, Andrews University Monographs: Studies in Religion 8 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1975), 21-22.

[10]Dewey Beegle, "Area B," in *Heshbon 1968: The First Campaign at Tell Hesban, A Preliminary Report*, ed. Roger Boraas and Siegfried Horn, Andrews University Monographs: Studies in Religion 2 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1969), 123, see esp. Plate 24B; James Cox, "A Rhodian Potter's Date-Stamp," in *Heshbon 1974: The Fourth Campaign at Tell Hesban, A Preliminary Report*, ed. Roger Boraas and Lawrence Geraty, Andrews University Monographs: Studies in Religion 9 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1976), 149-155, see esp. Plate 15B.

[11]J. Bjørnar Storfjell, *The Stratigraphy of Tell Hesban: Jordan in the Byzantine Period* (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1983), 87, 112; see also idem, "Byzantine Hesban: The Site in Its Archaeological and Historical Context," in *Hesban After 25 Years*,

Excavations just to the north of the Esbous acropolis, in the remnants of a Byzantine church (the North Church), yielded three mosaic Greek inscriptions, two in the apse/chancel and one at the east end of the nave.[12] Two of the inscriptions were written in similar orthography, one with seven lines and thirty-eight letters, the other with four lines, three of which were broken, with a total of seventy-four extant letters. The style of lettering in the four-meter-long third inscription, with fifty extant letters, differed noticeably from that of the other inscriptions. The letters of this line were all the same height and were executed with much more style, particularly as seen in the letters "Ω," "Θ," and "Υ." Though dating the churches has proved to be problematic, partially because none of the inscriptions contained easily dateable material, the foundation of the North Church has been dated by Lawlor to the second half of the sixth century.[13]

The first inscription in the North Church is a seven-line Greek inscription located in the apse on the lower mosaic. It reads:

ΥΠΕΡ
CΩΤΗΡΙ
ΑCΦΙΛΑ
ΔΕΛΦΟΥ
ΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΥ
ΥΙΟΥΑ
ΜΗΝ

The translation reads: "For the salvation of Philadelphos and Elios his son, Amen." The second inscription with four lines was located at the east end of the nave, which reads:

ΥΠΕΡCΩΤΗΡΙΑCΤΟΥΕΥΛ' ΠΡΕC'
ΠΑΠΙΩ ... ΠΡΟ ....Κ..ΕΝΕΥCΕΒΙΑ
ΙΧΘΥC ...Ω .... ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ
ΦΟΥΜΑΙ ...ΠΑ .....ΟΥΟΙΚΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ

The translation reads: "For the salvation of the blessed presbyter Papio and for an offering and in piety Jesus Christ . . . Philadel-phoumai and all his household." The third inscription, found in the upper apse/chancel mosaic,

ed. David Merling and Lawrence T. Geraty (Berrien Springs: Institute of Archaeology, 1994), 109-119; van Elderen, "Byzantine Christianity at Hesban," 146. For a picture of the site, see Plate 24A in *Heshbon 1968: The First Campaign at Tell Hesban, A Preliminary Report*, ed. Roger Boraas and Siegfried Horn, Andrews University Monographs: Studies in Religion 9 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1969).

[12]John Lawlor, "The 1978 Excavation of the Hesban North Church," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities* 24 (1980): 95-105; see also idem, "The Historical/Archaeoloigcal Significance of the Hesban North Church," in *Hesban After 25 Years*, ed. David Merling and Lawrence T. Geraty (Berrien Springs: Institute of Archaeology, 1994), 126-129. For Lawlor's most detailed treatment of these inscriptions, see "The Esbous North Church," 118-132, 143-148.

[13]Lawlor, "The Esbous North Church," 311.

was nearly 4 m long with one 95 cm and one 25 cm section missing. It reads:

ЄΠΙ [ΤΟΥΑΝΕΝЄѠΘΗΚΑΙ
ЄΤЄΛЄΙ] ѠΘΗΤΟΑΓ^{C}ΘVCΙΑCΤ^{C}CΠΟΥΔΗ
ΙѠΑΝΝΟΥΔΙΑΚΥΠЄΡCѠΤΗ[Ϲ] [ΤѠΚΑ] ΡΠΟΦΟΡ[Ϲ]

The translation was based on proposed reconstructions and reads, "At the time of the renewing and refinishing of the holy altar, by the zeal of John the deacon; for the salvation of those who gave."[14]

Two lintel inscriptions have been discovered at Hisban. Major C. R. Conder saw the first lintel inscription found in Tall Hisban in 1889. Describing Hisban as "a comparatively large and important town,"[15] he noted that heaps of fallen masonry littered the slopes of the tall. Among the tumble of masonry covering the northeast slope of the citadel hill, he found a five-foot-long lintel stone "inscribed" with the letters Є...ЄXßΑΙ. He was uncertain as to the inscription date because the "square shape of the letters is not that usually found in the Byzantine Greek texts of the fourth to ninth centuries."[16] As to its meaning, Conder suggested that the ЄXßΑΙ is possibly the word "Esban" or "Hesban," taking the "I" as the first line of the letter "N."

Excavations during the 2001 dig season yielded the second lintel inscription (Figure 2) in the central east portion of Square M5 under the sixth locus in an area filled by larger rocks and soil, which seems to be a rubble or drop layer.[17] Conder describes the location of the first lintel on the northeast slope of Tall Hisban. The second lintel was buried on the east side of the north slope, perhaps not far from the position of the first one.

It is not clear where the second lintel was originally used. The position in which it was found is below the Acropolis Church and above the North Church. It could have been thrown from the top of the tall, as happened with much of the earlier Iron Age material on the west side of the tall, in order to clear and prepare the top of the acropolis for newer architecture. In this case, it could have been used in the Acropolis Church. Another possibility includes that of secondary usage. If this is the case, then the lintel could have been used originally in either the Acropolis Church or the North Church. One possibility for secondary usage of the lintel is in Square M4, located immediately above and to the south of Square M5, where a portion of a double-vaulted room, also found during the 2001 season, may have incorporated the lintel into one of its walls. Although further excavation will reveal more data, it appears that the wall

[14]Ibid., 126-132.

[15]C. R. Conder, *The ᶜAdwân Country: The Survey of Eastern Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orthography, Hydrography, Archaeology, Etc.* (London: Committee of the Palestine Exportation Fund, 1989), 104.

[16]Ibid., 106-107.

[17]The surrounding debris was comprised of field rocks without any intentional shaping present. The "lintel" top was somewhere between 70 and 90 cm below the surface.

of the room runs northwest from Square 4 into Square 5. A disturbance may have caused the collapse of the structure, causing the remains to shift and slide north to the foot of the tall. Evaluations of this area suggest some type of activity that caused the walls to slide westward. At any rate, the lintel was found in an upright position about 2 m from this wall.

The lintel (Figure 3) is made out of hard limestone with a four-line inscription in Byzantine Greek, a language consistent with the Byzantine occupation of Tall Hisban (324-630 C.E.).[18] The length of the lintel is 101 cm along its bottom edge and 94 cm along its top edge, 34 cm high, 19 cm wide at the top and 30 cm wide at the bottom (Figure 4). The right end of the lintel is missing. Based upon assumed missing letters, this section would probably add 15 and 20 cm to the lintel's overall length.

The lintel's four lines contain relatively uniform and neatly spaced letters between 5 and 6 cm high (Figure 3). The style of the letters generally follow what Welles referred to as the "Oval Alphabet,"[19] unlike the neat, square letters that Condor discovered on the first lintel, but very much like the apse mosaic of the North Church.[20] The fourth line has a generic bird, the same height as the letters and about 13 cm long. The letters on lines 2 and 3 are quite clear, while approximately 13 cm sections are heavily damaged in lines 1 (center) and 4 (center left). The letters on line 1 extend to the top of the lintel, which has been disintegrated, making the top of the letters unclear. The letters on lines 2 and 3 are generally quite clear, with one exception in the middle of line 2. The letters on line 4 do not extend to the bottom of the lintel and are generally quite clear.

Evidently, inscribers on the East Bank of the Jordan did not pay close attention to orthography.[21] In this inscription, one notes that twice the letters "O" and the "Y" are combined into one letter, "Ȣ," and twice they are rendered as two letters, with "Y" rendered with a "V." The letter "Σ" is rendered with a "C" and the letter "Ω" with a "Ѡ." Each of these characteristics have parallels in other Byzantine fifth- and sixth-century-C.E. inscriptions.[22]

The inscription:

[18]Watson, 461. Watson, ibid., uses the dates "from the fourth to the mid-seventh centuries A.D." in reference to the Byzantine period.

[19]C. B. Welles describes the alphabet of the Byzantine period as either "The Square Alphabet," "The Round Alphabet," or The Oval Alphabet" ("The Inscriptions," in *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*, ed. Carl H. Kraeling [New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938], 366-367).

[20]Lawlor, "The Historical/Archaeological Significance of the Hesban North Church," 128.

[21]As explained by Archimandrite InnoKentios, Priest of the Church of Saint George, Madaba, Jordan (private interview, June 2001).

[22]Welles, 366-367.

ϵ π ι τ ὸ θ ϵ ο [ϲ ϵ ß Γ] ϵ ω [ῥ]Γ ι ὸ π ρ [ϵ ϲ]
Γ ο ν μ ϵ ν ὸ τ [ο] ν ϲ ω τ η ρ ι ω [Δ]
μ α τ ο ϵ α ν ϵ ν ϵ ω θ η η ϵ κ κ [λ]
[μ η ν ι]ϲ ϵ π τ ϵ μ ß ρ ι ω π ρ ο τ η ι ν

ϵ π ι τ ου θ ϵ ο [σ ϵ β γ] ϵ ω [ρ] γ ι ου π ρ [ϵ σ]
γ ο υ μ ϵ ν ου τ [ο] υ σ ω τ η ρ ι ω [δ]
μ α τ ο ϵ α ν ϵ ν ϵ ω θ η η ϵ κ κ [λ]
[μ η ν ι] σ ϵ π τ ϵ μ β ρ ι ω π ρ ο τ η ι ν

Suggested reconstruction:

ϵπι του θϵοσϵβ(ϵστατου) γϵο[ρ]γιου πρϵ[σβ](υτϵρου και)
ηγουμϵνου του σωτηριω [δ](απανη και)
(κα)ματοϵ ανϵνϵωθη η ϵκκ(λησια)
[μηνι] σϵπτϵμβριω προτη ιν(δικτου)

Translation:

At the time of the most pious (or God-fearing) George, presbyter (and)
abbot of (the) Savior, (who) provided the c(osts and)
labor (for the) restoration of the church
(in the) month of September (of the) first indiction

or

At the time of the most pious (or God-fearing) George, presbyter (and)
abbot, thanks to the salvatory c(osts and)
labor this church was renovated
in the month of September, first indiction

Commentary

Line One—ϵπι του θϵοσϵβ(ϵστατου) γϵο[ρ]γιου
πρϵ[σβ](υτϵρου και)

ϵπι του. A common introduction for inscriptions, ϵπι του is translated as "in the days of."[23] This phrase is also used in the Phase A Chancel Inscription of the North Church at Esbous and translated by Lawlor as "at the time of."[24]

θϵοσϵβϵστατου. At first we followed the suggestion of Charles Barber, Stafanos Alexopoulos, and David Jenkins, who wondered if the word "θϵοσ" might be an abbreviation for Theodosius, Theodose, Theorore, or Theodora. The

[23]Translated by Leah Di Segni as "in the days of." Sources include inscriptions on two medallions; a four-line inscription in a *tabula ansata* at the entrance to the Memorial of Moses at Siyagha; and a five-line inscription in the pavement of a funerary chapel, located at Siyagha ("The Greek Inscriptions," in *Mt Nebo: New Archaeological Excavations, 1967-1997*, ed. Michelle Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata [Jerusalem: Stadium Biblicum Franciscanium, 1998], 432-433, 428, 437). See also Piccirrilo's translation of an inscription at Jabr (*The Mosaics of Jordan*, 314).

[24]Lawlor, "The Esbous North Church," 132.

letter "β" might belong to the word βασιλεο[ς], thereby making it the beginning of an introduction to an emperor, such as Theodosius I (379-395 C.E.) or Theodosius II (408-450 C.E.).[25] Thus our initial translation was "during the [? Year] of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius." However, because this translation did not fit with extant letters, we sought other solutions. Sophia Kalopissi, Professor of Byzantine Archaeology at the University of Athens, noted after her examination of the lintel that θεοσεβ is an abbreviation for θεοσεβεστατος, a superlative for "one who worships God," or "one who is described as God-fearing, very devout, or most pious."[26] Based upon her observation, we were able to reconstruct the damaged area of the inscription where letters were difficult to see, particularly the C and Є.[27]

γεοργιου. The word is translated "George." Once the name "George" became clear, two difficult-to-read letters became equally clear. The initial "Γ" appears in the inscription as a straight line with no top horizontal line, damaged at the top edge of the line. The "Ρ" also became clear. While the name "George" is not yet attested at Hisban, it is a well-known name in the Byzantine world.[28]

πρεσβυτερου. The initial "Π" and "Ρ" are relatively easy to read. The next two letters make sense based upon the word πρεσβυτερου. We are unclear as to whether the term is complete or abbreviated. Abbreviations could include πρє, πρєβ, πρεσβ.[29] Yiannis Meimaris lists 102 inscriptions, in which the term "presbyter" appears in complete or abbreviated form.[30] Clearly, the first four letters are extant on the inscription. Given the assumed letters necessary to make lines 2, 3, and 4 complete, it would appear that the most likely option is that the complete word is used here in line one. πρεσβυτερου is also used in the

[25]Names of other possible individuals include Bishop Theodose of Esbous; Archbishop Theodore (635-639 C.E.); a priest, Theodore; or a benefactor named either Theodose or Theodore. Each of these names are attested for by Piccirillo in *Mosaics of Jordan*, 124, 151, 203, 252, 288, 304-307, 311, 313.

[26]Personal communication with Sofia Kalopissi (email, April 4, 2004). See also M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, *QDAP*Sup 9 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), 69.

[27]A four-line inscription in a *tabula ansata* to the right of the entrance to the Memorial of Moses on the western spur (Siyagha) has been reconstructed with this same abbreviation. A three-line inscription in the *tabula ansata* set in the mosaic pavement of the lower layer in the Chapel of Priest John in the village of Nebo contains the complete abbreviation (Di Segni, 428).

[28]Yiannis Meimaris lists thirty-two occurrences of references to George the Martyr (*Sacred Names, Saints, Martyrs and Church Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Pertaining to the Christian Church of Palestine* [Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1986], 66, 68, 118, 124-128, 187).

[29]Avi-Yonah, 96-97.

[30]Meimaris, 187-201.

nave mosaic of the Esbous North Church. For smooth expression of line two, we have also assumed that a και η follows πρεσβυτερου.

Line Two—γουμενου του σωτηριω δ[απανη και κα]

[η]γουμενου. We have assumed an η at the end of line one, which is to be attached to γουμενου. The term ηγουμενου can be translated as "one who governs, father superior, or abbot."[31] Meimaris notes that the term ηγουμενος comes from the verb ηφεομαι, meaning "to precede" and was given to the leader or the superior presbyter of a Christian community. He lists thirty sources, in which the term is so used.[32]

τ[ο]υ. The inscription of this word poses two problems.[33] First, the middle letter is difficult to read in the original. Second, the form does not agree with the dative of the next noun. If the middle letter is indeed an "O," then one possibility is that the form is an abbreviation for τουτω.[34] If this is the case, then the form would agree with the next noun.

σωτηριω. Two options present themselves for translating this word. On one hand, σωτηριω might indicate that George was a presbyter and abbot in behalf of the Savior.[35] On the other, the word σωτηριω could refer not only to "salvation," but also to "maintenance, preservation, keeping safe (custody),"[36] or to "acting in a way conducive to well being."[37] With this understanding, σωτηριω could be used in an adjectival sense, describing the costs and labor put into constructing the church building. The Phase A Chancel Inscription of the North Church at Hisban contains the phrase, "for the salvation of those who gave."[38]

δ[απανη]. The second line concludes with most of a Δ. Part of the letter's right line is faint and part of it is missing. The rest of the word is reconstructed, based upon similar usage in other Byzantine dedicatory inscriptions, where it has

[31]Suggested by InnoKentios (private interview, June 2001). H. G. Liddel, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones note that the word ἡγούμενος refers to "an official title, president, Roman governor, subordinate officials, or an abbot" (*A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. with rev. supp. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996]). The *Patristic Greek Lexicon* defines the word as "the office of a monastic superior, abbacy, bishop, monastic superior" (ed. G. W. H. Lampe [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968]).

[32]Meimaris, 239.

[33]Kalopissi stated that this word "makes no sense to me" (email, April 11, 2004).

[34]Avi-Yonah, 105

[35]Suggested by InnoKentios (private interview, June 2001).

[36]See Liddel, Scott, and Jones, s.v. σωτηριω.

[37]See Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. σωτηριω.

[38]Lawlor, "The Esbous North Church in Its Strateigraphic and Historical Contexts" (unpublished version), 69.

been translated as "cost," "having to do with money," "at the expense of," or "the one who pays."[39]

Line Three—(κα)ματοε ανενεωθη η εκκλ(ησια)

(κα)ματοε. Probably to render a smooth sentence, the second line probably concluded with και, with κα to be added to the letters at the beginning of line three in order to make the word καματος.[40] It is difficult to understand why the letter "Є" concludes this word, which neither makes sense as a concluding letter to the word καματος, nor as the first letter of the next word ανενεωθη. One suggestion is that the letter is supposed to be a "C" (sigma) and that the middle horizontal line is the result of later damage to the lintel. The interpretation of later damage makes sense because the letter is shaped differently than all the other epsilons on the inscription. The word καματος conveys the meaning of "labor" or "that which is the product of toil."[41]

ανενεωθη. Ανενεωθη is translated "restored" or "renovated."[42] The word is also suggested for the reconstruction of the Phase A Chancel Inscription of the North Church and translated by Lawlor as "renewing."[43]

η εκκλ[ησια]. A reconstruction that seems quite obvious. The word means "church."

Line Four—☙ μηνι σεπτεμβριω προτη ιν(δικτου)

☙. Sylvester J. Saller and Bellarmino Bagatti note that "most of the birds represented in mosaics do not seem to have a special meaning, but only the general one of glorifying God. . . . The representation of birds in the mosaics of Palestine are so numerous that one need not expect new subjects" each time one is used.[44] It has also been noted that the symbol of a partridge is found all over Jordan as the sign of a good life.[45]

μηνι. Though much of these four letters has been destroyed, a sufficient remnant of their lines makes their reconstruction clear. The term is attested in

[39]Four experts identified the word: Kalopissi, Stefanos Alexopoulos, and David Jenkins (Notre Dame University); Elly Economou (Andrews University); and InnoKentios. Liddel, Scott, and Jones define δαπαναω as "to spend upon a thing, defray all expenses."

[40]As attested by Kalopissi, Alexopoulos, Jenkins, Economou, and InnoKentios.

[41]καματος is translated as "labor" (*A Patristic Greek Lexicon*); "the product of toil" (Liddel, Scott, and Jones); and "carried in his own arms" (InnoKentios).

[42]As attested by Kalopissi, Alexopoulos, Jenkins, Economou, and InnoKentios.

[43]Lawlor, "The Esbous North Church," 132.

[44]Sylvester J. Saller and Bellarmino Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo With a Brief Survey of Other Ancient Christian Monuments in Transjordan* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1949), 108.

[45]Suggested by InnoKentios (private interview, June 2001).

other inscriptions and is translated as "month" or as "moon."[46]

σεπτεμβριω. This term denotes the Roman calendar name of the month used by the Greeks, "September."[47] The expression μηνι σεπτεμβριω appears in a mosaic inscription found in the Chapel of the Martyr Theodore, dated 562 C.E.[48]

προτη. This word is translated as "first."

ιν[δικτου]. An "indiction" is a period of fifteen years. Indictions were initiated with Emperor Diocletian, who imposed a fifteen-year cycle of property taxes. Constantine and others maintained the concept. The word "indiction" comes from the Latin word "indictio," which literally means "institution, proclamation, appeal, announcement." An "indiction" was an edict of the Roman emperors used to determine land tax throughout the Roman Empire. Gradually the word came to denote not only an imperial proclamation, but also a fifteen-year cycle and the first day of this cycle. Though originally an indiction was used exclusively for fiscal and tax purposes, it slowly began to be used for determining the various dates of civil life. The first day of the indiction was September 23 because that was the day on which Caesar Augustus was born, but under Constantine the Great (306-337 C.E.) it was changed to the first of September. [49]

The Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council in Nicea (325 C.E.) adopted the first of September as the beginning of the New Church Year, a practice continued to the present in the orthodox church. The Roman Church, during the reign of Pope Pelagious II (579-590 C.E.), adopted the indiction for establishing the dates of documents, a practice followed until 1097 C.E. The first indiction in 313 C.E. was followed by the second in 314 C.E., the third in 315 C.E., and so on until the fifteenth indiction in 327 C.E. Then the cycle began again. This complete cycle continued for a total of eighty-six repetitions until the practice was stopped in 1602.[50]

The lintel inscription is dated in the month of September of the first indiction of a fifteen-year cycle. It is suggested that the lintel date can be chosen from one of the eighty-six first indiction dates.

Observations

Several issues complicate determining just what the lintel tells us. It was found with little context as it was not located among large building material. Rather

[46]Μηνι is translated as "month" by Di Segni, 430, 443, 447; and Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan*, 110.

[47]W. Arndt and F. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 754.

[48]Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan*, 109, 117.

[49]American Numismatic Association, *Newsletter* 48, September 6, 2002 (<www.money.org/yn/ynnewsletter 200248.html); cf. *Medical Dictionary Search Engine* (www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/MSDating, html>), s.v. "Indiction" and "Dating Systems and Dates of Manuscripts."

[50]Ibid.

it was located in the midst of rubble that could have easily been thrown from the top of the acropolis. The letters in line one are difficult to read and the right end of the lintel is missing. In addition, there is no record of a presbyter or abbot at Hisban by the name of George.

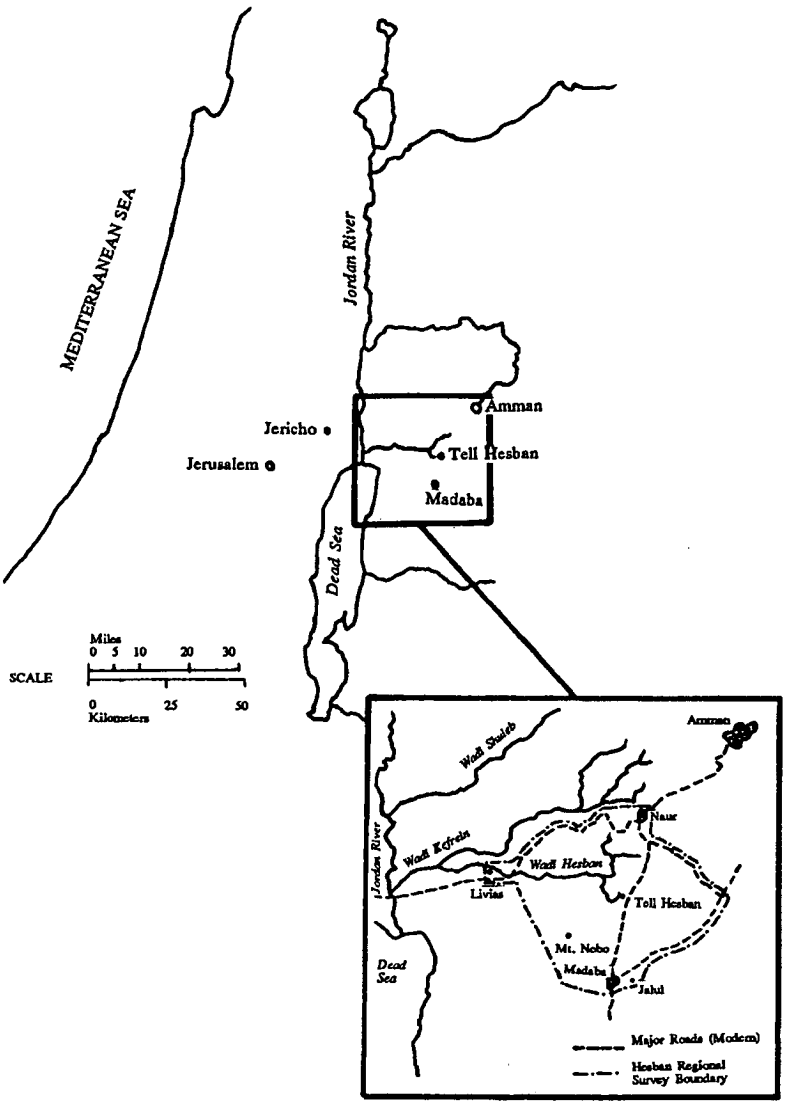
What is obvious is that a church was built. While the lintel could have been used secondarily at a later time, it could also indicate the existence of a third church at Esbous. The church renovation was probably funded by George, a man described as God-fearing (pious) and as a presbyter, perhaps a supervising presbyter.

Several clues assist in dating the inscription. The word "presbyter" belonged to the standard vocabulary of ecclesiastical hierarchy during the fourth to seventh centuries.[51] During the same period, abbreviations were used for the purpose of conserving space and effort. The inscription font style is similar to that of the mosaic inscriptions of the North Church, e.g., both used ϖ for Ω and "C" for "Σ." Yet the fonts are also different in that the mosaic font did not have a "V" for "Y" nor a "δ" for "OY." However, the similarities are sufficient to select a fifth- or sixth-century-C.E. date, especially noting the usage of similar words on the lintel and mosaic inscriptions, επι του, πρεσβυτερου, σωτηριω, and ανενεωθη.

A more precise date for the lintel can be suggested by examining all the first indiction dates of the fifth and sixth centuries, of which there are 13: 508, 523, 538, 553, 568, 583, 598, 613, 628, 643, 658, 673 and 688 C.E. Further precision can be suggested either by using Storfjell's dates for the Acropolis Church or Lawlor's dates for the North Church. The corresponding first indiction date for Storfjell is 538 C.E., and for the Lawlor the dates are 658, 673 or 688 C.E.

Further research is necessary to discover how the name "George" is to be connected with Tall Hisban. Hopefully, further digging in and analysis of Field M may provide a better understanding of the immediate surrounding area in which the lintel was found.

[51]Lawlor, "The Esbous North Church," 144.



Map 1. Regional map of the Madaba Plains Project—Tall Hisban.

Figure 1. Standing, left to right: three local workers, Melissa Sahlin (Square Worker), Theodore Burgh (Field Supervisor), Adeib Abushmais (Department of Antiquities Representative), Øystein LaBianca (Director). Kneeling, left to right: local worker, Keith Mattingly (Administrative Director and Assistant Field Supervisor), Aren LaBianca (Associate Square Supervisor), Lauralea Banks (Square Supervisor).

Figure 2. Front view of lintel inscription.

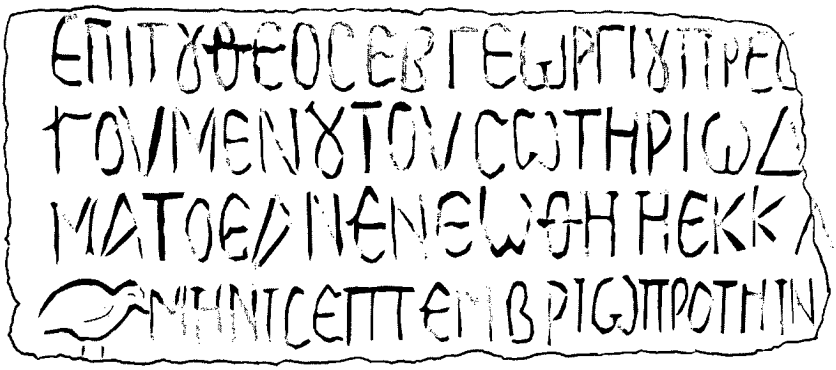


Figure 3. Artist's reconstruction of lintel script.

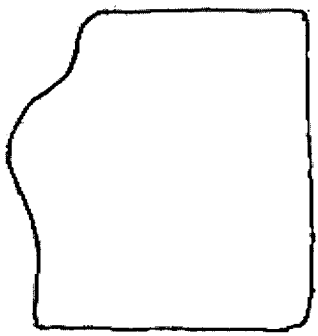


Figure 4. Approximate end view of lintel.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 43, No. 2, 261-266.

THE THEME OF APOCALYPTIC WAR IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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The theme of apocalyptic war was widely developed in Qumran literature. The main source of information about the apocalyptic war can be found in 1QM, which Sukenik named "The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness."[1] According to Paolo Sacchi, "The word 'apocalyptic' is a modern invention, deriving from the wish to conceptualize the field of research on the affinities between the Apocalypse of John and other works of its time."[2] In other words, apocalyptic literature has to have two characteristics: a two-dimensional picture of the world, with heavenly and earthly dimensions both present, and symbolic representation of the main personages.

The "War Scroll" seems to comply with these characteristics. The entire content of the scroll is dedicated to the planning of the war between the "faithful" Sons of Light and their enemies. The heavenly realm is constantly projected upon the earthly dimension.

Some elements of apocalyptic war are also present in the Pesharim, commentaries found at Qumran that interpret the prophecies about the destiny of the enemies of Israel. The Pesharim can apply these prophecies either to the present reality or to future events.

The goal of the present research is to investigate the ideology of apocalyptic war presented in the DSS. In order to gain a better understanding of the nature of this apocalyptic war, and of the character of the Qumran community as well, the present research will focus on the question of the identification of the enemy in the apocalyptic war. The answer to this question will help to explain the ideology of the community of Qumran in comparison to other Jewish and early Christian communities of that time.

The Enemy of the Qumran Community

The war described in 1QM definitely has an offensive character. God orders the Sons of Light to attack his and their enemies. According to Yigael Yadin, the war has three phases.[3] In two of these phases, different groups of foes are to be attacked. The offensive against the first two groups is local, while

[1]Yigael Yadin, ed., *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 3.

[2]Paolo Sacci, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, vol. 20, JSPSup (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 26.

[3]Yadin, 21-33.

the third stage of the war definitely becomes universalized.

The first column of the scroll provides a list of the "local" enemies of the Sons of Light.

ראשית משלוח יד בני אור להכל בגורל בני חושך בהיל בליעל בגדוד אדום ומואב ובני עמון וחי[ל יושבי] פלשת ובגדודי כתיי אשור ועמהם בעזר מרשיעי ברית.

The enemy is the army of Belial, sons of darkness, hordes of Moab, Edom, Ammon, the Philistines, and the Kittim of Ashur. Davies points out that the terms "sons of darkness" and "army of Belial" "seem to be general in application and to define all following groups."[4] In other words, Davies takes בגדוד אדום ומואב ובני עמון etc. as in apposition to בני חושך בהיל בליעל. This interpretation makes Moab, Ammon, and other nations to be the incarnated army of Belial, thus projecting the heavenly figure upon the earthly dimension.

Based on the type of weapons and other military terminology used in the scroll, Yadin dates this scroll to the second half of the first century B.C.E.[5] The text definitely does not refer to past events. It rather presents a manual for the warfare that was to be launched in the near future.[6]

The author of the scroll takes the images straight from the prophetic books. Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the Philistines were ancient enemies of Israel. Most of the prophetic books pronounce woes on them and announce their destruction by God as retribution for their mistreatment of his people. The geopolitical situation in the first century B.C.E. is certainly different compared to the time of the Hebrew prophets, which suggests that the names of the nations may be used symbolically. In order to find support for this idea, it is necessary to trace the occurrences of these names in the DSS corpus.

The information about Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the Philistines is scarce. In fact, Ammon and Edom[7] occur only once in the DSS—in this text. The Philistines appear once in the War Scroll, two times in the Pesharim on Isaiah as a part of the biblical text, and in the fragment of 4Q462, where the context is not clear. Moab occurs as a part of the biblical text in Pesher Isaiah 4Q165; in the fragment 4Q175 as part of the text of Num 24; and twice in the War Scroll, in columns 1 and 11.

The usage of Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the Philistines in the DSS does not provide the answer about the purpose of the rhetoric of the author of the War Scroll. However, in the army of Belial these nations seem to be secondary. The main thrust of the war is to be directed against the Kittim. In the Hebrew Bible, the Kittim do not appear together with the neighboring foes of Israel. According to the Tanakh, the Kittim were the sons of Javan (Gen 10:4; 1 Chron 1:7), which

[4]Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History*, *Biblica et Orientalia*, 32 (Rome: Biblical Institue Press, 1977), 114.

[5]Yadin, 245.

[6]Ibid., 4-6.

[7]Edom, together with Moab, occurs also in 4Q434 (*Barki Napshi*) in the context of prayerful adoration.

means that they were descendants of Japheth. In the prophetic oracles, the Kittim appear in connection with Tyre and Sidon (Isa 23; Ezek 27), as dwellers of the coastal land distant from Israel (Dan 11:30; Jer 2:10).

The Identity of the Kittim

Two questions arise from 1QM col. 1.

1. What is the meaning of כחי אשור and הכחיים במצרים? Yadin notes an obvious contradiction between the fact that Ashur is the descendant of Shem, while the Kittim are the descendants of Japheth.[8] Why would the Kittim live in Ashur and Egypt if they are the dwellers of the western coast lands?

2. Why are the Kittim associated with the neighboring foes of Israel, since they have never been described in the Bible as the enemies of Israel?

Regarding the first question, A. Dupont-Sommer suggests that the Kittim of Ashur may be related to the Seleucids. However, another version of the answer to this question may be derived from Num 24:24, which Yadin considers to be very difficult to understand:[9]

וְצִים מִיַּד כִּתִּים וְעִנּוּ אַשּׁוּר וְעִנּוּ־עֵבֶר וְגַם־הוּא עֲדֵי אֹבֵד

It is possible that the author of the War Scroll alludes to this passage, using it in two ways: first, he sees that the land of Ashur was conquered by the Kittim; second, he could apply to the "Sons of Light" the role of the destroyers of the Kittim, those who bring the Kittim "to destruction."

Davies has addressed the question concerning the presence of the Kittim in Egypt. He reconstructs the broken text in the following way: "And after this battle the king of the north shall come up hence with the Kittim in Egypt."[10] In other words, the two expressions do not mean that there are Kittim from Ashur or Egypt, but they could also mean that the Kittim conquered these territories.

This conclusion is consistent with the picture of the Kittim elsewhere in the DSS. The word occurs fifty-seven times in the DSS. The majority of occurrences are in different manuscripts of the War Scroll (1QM, 4Q491, 4Q492). But the remaining occurrences are distributed among the Pesharim on Habakkuk, Nahum, Isaiah, and Psalms. The commentators of the Pesharim tend to make "Kittim" an allegorical representation of different evil things: e.g., in 1Q16 the beast in the reeds is "Kittim."[11] In the Pesher Habakkuk, the Chaldean conquerors are allegorically attributed to the Kittim.

Pesher Nahum's allegorical approach in the interpretation of the lion in

[8]Yadin, 22.

[9]Ibid., 23.

[10]Davies, 116-117.

[11]There is a break in the text between the word חיית and כחיים, but it is likely to be something such as "hordes of Kittim." Martinez sees ה before כחיים, which, if true, can support the statement.

Nah 2:12 serves as the basis for determining the identity of the Kittim.[12]

אשר הלך אדי לבוא שם גור ארי [ ]
[ואין מחריד פשרו על דמי]טרוס מלך יון אשר בקש לבוא ירושלים בעצת דורשי החלקות
[ולא נתן אל את ירושלים]ביד מלכי יון מאנתיכוס עד עמוד מושלי כתיים ואחד חדמס
[העיד ונחנה ביד מושלי הכתיים - -.] ארי טורף בדי נודיו ומחנק ללביותיו מדף.

This is the clearest indication that Pesher Nahum uses "Kittim" as a code word for the Romans. Dupont-Sommer gives a detailed discussion about the usage of "Kittim" in Pesher Habakkuk. He concludes that even in spite of some indications that "Kittim" could refer to the Seleucids,[13] the majority of the arguments favor a reference to the Romans.[14]

Even if some arguments about the Seleucid identity of the Kittim in Pesher Habakkuk could be based on the early pre-Roman date of the composition of the commentary,[15] these arguments could not be applied to the War Scroll, which was written after the Seleucid period. If a Roman identification of "Kittim" is valid for the War Scroll, then it clearly indicates that the goal for the first stage of the war of the Sons of Light against the army of Belial is to defeat the Romans.

The defeat of the Kittim seems to be the major concern of the author of the War Scroll throughout the whole book. Since the scroll was written during the Roman rule, the author wanted to hide his intentions from Roman censorship and make the content of the scroll understandable only to the group that would be familiar with other Qumran materials. Therefore, he was using the code word. However, the code word would still betray the author's intentions. Therefore, he included other nations, such as Moab, Edom, Ammon, and the Philistines, to make his work look more biblical and, thus, more misleading to the readers outside the sect. This is a possible answer to the second question presented above.

Global Dimensions of the War

At the third stage of the war, the Sons of Light were to fulfill the task of defeating the nations living "outside the territory promised to Abraham."[16]

בשנה הראישונה ילחמו בארם נהרים ובשניח בבנר לוד ובשלישית
ילשמו בשאר בני אדם בעוץ וחול חונר ומשא אשר בעבר פרחביעית
ובחמישית ילחמו בבני אדפכשד

This seems like a plan to conquer the world. In addition to the nations mentioned above, col. 2 also mentions Elam, the sons of Ham, Ishmael, and

[12]Yadin, 23.

[13]A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essences: New Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2d ed. (London: Valentine, Mitchell, 1953), 26-30.

[14]Ibid., 20-23.

[15]Ibid., 28.

[16]Yadin, 27.

Ketura. All these nations occur only once in the DSS. In the Hebrew Bible, they occur together only in the genealogy lists of Gen 10 and 1 Chron 1. Names such as Tohar, Mesha,[17] Arpachsad, and Ham[18] never occur outside of the geneaologies. Lud and Uz occur elsewhere, but not as primary enemies of Israel. The only enemies of Israel mentioned in the text are Ashur and the sons of Ishmael and Ketura. Only Ashur is mentioned elsewhere in the War Scroll, besides the text in col. 2. It is noteworthy that in all remaining occurrences in the War Scroll, Ashur is mentioned in connection with the Kittim. In phrases such as 1 QU 11:11, Ashur serves as a symbolic representation of the Kittim.

ומאז השמעֲחֲנו מעוֹעד גבורי ידכה בכחיים לאמור
ונפל בשרב לוא איש וחרב

In other words, it appears that in spite of the different nations mentioned in cols. 1 and 2, the Kittim are the main focus of the War of the Sons of Light. The Kittim seem to be the core of the army of Belial.

According to Yadin, the war has three stages, the last of which is the war against these distant nations that represent the whole world. Davies approaches the structure of the War Scroll differently. He believes that col. 1 does not serve as an introduction to 1QM.[19]

Davies's conclusions can be supported by the fact that there are apparent similarities between the content of cols. 1 and 19. These two columns mention Japheth and place the Kittim, Ashur, and the sons of Japheth together. As has been demonstrated above, biblical Ashur serves an allegorical counterpart for the Kittim. The Kittim are also the sons of Japheth. This may mean that there is only one enemy, the Kittim, who are the Romans. If Davies's conclusions about the place of col. 1 in the text of 1QM are correct, this means that the structure of the war is different than the one proposed by Yadin. Then the second column serves as an introduction, where the plan of the global war is laid out. This could be a general mission statement that all the nations mentioned in col. 2 have to be subdued for the eternal kingdom. The war is then directed toward the main enemy, the Kittim or Romans, who pose the major threat and resistance, and whose destruction actually hastens the eternal redemption (1QM 1:12).

Conclusion

If this conclusion about the sequence of the war is correct, the global war and the war against the neighbors could function as the coverup for the planned offensive against the occupying Romans. Iosif Amusin, in his book about the Qumran community, states that in the early stage of the development of DSS research, the Qumran community was believed to be Zealots.[20] Based on the

[17]BHS spells these names differently.

[18]In Pss 78, 105, and 106, Egypt is called "Ham."

[19]Davies, 112.

[20]I. D. Amusin, *Kumranskaya Obschina* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), 20.

use of "Kittim" in the DSS, this confusion is understandable. Unfortunately, scholars do not possess literary documents of the Zealots to compare their ideology with that of Qumran. Apocalyptic war in Qumran is led by priests, who are directed by God. The goal of the war is not to reach independence for Judea, but to bring eternal redemption and victory over the forces of evil.

Many scholars have noticed the similarity between the ideology of the early Christian community and Qumran.[21] Stephen Goranson makes a detailed comparison between the themes raised in the DSS and the book of Apocalypse.[22] One additional detail is important in comparing the Apocalypse of John with the War Scroll. Both books use symbolic apocalyptic language in order to be understood only by the community and not by the Romans. The writers of the Midrash and Talmud used the same method for hiding certain issues from Christian censors.

However, with regard to the location of the war and the community's role in relation to the enemy, the Apocalypse of John takes a different approach. The war is waged in the heavenly realm. God is fighting for the Christian community and the community is not allowed to fight. Thus DSS and the Apocalypse of John use symbolic language with the same purpose—to conceal the content. However, their views of the war differ.

[21]Ibid., 201-223.

[22]Stephen Goranson, "Essene Polemic in the Apocalypse of John," in *Legal Text and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino Garcia Martinez, and John Kampen (New York: Brill, 1997), 453-460.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, 43, Vol. 2, 267-283.

THE MARK OF THE BEAST AS A "SIGN COMMANDMENT" AND "ANTI-SABBATH" IN THE WORSHIP CRISIS OF REVELATION 12–14

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Explaining the "mark of the beast" (Rev 13:16; 14:9) has proven an elusive and difficult challenge to commentators. Some of the more popular futurist interpretations claim that John foresaw a future society where computer chips are literally placed in one's right hand or forehead.[1] This extremely literal approach attracts few scholars. Many scholars restrict their commentary on the mark to surveying, without necessarily affirming, the different suggestions, and instead offer largely spiritual interpretations.[2] Revelation suggests the mark is quite concrete and knowable. It is enforced on the earth's inhabitants; people can readily identify it and consequently accept it or reject it; whether one does or not is the difference between life and death.

Preterism and the Mark of the Beast

Preterist interpreters seek to ground any fulfillment of Revelation in events in the history of the first or second century A.D. Such attempts have proven unsuccessful. Edwin A. Judge illustrates the preterist struggle to find historical and exegetically satisfying answers for Rev 13.[3] He searches the ancient Roman Empire for any potential practice that may qualify as the mark of the beast, concluding that "we may *imagine*, then, those who enter the market of Ephesus having first to make their sacrifice, and then receiving their mark in ink on wrist or forehead, just as in Ezekiel 9:2-6" (emphasis supplied).[4] This is followed by the telling admission that there "is *no evidence* that such a test was actually applied at this time" (emphasis supplied).[5] However, Judge continues to insist that there is "just enough miscellaneous information on comparable practices for us to say that this is what *might* have

[1]See, e.g., "The Mark of the Beast" (or the number "666"), <www.evangelicaloutreach.org/markbeas. htm>; and "The 'Mark' is Ready! Are You?" <home.iae.nl/users/lightnet/world/mark.htm>.

[2]Philip E. Hughes, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 153; M. Eugene Boring, *Revelation*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: John Knox, 1989), 161-164; Robert W. Wall, *Revelation*, NICNT (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 173.

[3]Edwin A. Judge, "The Mark of the Beast: Revelation 13:16," *TynBul* 42/1 (1991): 158-160.

[4]Ibid., 160.

[5]Ibid.

sprung to mind for those listening to Revelation" (emphasis supplied).[6]

Judge's honesty and tentativeness are appreciated, but the problems are apparent, and not only in his admission that no evidence exists for such a reconstruction. His scenario simply doesn't sound like Rev 13, whether we take it literally or symbolically. An obscure local ban on entering the markets in Ephesus does not do justice to a crisis that involves "every tribe, people, language and nation" (v. 7), in which all the world will worship the beast, and those who refuse will be killed (vv. 12, 16). This worship crisis is followed by, and invokes, the seven last plagues, some of which specifically target those with the mark (cf. Rev 16:2, 10, 11). These plagues contain the complete, unmixed wrath of God (Rev 14:10; 15:1). Those bearing the beast's mark are pictured as the final opponents of God (15:2; 16:2; 19:20). Even allowing for prophetic/poetic hyperbole, this preterist reading stumbles at the universal and cosmic focus of the passage, and in the case of the plagues, its future orientation.[7] Bans from participating in the Ephesus markets lack historical fulfillment and dramatically underplay the passage.[8]

While the straightforward features mentioned above are not taken literally by preterist scholars, other features that can better be read as symbolic are read literally, in a manner reminiscent of the more populist approaches mentioned earlier. The mark becomes a literal and visible ink mark on the hand, the second beast's bringing of fire from heaven is actual "fireworks" (13:13), and the giving of the "image to the beast" power to speak is even suggested to be "ventriloquism" (13:15).[9] It is difficult to see how these highly literalistic readings are the apocalyptic events that deceive the nations, endanger the people of God, and call forth the extreme language and symbolism of Revelation.

This article will argue for a nonliteral, nonphysical reading of the mark itself (no ancient ink marks and no futuristic computer chips). At the same time, I want to suggest that the mark has a very concrete and tangible expression. It is not to be restricted to symbolic imagery that lacks any concrete

[6]Ibid.

[7]In the mind of John and his readers, this universality may or may not indicate the worldwide perspective of a modern reader. But it does appear to refer to the Roman Empire or the entire Mediterranean world, and not simply Ephesus or Asia Minor. This is a reasonable conclusion, even from a preterist perspective.

[8]George Eldon Ladd claims that no first-century practices fulfill these texts: "We know of no ancient practice which provides adequate background to explain the mark of the beast in historical terms." "The mark of the beast served both a religious and an economic purpose. Again we have no historical situation associated with emperor worship which illustrates this prophecy" (*A Commentary on the Revelation of John* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972], 185, 186).

[9]Judge, 160. Judge references S. J. Scherrer's article "Signs and Wonders in the Imperial Cult: A New Look at a Roman Religious Institution in the Light of Rev 13:13-15," *JBL* 103/4 (1984): 599-610; and S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 191-206.

referent, nor is it to be thought of in simply spiritual terms. I shall argue that the commandments of the Decalogue are the central issue in the controversy over the mark of the beast.[10] I will further argue that the mark of the beast is equivalent to what I term a "sign commandment," and more specifically it is a parody of the Sabbath which I term an "anti-Sabbath." This is based on an examination of the OT background to the mark of the beast and its relationship to the textual, thematic, and structural evidence within Rev 12–15.

An Old Testament Background to the Mark of the Beast

It is helpful to recognize that the language describing the mark of the beast is more rooted in the OT than in first-century conditions. This allows us to keep the exegesis of the text, rather than questionable historical reconstructions, as the controlling guide in our interpretations. John draws on the OT imagery and symbolism of what can be called "sign-commandments." In the OT, several commandments are designated as "signs." These include circumcision (Gen 17:11); the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the law of the firstborn, both of which are signs on the hand and forehead (Exod 13: 9, 16); and the Sabbath (Exod 31:13, 17; Ezek 20:12, 20). These are specific practices or commandments that God gives and identifies as "signs." In companion passages in Deuteronomy, there is a shift of focus. Instead of specific individual commandments as signs, we find that the keeping of all of God's regulations (in obedience to the great command to love God with the whole person [Deut 6:4; 10:12; 11:1, 13, 22]) is a sign on the hand and forehead (Deut 6:8; 11:18-21). Here stress is laid on the people's actively binding the commandments as signs on their hands and foreheads. The context, however, is not simply dutiful commandment-keeping in general, but the people's exclusive loyalty to the one true God.[11]

Examination of the passages in Genesis and Exodus reveals that specified sign commandments share the following characteristics: First, sign commandments are concerned about "*remembering*." They commemorate an

[10]Rebellion against God's commandments and the intensification of lawlessness are a common theme in biblical eschatology. Both Paul and Jesus single out increasing lawlessness as a mark of the last days (e.g., Matt 24:12; 2 Tim 3:1-5). The little horn of Daniel is notable for its attack on God's times and laws. For example, G. K. Beale has shown that the first beast of Rev 13 is modeled on Dan 7 (*The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* [Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 1984], 247). Paul describes the Antichrist in terms borrowed from Dan 7, 8, and 11. The Antichrist, "the man of lawlessness" (v. 3) and the "lawless one" (v. 8), will "oppose and exalt himself over everything that is called God or is worshiped" (2 Thess 2:4). Paul's lawless one, like Revelation's beast, which is aided by miracles, signs, and wonders, is finally destroyed by the splendor of the returning Christ (v. 8).

[11]Deut 4–12 highlight the need for exclusive obedience to YHWH. There is special focus on the Decalogue (Deut 5; 10:1-11) and the commandments to avoid other gods (Deut 6:13; 7:1-6, 25).

experience with God and remind the one observing them of this event. The feast of unleavened bread is described as a "reminder" on the forehead of the Exodus deliverance (Exod 13:9). It especially serves to remind the next generation (Exod 13:8, 14). Second, sign commandments are *identifying* signs or symbols of a special relationship between God and the keeper. They are a "sign of the covenant between me and you" (Gen 17:11); a "sign between me and the people of Israel that in six days the Lord made the heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed" (Exod 31:21); and a sign that "with a strong hand the Lord brought you out of Egypt" (Exod 13:9). They perform an important role in outwardly identifying "who" the worshiped God is and "who" the worshipers are. Third, sign commandments are *"ceremonial"* or *"ritual"* in nature. Unlike some "moral" commands that simply forbid an action (e.g., "You shall not steal"), sign commands entail some ritualized action of obedience and worship. One keeps the commandment by performing some act. This in particular enables them to function as observable signs. The sign-commandment passages in Deut 6 and 11 are also concerned about remembering God, identifying the relationship between YHWH and his people to the exclusion of other gods, and the active performance of laws specific to YHWH and not simply the prohibition of immoral conduct. How, then, does God place signs on his people's hands and foreheads? The answer would not claim that God literally or physically marks people, but rather God gives his people a religious commandment or worship practice to keep.

This brief survey helps us understand how the Sabbath functions as the sign commandment for the whole Covenant (Exod 31:12, 17). First, in Exod 20:8-11, the Sabbath is about *remembering* God's act of creation. Second, the Sabbath identifies the Israelite God as YHWH the Creator and the people as worshipers of this universal Creator God. Third, the Sabbath includes a "ritualized" element that involves setting apart the seventh day as a holy rest day for God.[12] The declaration of the Sabbath as a sign is the last thing God says to Moses before handing him the Decalogue (Exod 31:17, 18) and the first thing after giving a new copy of the Decalogue (Exod 35:1-3). The Sabbath is *the* sign commandment of the Covenant and appropriately sits in the heart of the Decalogue.

Mark of the Beast as a Sign Commandment

The mark of the beast reveals several similarities to a sign commandment. First, the mark explicitly draws on the placement imagery of hands and forehead (Rev 13:16).[13] Second, as with sign commandments, the mark of the beast *identifies* that the wearer and keeper are in a relationship of obedience to the beast. This sense of identification is of great importance in Revelation, because

[12]This is not to say that the Sabbath is a "ceremonial" law, as in the traditional distinction between moral and ceremonial laws. Such a theological scheme should not be imposed on the Decalogue.

[13]The mark of the beast does not appear to "remember" or commemorate anything the beast has done, although it does remind wearers of where their allegiance now lies.

whoever is identified is also protected.[14] Those marked by the beast and worshiping him will not face his economic boycott and death threats (Rev 13:15-17). In parallel fashion, those sealed by God will be preserved from the wrath of God (Rev 7:1-3; 9:4).[15] Third, just as the essence of an OT sign commandment included obedience that involved a ceremonial element, so the mark appears to be a command that involves participation in some manner of ritualized worship. The mark is always connected with the worship of the beast and its image, and is the sign of this very worship (Rev 13:12-16; 14:9-11). Thus the beast marks people on the forehead and hand in the same way God does in the OT, by giving or enforcing a worship practice or commandment.

The visions of Rev 12–15 provide the context for the mark of the beast and contain three lines of evidence supporting the identification of the mark as a sign commandment. These chapters also narrow the focus on commandments to the first table of the Decalogue, and the Sabbath in particular. This is a strong foundation for the identification of the mark as a parody of the Sabbath. The first line of evidence looks at the significance of the heavenly scenes of 11:19 and 15:1-8, which form the boundaries of the vision discussing the mark. The second line of evidence looks at the language of "commandments" in chapters 12 and 14. The third line of evidence involves discerning two patterns within chapters 12 and 13 that further reinforce a focus on the Ten Commandments and sharpen this focus on the Sabbath sign commandment.

The Ten Commandments and the Boundary Scenes of Revelation 12–15

Kenneth A. Strand, in his investigation into the structure of Revelation, demonstrates that each new section of vision is introduced by what he calls

[14]The mark of the beast and the seal of God identify in order to protect, in the same way the Passover sign of blood protected the Israelites (Exod 12:7, 13, 14). There are parallels between sign commandments and the Passover sign of blood. The blood of the Passover was ritually placed on the doorpost and lintels of the house. In Deuteronomy, the commandments were to be ritually placed as signs not only on the hand and forehead, but also the doorposts and lintels. Placing the Passover blood on the doorposts protected the people from the plagues. In Revelation, those who resist the beast's mark and receive the seal of God are protected from the seven last plagues.

[15]Revelation also draws on Ezekiel's vision of the angel that places a mark on the forehead of those who sigh and cry over abominations (Ezek 8, 9). The worst of these abominations are described in Ezek 8; all of them relate to false worship and idolatry. It is the commandment-keepers who are given God's protective mark, while the idolaters suffer God's judgment. The focus on commandment-keeping, especially commandments connected to worship as a decisive element for marking, is exactly the point this article is making. In Revelation, the OT imagery and theology of sign commandments, the Passover sign, and the mark of Ezek 9 are brought together to create a composite picture of the mark of the beast as an identifying and protecting mark on those who worship and obey the beast power.

"victorious-introduction scenes."[16] These scenes are usually based on the imagery of the sanctuary. Features of these victorious-introduction scenes reappear in the visions that follow and highlight their particular focus. For example, the features describing Jesus in Rev 1 reappear throughout subsequent letters to the churches, influencing both the structure and content. Another example is the vision of the trumpets, which is introduced by an angel ministering "in heaven"at the altar, "before the throne" (Rev 8:1, 3) and who casts a censer filled with incense and fire to earth (Rev 8:5). Consequently, the trumpets then feature repeated castings to the earth (Rev 8:7, 8, 10) and repeated mentions of the altar (vv. 3. 5). These introductory scenes also act as structural seams or boundaries between visions. Jon Paulien maintains that these boundaries or structural seams are *duodirectional*—that is, they both end one visionary unit and introduce another.[17]

The vision of the conflict between Christ and the dragon in Rev 12–15 is located between two clear structural units of Revelation, the seven trumpets (Rev 8–11) and the seven plagues (Rev 15–16).[18] The elements that provide transitions and boundaries between the trumpets, the vision of chapters 12–15, and the seven last plagues are the heavenly scenes or structural seams of 11:15-19 and 15:1-8. Both Paulien and J. Michael Ramsay identify 11:15-19 as a duodirectional structural seam that climaxes the trumpets but also provides an orderly summary of chapters 12–22.[19] Paulien's evidence demonstrates that this duodirectionality

[16]See Kenneth A. Strand, "'The Eight Basic Visions' and 'Victorious-introduction' Scenes," in *Symposium on Revelation*, Daniel and Revelation Committee, vol. 6, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 35-72. Strand's victorious-introduction scenes, 40-46, are 1:10-20; 4–5; 8:2-6; 11:19; 15:1–16:1; 16:18–17:3a; 19:1-10; 21:5-11a. I would disagree with Strand in his use of 16:18.

[17]Jon Paulien, "Looking Both Ways: A Study of the Duodirectionality of the Structural Seams in the Apocalypse" (paper presented to the Hebrews, General and Pastoral Epistles, Apocalypse Section of the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Chicago, November 19-22, 1988).

[18]William H. Shea and Ed Christian, "The Chiastic Structure of Rev 12:1–15:4: The Great Controversy Vision," *AUSS* 38 (2000): 269-292. Shea and Christian follow Jon Paulien's structure in his "Revisiting the Structure of Revelation" (paper presented at the yearly conference of the Evangelical Theological Society, November 20, 1997), where Paulien suggests the following structure: The Seven Churches (1:9–3:22); The Seven Seals (4:1–8:1); The Seven Trumpets (8:2–11:18); The Final Crisis (11:19–15:4); The Seven Bowls (15:5–18:24); The Millennium (19:1–20:15); and The New Jerusalem (21:1–22:5). What is crucial for this article is not a particular structure, but the relationship between the duodirectional heavenly scenes of 11:19 and 15:1-8 and the content of the vision in between.

[19]See Paulien, "Looking Both Ways," 1, 2. The "nations were angry" parallels the dragon's anger against the woman (12:17); "God's wrath has come" is elaborated in the wrath of the plagues (14:10; 15:1); the "time to judge the dead" is fulfilled in the judgment of 20:11-15; the "time of rewards" parallels 22:12. J. Ramsey Michaels states: "The repetition of the words 'appear' and 'in heaven' accent the continuity between God's self-disclosure in the temple and the disclosure of conflict and victory in the next four or five chapters (cf. 15:5). In this sense the seventh trumpet is open-ended,

is especially true of 11:18.[20] The same cannot be said directly of 11:19. This verse is more narrowly focused as the introductory scene for chapters 12–15.[21]

The structural seam of 15:1-8 is also duodirectional, with v. 5 being the pivot verse.[22] In v. 1, we are introduced to the plague angels, which will act in chapter 16 to follow; and in vv. 3-4, we see the saints who have triumphed over the beast, his image, and his mark of the previous chapters. Revelation 15:5-8 recalls the vision of the Most Holy Place in 11:19, with mention of the opening of the heavenly "tabernacle of the testimony," as well as describing the preparing of the angels to administer the seven last plagues. William Shea and Ed Christian note that the heavenly scenes of 11:19 and 15:5-8 form a frame around chapters 12–14. Both passages are set in the Most Holy Place, and both include manifestations of the glory of God that recall the giving of the law at Mount Sinai.[23]

We should expect 11:19 and 15:5 (with their focus on the Ark of the Covenant and the heavenly Tent of the Testimony, which are both repeated and strong allusions to the Decalogue), in line with other introductory scenes, to influence and shape the content of the intervening vision to some degree.[24] There

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encompassing all the rest of the Book in Revelation and announcing in advance the end of the story" (*Revelation* [Leicester: InterVarsity, 1997], 146-147).

[20]Paulien, "Looking Both Ways," 1, 2.

[21]David Aune sees Rev 11:19 as both an introduction to 12:1-17 and a conclusion of 11:15-18 (*Revelation 6–16*, WBC [Dallas: Word, 1997], 661). See also Ekkehardt Mueller, "Recapitulation in Revelation 4–11," *JATS* 9/1, 2 (1998): 260-277. Mueller, 275, demonstrates that 11:19 functions as the heavenly introductory scene to chaps. 12–14, just as chaps. 4 and 5 do for the seals and 8:2-6 for the trumpets. Rev 11:19 is clearly part of chap. 12, as it shares key formula expressions that are unique to these chapters alone, e.g., 11:19 (καὶ ὤφθη, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ); 12:1 (ὤφθη, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ), 12:3 (καὶ ὤφθη, καὶ ἰδου, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ).

[22]Michael Willcock delineates the fourth vision as 11:19–15:4 (*I Saw Heaven Opened: The Message of Revelation* [London: InterVarsity, 1975], 110-116). Willcock, 112, argues that when something is opened in heaven, it indicates a new vision: "So there are four places [4:1; 11:19; 15:5; 19:11] where 'openings' of this kind mark the beginning of new Scenes." An opening in heaven seems to indicate a new vision is commencing; however, we should not make the cut between visions so abrupt and precise that we forget the duodirectinal nature of boundaries between visions. Therefore, 15:5 is part of 15:1-8, which looks back at chaps. 12–14, while intentionally recalling 11:19, as well as forward to chap. 16.

[23]Shea and Christian, 273. Concerning the flow of the overall vision, G. K. Beale observes that mercy is available in 11:19 because the temple is still accessible, but it becomes inaccessible in 15:8 due to smoke and the temple becomes a place of judgment (*The Book of Revelation*, NIGTC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999], 801-802).

[24]I believe the significance of the 11:19 vision of the ark includes, but definitely extends beyond, being a symbol of God's steadfast love, the remembering of his people, or for Robert H. Mounce, "the symbol of God's faithfulness in fulfilling his promises" (*The Book of Revelation*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1977], 228). The essential repetition of the focus in 15:5 suggests something much more concrete is in order.

is much to commend J. Massyngbaerde Ford's view that the vision of the ark, which represents God's heavenly order, is linked to the war between God and the beasts.[25] The only shortcoming is that it fails to develop the deeper links present. Revelation highlights the "ark of his covenant" and the "tent of the testimony" in anticipation of the dragon's war on those same commandments. The Ark of the Covenant contains the Decalogue, and this Covenant is the particular set of commandments that are at issue in conflict over the mark of the beast.

In addition to the focus on the Decalogue in the enveloping heavenly scenes, there is, near the center of these chapters, a parallel description of the saints as "those who keep the commandments of God" (12:17; 14:12). The opposite of receiving the mark of the beast is keeping the commandments of God.[26] In 12:17, the description introduces and identifies the characteristics of those who stand against the dragon in the battle to follow. In 14:12, the description is of the same group, which steadfastly refuse to receive the mark of the beast. Both the visionary scenes (A, A') and the description of the saints as commandment keepers (F, F') form balanced pairs in a chiastic structure advanced by Shea.[27]

A 11:19 Ark of the Covenant: Sanctuary Scene Plus the Commandments
  B 12:1-2 The first Great Portent (Gr. σεμεῖον): The Pure Woman
    C 12:3-4a The Second Great Portent (σεμεῖον): The Great Dragon
      D 12:4b-5 The Male Child: The First Coming of Christ
        E 12:10-12 The Voice From Heaven: Blessing in Heaven but Curse on the Earth
          F 12:17 Keep the Commandments and Testimony of Jesus
            G 13:1-18 The Sea Beast and the Land Beast (*en bloc*)
              H 14:1-5 The Lamb and 144,000 on Mount Zion
            G' 14:6-11 The Three Angels' Messages (*en bloc*)
          F' 14:12 Keep the Commandments and the Faith of Jesus
        E' 14:13 The Voice from Heaven: Double Blessing on Earth
      D' 14:14-20 The Son of Man: The Second Coming of Christ
    C' 15:1 The Third Great Portent (Gr. σεμεῖον): The 7 Plagues
  B' 15:2-4 The Remnant of the Woman's Seed in Heaven
A' 15:5-8 The Temple of the Tent of the Testimony: Sanctuary Scene Plus the Commandments

[25]J. Massyngbaerde Ford states: "With 11:15-19 the first segment (chaps. 4–11) of Revelation ends in an epiphany, a vision of the heavenly order. Such an ending is appropriate, since the second segment (chs. 12–20) will be terrestrially oriented. *The heavenly war-ark of 11:19 is a fitting prelude to the Holy War against the fleshly beast which will be portrayed in the second segment*" (*Revelation*, AB [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975], 182, emphasis supplied).

[26]Klaus Bockmuehl makes the comment that "the book of Revelation even describes the keeping of the commandments as an *eschatological mark* of Christ's Church" ("Keeping His Commandments," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 6/1 [April 1982]: 98, emphasis supplied).

[27]Taken from William H. Shea, "The Controversy Over the Commandments in the Central Chiasm of Revelation," *JATS* 11/1, 2 (2000): 217.

In summary, the heavenly visions of 11:19 and 15:5 form an *inclusio* around chapters 12–14 that highlights the Decalogue as the particular set of commandments at issue in the conflict over the mark of the beast.

Identification of the Commandments of God

We have noted strong evidence to suggest that these commandments should be equated especially with the Decalogue. David Aune is one of the few commentators to explore in detail the significance of "the commandments of God" in 12:17 and 14:12.[28] After surveying the NT, Aune concludes by stating that "for early Christian authors, the central part of the law was the second table of the Decalogue (i.e., the ethical commands) and the love command."[29] He applies the same conclusion to both 12:17 and 14:12.[30] There are deficiencies with this application. It claims Revelation, in the midst of a life-and-death crisis over worship, is suddenly highlighting not the worship allegiance and practice, but the loving and ethical nature of the saints. While no one would argue that the saints are dishonoring mother and father, murdering, or committing adultery, this hardly functions to set them apart in the context of chapters 12–14. The special issue of these chapters is *correct worship*.[31] It is the correct worship of God, which is the central concern of the first table of the Decalogue, and not the second table, which focuses on right conduct to other human beings, that matters in overt religious crisis. During persecution, what is primarily at stake is the vertical question of "love to God" more than the horizontal issue of "love to neighbor."

It seems Aune's reliance on the distinction between moral laws and ceremonial laws causes him to restrict the commandments to ethical and not ceremonial possibilities, even though he is aware that it is usually ceremonial laws that are at issue in times of persecution. He states that "the phrase *terein*

[28]Beale observes that "'The commandments of God' is a holistic reference to the objective revelation of the old and new covenants, to which the faithful remain loyal" (*Revelation*, 766). The Decalogue is contained in such a view, but not highlighted.

[29]Aune, 710-712.

[30]Aune, 711-712, states: "It is in this context that 'keeping the commandments of God' in Rev 12:17 and 14:12 must be regarded as referring to the ethical requirements of the Torah."

[31]The idea of correct worship constantly emerges as a central theme of Revelation, esp. 12–14. The word "worship" occurs fifteen times in Revelation (3:9; 4:10; 9:20; 11:1; 13:8, 12, 15; 14:7, 9, 11; 15:4; 19:10 [twice]; 22:8, 9), while the word "worshiped" occurs nine times (5:14; 7:11; 11:16; 13:4 [twice]; 16:2; 19:4, 20; 20:4). Of the twenty-four times that the words "worship" or "worshiped" occur, ten instances are directly related to worship of the dragon, beast, or image to the beast. R. J. Bauckham states that the whole theme of Revelation is the distinction between true and false worship ("Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity," *NTS* 27 [1981]: 332-341). See also Jon Paulien, who states: "The issue in the final crisis of earth's history is clearly worship" ("Revisiting the Sabbath in the Book of Revelation," *JATS* 9/1, 2 [1998]: 182).

tas entolas, 'keep the commandments,' certainly relates to obedience to Torah (understood primarily in an ethical sense), an important constituent motif in narratives concerning Jewish martyrdom (where the emphasis, however, is particularly on the ceremonial aspects of the Torah, such as circumcision, dietary laws, and Sabbath observance)."[32] In reality, this restrictive ethical sense is secondary, and the religious or worship sense, here termed "ceremonial," is primary. Jews were martyred over worship or ceremonial laws precisely because these religious expressions of faith marked them as followers of YHWH, over and against all other religious or political claimants. The ethical commands (e.g., do not murder, do not steal, do not covet) are not the primary issue during persecution. Accordingly, the saints in the apocalypse are not persecuted because they are ethical to others, but because they hold to the faith of Jesus and keep the commandments of God.[33] That is, their "ethical" relationship to God identifies them as objects of persecution.

Violation of the First Table of the Decalogue in Revelation 13

We have noted, on the basis of structural and contextual features, the strong evidence for the Decalogue as the central issue in Rev 12–14. We can now proceed to see if the rebellious activity of the beast directly or indirectly violates the specific commandments of the Decalogue. Indeed, commentators have noted allusions to the first table of the Decalogue in the activity of the beast. Aune notes that "blaspheming God or the name of God suggests a violation of the third commandment, i.e., the warning against the wrongful use of the name of God (Exod 20:7 = Deut 5:11), a violation for which there was a capital penalty."[34] In regard to the image to the beast, J. Massyngbaerde Ford concludes that "the actual making of an image for the monster is a direct infringement of Exod 20:3-4 and possibly recalls the golden calf of Exod 32."[35] Alan F. Johnson observes that "John describes this reality [i.e., beast's image and mark] as a blasphemous and idolatrous system that produces a breach of the first two commandments (Exod

[32]Cf. Aune, 837, and his discussion on pp. 710-712. The use of the ethical/ceremonial division of the law is best left out of our interpretation of Revelation. Narratives concerning Jewish martyrdom mention so-called "ceremonial" features because they are concerned with true worship versus false, idolatrous worship. Views that delimit or focus exclusively on "ethical" or "love" commands fail to take note of the strong allusions to the first table of the Decalogue in Rev 13.

[33]David Peterson states: "On the other hand, although it is not called worship as such, there is a clear alternative to the worship of the beast. In 14:12, following the portrayal of the judgment of God on all idolaters, John's call is for patient endurance on the part of the saints who obey God's commandments and remain faithful to Jesus (cf. 13:10)" ("Worship in the Revelation to John," *RTR* 47 [1988]: 67-77).

[34]Aune, 744.

[35]Ford, 224.

20:3-5)."[36] However, these commentators do not discern a more extensive or systematic violation, nor do they connect their observations with the introductory scenes of 11:19 or 15:1-8. The parallels are even more extensive and consistent than previously realized. Below is a diagram that depicts the extensive nature of the beast's attack on the Decalogue.[37]

Table 1
Parallels Between Revelation 13 and the Decalogue

First Table of Decalogue in Exodus 20	*Attack on First Table of Decalogue in Revelation 13*
(1) "You shall have no other gods before me" (20:3).	(C_1) "they worshiped the dragon . . . beast" (13:4, 8).
(2) "You shall not make for yourself an idol . . . you shall not bow down or worship them" (20:4-5).	(C_2) "make an image of the beast . . . worship the image" (13:14, 15).
(3) "You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the Lord your God."	(C_3) "uttered blasphemies against God, to blaspheme his name" (13:1, 5-6).
(4) "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy . . . the seventh day is a Sabbath of the Lord your God."	(C_4) "the mark, that is, the name of the beast or the number of its name."
"Six days you shall labor and do all your work. But the seventh day . . . you shall not do any work."	"so that no one may buy or sell who does not have the mark."
"neither you, your son or your daughter, your male or female slave, your livestock, or the alien resident in your town" (20:8-11).	"it causes all, both small and great, both rich and poor, both free and slave, to be marked" (13:16-17).

Here we see why Revelation draws our attention to the ark and the commandments of God. There is a basic progression through the first table of the Decalogue.[38] The order of commandments is scattered in Rev 13, but the pattern is unmistakable. The evil trinity of the dragon, sea beast, and earth beast leads the world to rebel against God's covenant law. First, the evil trinity assumes the worship and position of a false god in violation of the first commandment.

[36]Alan F. Johnson, "Revelation," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 12: 531.

[37]Inspiration for this diagram came from a seminar talk on Revelation by Ed Dickerson, given at Longburn College, New Zealand, in 1995. Dickerson, who suggested the parallel with the first table of the Decalogue in a more simplified manner, had not explored the Sabbath parallels.

[38]Ranko Stefanovic concludes that the sea beast's activities are well-planned attacks on the first four commandments of the Decalogue (*Revelation of Jesus Christ* [Berrien Springs: Andrews University, 2002], 415).

Second, they blaspheme God and his name. Third, they construct an idolatrous image that people must worship. And lastly, the evil trinity substitutes a Sabbath-like mark.[39] The mark is the culmination of the evil trinity's attempt at deceiving the world, receiving its worship, and establishing a kind of false "covenant."[40] The laws they enforce become sign commandments and tests of loyalty and allegiance, much the same as the commandments of God. Parodying, mimicking, imitating, and substituting or replacing describe well the overall characterization of the *anti*-god powers in Rev 12–20.[41]

Mark as Anti-Sabbath

The "mark of the beast" is a parody or substitution of the Sabbath, the sign commandment of God's covenant. The mark both imitates and seeks to replace the Sabbath. Several interesting correspondences between the mark of the beast and the Sabbath emerge. The parallels in Table 1 between C_4 and the fourth commandment are largely parodies. These parallels, as with the rest of the beast's parodying of God in Revelation, contain similarities and dissimilarities. These are not wooden parallels and are often either allusions or conceptual in nature. In the first parallel, the mark of the beast is "the *name* of the beast or the *number* of its name" (13:17, emphasis supplied). The mark brings together name and number in a way reminiscent of the Sabbath, with its declaration of the name of God, YHWH, and God's "number," the seventh-day Sabbath. Both the mark and the Sabbath share a rare pattern of mark/sign, name, and number. In the second parallel, both the mark and the Sabbath are concerned with the economic regulation of people's life, rest, and work. Both restrict work, but for different reasons. The mark is punitive, stating "that no one may buy or sell who does not have the mark" (13:17), whereas the Sabbath is restorative and commands cessation from work in order that all may rest and be refreshed. In Scripture, to cease from work on the Sabbath is especially to "not buy or sell" (cf. Neh 10:31;

[39]Ibid., 426, 427. Stefanovic, ibid., notes that "as the Sabbath is the distinctive sign of obedience by God's faith people (cf. Exod. 31:12-17; Ezek. 20:12, 20), so the mark of the beast, the counterfeit Sabbath, is the sign of obedience to the beast. The mark of the beast thus functions as the substitution of God's commandments for human commandments (including the human-established false Sabbath, substituted for the seventh-day Sabbath, which is the distinctive sign of belonging and loyalty to God)."

[40]Concerning Rev 13, Gordon Campbell states: "[A] tandem of monsters will astonish earth-dwellers . . . and model an *anti-covenant* which is both derisory—with a sham god and idolatrous false worship—and also tragic, given the way people flock to enter this counterfeit pact" ("Finding Seals, Trumpets, and Bowls: Variation upon the Theme of Covenant Rupture and Restoration in the Book of Revelation," *WTJ* 66 [2004]: 71-96, emphasis supplied).

[41]Other examples include: the parodying of Jesus, who was dead but is now alive, by the beast, who receives a deadly wound but is healed; the parody of the false trinity (dragon, beast, and false prophet); the parodying of "the Lord God, who is and who was and who is to come" (1:8) by the beast, which "was and is not and is to come" (17:8).

13:15-22). Here the mark directly parodies the Sabbath. The third parallel observes that both the mark and the Sabbath are universal in intent and extend to all classes of people. The mark "causes all, both small and great, both rich and poor, both free and slave, to be marked" (13:16-17). The Sabbath offers universal rest to "you, your son or your daughter, your male or female slave, your livestock, or the alien resident in your town" (20:8-11).[42]

Reflecting on the theological meaning of the parallels points to further similarities and important dissimilarities between God's sign and the beast's mark. The mark actually reverses what the Sabbath intends. In this way, the two reveal differences between the respective characters and reign of God and of the dragon. The Sabbath protects the vulnerable (e.g., servants, aliens, even animals), while the mark is oppressive. The Sabbath is about economic release, while the mark is about economic force, control, and marginalization. The Sabbath, as a sign commandment, expresses allegiance to the Creator, whereas the mark is the institution and product of creatures expressing allegiance to the beast.[43] The Sabbath is rest in the God who completes, while the mark is restless rebellion. The Sabbath is willing obedience to the Creator God, but the mark works by a coercive force that achieves obedience through fear and deception (Rev 13:13-17). Each one is a fitting sign, reflecting the nature of the giver. The mark is a sad and oppressive parody of the life-affirming gift of the Lord of the Sabbath.

In Shea's chiasm, referred to earlier, the chiastic pair of G, G' features the beast's program of false worship and God's call to true worship through the three angels. The false worship centers in the anti-Sabbath mark. Interestingly, the three angels' singular response to the false worship of the beast contains a call to true worship, based on an allusion to the Sabbath commandment (14:7).[44] Considering

[42]Concerning the "mark of the beast," Mounce, 259, notes that "the coupling of opposites (small, great; rich, poor; free, slave) is a rhetorical way of stressing the totality of human society (cf. 11:18; 19:5, 18; 20:12)." A similar coupling and totality is seen in the Sabbath commandment. Both the Sabbath and the beast's mark are universal in intent.

[43]Because the Sabbath is a sign of one's covenant relationship with the *Creator* God (Exod 31:12-18), it is often set in contrast to idolatry. In Ezekiel, it is a sign in the context of idolatry and false worship (Ezek 20:19, 20, 24). Both are themes that appear in Rev 12–15. The Sabbath functions as a "prophylactic" that protects against all forms of idolatry. Desmond Ford states: "These sabbath-idolatry oppositional references are so many in number that their combination cannot be simply ignored as accidental" (*Crisis: A Commentary on the Book of Revelation* [Newcastle, Australia: Desmond Ford Publications, 1982], 2: 522-523). Ford is referring to the study by Gnana Robinson, *The Origin and Development of the Old Testament Sabbath* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Hamburg, 1975), 304-305.

[44]Jon Paulien shows that the first angel's message (14:6, 7), which carries God's single and specific response to pressure to worship the beast, consists of an allusion to the Sabbath command of the Decalogue in Exod 20:8-11. In opposition to the false worship of dragon and beast comes the call to "*worship him who made the heaven and earth, the sea* and the springs of water." Paulien demonstrates verbal, thematic, and structural parallels to the fourth commandment. One counters the mark of the beast by keeping

the extensive focus on commandments in chapters 12 and 15, this allusion appears deliberate and suggests that one resists the beast and follows God by keeping God's mark or sign commandment.[45] This paralleling of creature worship, based on the anti-Sabbath mark, and Creator worship, based on an allusion to the Sabbath, neatly balance each other. Before moving on, we may note with other scholars that the mark is a parody of the seal of God.[46] This realization, with our discussion above, implies a possible link between the seal of God and the Sabbath. External evidence exists for just such a link.[47]

Genesis 1, 2 and the Reversal of Creation in Revelation 12–14

So far we have examined the Decalogue pattern and its Sabbath commandment in relation to the beast's activity in Rev 12–14. John appears to have incorporated another complementary pattern that serves to strengthen this article's thesis. John uses Gen 1 and 2 as an architectural-like backdrop to further highlight the nature of the beast's rebellion against the Sabbath-

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the Sabbath ("Revisiting the Sabbath," 179-186). The editors of the fourth edition of the UBS Greek New Testament note in the margin that Rev 14:7b is an allusion to Exod 20:11 (cf. Stefanovic, 416).

[45]Stefanovic, 416, argues that "the urging of the people to worship the true God in relation to the Sabbath commandment and warning them not to worship the beast and receive his mark strongly suggests that the mark of the beast functions as the counterfeit to the Sabbath commandment."

[46]Mounce, 260, states: "Whatever the background of the word ["mark," χάραγμα], its significance in the present passage is to parody the sealing of the servants of God in chapter 7." Beale, 716, notes that the mark is "the parody and opposite of the seal."

[47]The making of a link between the mark, the Sabbath, and the seal of God would be a powerful reinforcement of the thesis of this article. Interestingly, work on the Hittite suzerainty treaties led Meredith Kline to link the Sabbath with the seal of God. Kline writes: "As a further detail in the parallelism of external appearances [between suzerainty treaties and the Decalogue] it is tempting to see in the sabbath sign presented in the midst of the ten words *the equivalent of the suzerain's dynastic seal* found in the midst of the obverse of the international treaty document. Since in the case of the Decalogue the suzerain is Yahweh, there will be no representation of him on his seal, but the sabbath is declared to be his 'sign of the covenant' (Ex 31:13-17). By means of his sabbath-keeping, the image-bearer of God images the pattern of that divine act of creation which proclaims *God's absolute sovereignty over man, and thereby he pledges his covenant consecration to his Maker.* The Creator has stamped on world history the *sign of the sabbath as his seal of ownership and authority.* That is precisely what the pictures on the dynastic seals symbolise and their captions claim in behalf of the treaty gods and their representatives, the suzerain" (*The Treaty of the Great King: The Covenant Structure of Deuteronomy: Studies and Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963], 18-19, emphasis supplied). The relevance to Rev 13 and 14 is striking.

instituting Creator God.[48] The imagery of Rev 12 and 14 picks up on the configuration of the creation story, especially the final half of creation week, to tell the story of the dragon's attack on God. The parallels are consistent in their order and suggestive in nature.

On the fourth day of the creation story, various lights in the heavens are created to rule day and night. The location is the heavens in which we find the occupants—sun, moon, and stars. Revelation 12 and 13 incorporate a symbolic reworking of this Genesis account. John sees a portent, located in heaven, of a woman. This woman is surrounded with the creations of day four. She is clothed with the sun, the moon is below her, and she is adorned with twelve stars. All is in order, until the dragon intrudes into this heavenly scene and seeks to destroy the woman. Unlike the sun, moon, and stars on the woman, this dragon has no parallel in Gen 1. But like the serpent of Gen 2, the dragon is clearly disrupting God's order of creation. He is consequently cast out of the heavenly realms and proceeds to turn the earthly realms into chaos. John informs us that this dragon is the primal serpent that disrupted God's original order (Rev 12:9).[49]

As Genesis shifts location from the heavens to the earth on day five, so a corresponding shift occurs in Revelation. On day five, God creates both birds and "great sea creatures," declaring: "Let the waters abound with an abundance of living creatures" (Gen 1:20, 21). The creatures are to produce after their own kind in harmony with God's purposes. In Rev 13, the dragon calls up his own beast from the sea. This sea beast, with its composite and hybrid appearance, is a hideous warping of the divine will that creation would produce after its own kind.

On day six, God makes various animals that live on the earth: "Let the earth bring forth the living creature according to its kind: cattle and creeping thing and the beast of the earth." After this God creates in his image: "Let us make man in our own image, according to our likeness" (Gen 1:26). To this image is given dominion over all the earth and everything in it. God exercises his rule through his image (Gen 1:26-30). Later, in Gen 2:7, we learn that God forms his image and gives it life by breathing into his nostrils "the breath of life." God then allows his image to name the rest of creation. This naming of the animals is most likely an act expressing his authority and dominion. The location is the earth and it is filled with, among other things, the beasts of the earth and by God's own special image exercising dominion over the earth.

At the end of the Genesis account, God sees the world he has created—an order in harmony with him—and declares it very good. This leads him to cease from his work and rest on the seventh day. He also blesses this day and sets it

[48]The comparisons between Gen 1–2 and Rev 12–13 are drawn from Shea, "Controversy Over the Commandments," 227, 228.

[49]The attacks by both the dragon and the serpent focus on commandments. The serpent attacks the command to refrain from eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The dragon attacks the commandments of God.

apart (Gen 2:1-3). The Sabbath is the crowning climax of the divine action. This numbered day, the seventh, is God's special, sanctified day in contrast with the other days, which are associated with various parts of the created order. The Sabbath signifies that God has finished a perfect work and that he is the Creator God, who is the true end, goal, and meaning of all creation. The Sabbath is his seal of approval on his work.

Continuing the parallel to the sixth and seventh days, the dragon and sea beast are joined by a beast from the earth. This beast is given power to give breath to "the image to the beast" (Rev 13:15). Through this image, the evil trinity exercises dominion over all the earth. They attempt to place their name upon all the inhabitants of the earth. This is done through the mark of the beast, which is the climax of their activity, and includes receiving the beast's number. The mark of the beast signifies that all of creation is under the beast. However, God's messages in Rev 14 specifically mention that those who receive this mark will know no rest. Contextually, this can now be seen as an appropriate punishment for such anti-Sabbath activity. In contrast, those who keep the Sabbath of God's commanding receive a Sabbath-like blessing. Rev 14:13 contains a Sabbath-like allusion that includes a "blessing" to those who die and a promise to the saints of "rest from their labors."[50] The fullness of Sabbath rest for these commandment-keepers transcends death. These allusions are based in God's original *blessing* of Sabbath and *rest from his labor* (Gen 2:1-3). The Sabbath God, who brings forth creation and gives life in the beginning, is present with his faithful saints, who labor for God and face death for him in the end. The Sabbath points us not to creation and the creature, but to God himself. It is the climax of God's work, for Sabbath declares God as both the originator and sustainer, and the goal and completion of creation. Biblically, there is no creation account without Sabbath. The mark of the beast functions in a pseudo Sabbath-like manner. The mark is clearly the climax of the evil trinity's work. It is the expression of its attempt to establish sovereignty over the earth and becomes the sign of participating in its refilling of the cosmos with rebellion. The parallels are summarized below in Table 2.[51]

[50]Shea and Christian, 289, also note the Sabbath allusion here in this verse.

[51]Concerning the symbolic number 666, and Revelation's use of numbers as symbols, this study sides with commentators who suggest that the use of the number 6 is rooted in the Genesis Creation account (cf. e.g., Stefanovic, 417-418). It is the symbolic value of 6, and not its bare numeric quantity, which is important. Days 6 and 7 have deep symbolic meaning in Scripture. I see the number 6 as symbolizing the creature stopping with itself. It is the creation of day 6, humanity, without day 7, the Sabbath of the Lord God. It is human refusal of God three times over (666), an incurable rebellion. It is refusing to enter into the Sabbath rest of God that is rooted in both creation and salvation. In the light of Gen 1 and 2, the anti-Sabbath nature of the mark and its symbolic number 666 become more than coincidental data.

Table 2
Relevant Parallels Between the Creation Accounts and Revelation 12–14

	Genesis 1, 2	*Revelation 12–14*
Day 4	Heavens	Heavens
	Sun, moon, and stars (Serpent intrudes later)	Woman with sun, moon, stars (Dragon intrudes)
Day 5	Sea	Sea
	Great sea creatures produce after own kind	Beast from the sea (hybrid beast)
Day 6	Earth	Earth
	Beasts of the earth	Beast from the earth
	Image of God (given life by breath of God)	Image to the beast (given life by breath of earth-beast)
	Dominion (names all of creation)	Dominion (marks all with beasts' names)
Day 7	God blesses and sets apart the Sabbath day for creation. God rests from all his work that he had done.	Commandment-keeping saints who die in Lord are blessed. Saints "will rest from their labors." Those who receive the mark of the beast's name have "no rest."

Conclusion

The key to understanding the mark of the beast is to examine its imagery, based in the language of OT sign commandments, the Decalogue, and the Sabbath in the light of the thematic, theological, and structural features of the vision it is embedded within. When all is taken together, a consistent pattern emerges. The first table of the Decalogue and the Sabbath are the objects of the dragon's attack. The mark of the beast functions like a sign commandment and a direct parody of the Sabbath. The last rebellion of the dragon is an attempt to simultaneously draw the whole world into a unified rebellion against the Creator God. The rebellion's climax comes when a counterfeit Sabbath-like or anti-Sabbath mark is enforced upon all the earth. Not all join in this rebellion. God's people are commandment-keepers, who trust in Jesus and keep his Decalogue commandments. In the crisis of Rev 12–15, faith in Jesus, combined with obedience to the Decalogue commandments, including the Sabbath, are the eschatological sign and seal of covenant loyalty to the God of creation and redemption. In contrast, the mark of the beast stands as the eschatological sign of rebellion against God.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 43, No. 2, 285-299.

WORD FREQUENCIES IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION[1]

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Introduction

That numbers are important to John is self-evident. The book is dominated by four sequences of sevens, namely, the seven messages, seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven bowls. The number of those sealed is 144,000, 12,000 from each of the tribes (7:4-8). The New Jerusalem has twelve gates, inscribed with the names of the twelve tribes, and twelve foundations, inscribed with the names of the twelve apostles (21:12-13). The earth has four corners (7:1; 20:8), and four winds and four angels stand ready to bring destruction (7:1). That which exists can be described in a fourfold division of heaven, earth, under the earth, and sea (5:13a); and the Lamb is offered a fourfold doxology of blessing, honor, glory, and might (5:13b). The number 1,000 is clearly important for an understanding of the millennium (20:4-7), and the readers are specifically told to ponder the meaning of the number 666 (13:18).

However, the particular theory that I wish to examine here is whether John uses word frequencies to convey theological truth. Richard Bauckham has put forward the theory that John has deliberately used certain words and phrases either four times, seven times, or two times, along with certain multiples, such as fourteen and twenty-eight, to convey theological truth. In particular, he claims that significant terms for God, Christ, Lamb, and Spirit occur in these multiples, but that no such pattern is detectable for the powers of evil. Of course, this would be impossible for the original recipients to detect on a first hearing of the book, but Bauckham insists that John "was writing a book which he intended to have a status comparable to the OT prophetic books, and he could expect some readers to study it with the same intensity with which he himself studied OT prophetic books."[2]

Gregory K. Beale endorses this and says that "it is improbable that the majority are coincidental because there are so many of these patterns and because these patterns involve the Apocalypse's most crucial theological and anthropological terms."[3] And G. R. Osborne, who cites Bauckham as having shown that numbers in Revelation are primarily symbolic rather than literal, concludes that "[t]here are four major numbers from which the vast majority of

[1]A paper presented to the doctoral students of Andrews University, October 27, 2004.

[2]R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 30.

[3]G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 62.

numbers derive—4, 7, 10, 12 . . . [and] [i]t seems likely that John has written his book carefully to signify the perfect plan of God and the completeness of his work."[4]

In the first part of this paper, I will present the evidence cited by Bauckham in what I consider to be its most convincing form, summarized in the Table. In the second part of the paper, I will offer a critique of some of the findings and, in particular, the conclusions that are frequently drawn from them. I turn first, then, to the data as presented by Bauckham for the importance of word frequencies in Revelation.

Evidence for the Importance of Word Frequencies in Revelation

Four

The phrase "to the one who lives for ever and ever" (τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων) occurs four times (4:9, 10; 10:6; 15:7). Bauckham says that four occurrences are appropriate because the phrase designates God as the eternal Creator, who is sovereign over his creation: four is the number of the earth.[5]

The phrase "the seven spirits" (ἑπτὰ πνεύματα) occurs four times (1:4; 3:1; 4:5; 5:6). Bauckham says that because they represent the fullness of the divine power "sent out into all the earth," the four occurrences are appropriate.[6] There is a symmetry here: the four references to the seven Spirits correspond to the seven occurrences of the fourfold phrase for the tribes, tongues, nations, and peoples of the earth, which we will discuss below.

The phrase "the seven churches" (ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίας) occurs four times (1:4, 11, 20[2]). Thus, as well as the seven churches representing the worldwide church, the frequency of the actual phrase "the seven churches" (4x) makes the same point.

Seven

After the opening two verses, John offers a macarism or beatitude on the one who reads and the one who hears: "Blessed is the one who reads aloud the words of the prophecy, and blessed are those who hear and who keep what is written in it; for the time is near" (1:3). There are six other beatitudes in the book (14:13; 16:15; 19:9; 20:6; 22:7; 22:14), which offer the following blessings:

- Blessed are the dead who from now on die in the Lord;
- Blessed is the one who stays awake and is clothed, not going about naked and exposed to shame;
- Blessed are those who are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb;
- Blessed and holy are those who share in the first resurrection;

[4]G. R. Osborne, *Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 17.

[5]Bauckham, 31.

[6]Ibid., 35.

- Blessed is the one who keeps the words of the prophecy of this book;
- Blessed are those who wash their robes, so that they will have the right to the tree of life and may enter the city by the gates.

Next, we consider a number of titles or phrases for God or Jesus. In Rev 1:8, we read: "'I am the Alpha and the Omega,' says the Lord God, who is and who was and who is to come, the Almighty." In this instance, the κύριος ὁ θεὸς is separated from παντοκράτωρ by the triple form, "who is and who was and who is to come," but there are six other occasions where the phrase κύριος or κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ occurs (4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7; 19:6; 21:22).[7]

The phrase "I am the Alpha and the Omega," along with its equivalents, "I am the first and the last" and "the beginning and the end," occur as divine self-designations on seven occasions (here in 1:8, again in 1:17, then twice in 21:6, and three times in 22:13). Bauckham says: "Just as the seven beatitudes scattered throughout the book express the fullness of divine blessing on those who obey the message of the prophecy, so the seven occurrences of a divine title indicate the fullness of the divine being to which the title points."[8]

Next comes χριστός, which occurs three times in the opening greeting along with Ἰησοῦς (vv. 1, 2, 5), and on four other occasions (11:15; 12:10; 20:4, 6) on its own. All occurrences are in the genitive, χριστοῦ.

Finally, God is frequently addressed as the one who sits on the throne, but the precise phrase "the one who sits on the throne" occurs seven times (5:1, 7, 13; 6:16; 7:15; 21:5). Variations of the formula can also be found (4:2, 3; 7:10; 19:4; 20:11), but Bauckham suggests that the variations have been deliberately used in order to keep the number of occurrences of the precise phrase to seven.[9]

Turning to other themes, the book of Revelation is supremely a book of prophecy and the noun, προφητεία, occurs seven times (1:3; 11:6; 19:10; 22:7, 10, 18, 19). It is perhaps becoming clear that if John *is* consciously trying to arrive at just seven occurrences of these key words and phrases, then a huge burden was placed on the concluding paragraph to make it so. We will return to this point.

Next, if Revelation is supremely about prophecy, then that prophecy concerns the tribes, tongues, peoples, and nations of the world. This fourfold formula, which never appears in exactly the same order and substitutes βασιλεύς and ὄχλος for φυλή on two of the occurrences, nevertheless occurs a total of seven times (5:9; 7:9; 10:11; 11:9; 13:7; 14:6; 17:15). In his chapter on "The Conversion of the Nations," Bauckham makes the claim that "in Revelation, four is the number of the world, seven is the number of completeness. The sevenfold use of this fourfold phrase indicates that reference is being made to all the nations of the world. In the symbolic world of Revelation, there could

[7]In 19:6, the order varies considerably among the manuscripts. A has κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ; X* has ὁ θεὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ; the editors of NA[27] go with X^2P and M^k: κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ.

[8]Bauckham, 33.

[9]Ibid.

hardly be a more emphatic indication of universalism."[10]

The verb ἐρχομαι occurs thirty-two times in Revelation, but Bauckham notes two uses of which each has seven occurrences. First, it is used of Christ's referring to his coming, either as promise or threat (2:5; 2:16; 3:11; 16:15; 22:7, 12, 20). Second, the imperative ἐρχου is also used seven times, four in connection with the four horses of chapter 6 (vv. 1, 3, 5, 7) and three in the concluding chapter, twice in 22:17, and once in 22:20.

Finally, for the number 7, Bauckham notes that there are seven occurrences of δρέπανον in chapter 14. He suggests that the "completeness of the judgment of the world would be thereby signalled."[11] Other words that occur seven times, like θυσιαστήριον and ἄβυσσος, he regards as probably coincidental.

Twelve

Twelve is the number of the people of God (twelve tribes, twelve apostles, twelve thrones), squared for completeness (the wall of the New Jerusalem is 144 cubits), multiplied by a thousand (it is 12,000 stadia in width, length, and breadth), and squared and multiplied by 1,000 to suggest vast numbers (144,000). But does John use word frequencies to bring out the symbolic significance of particular words or phrases? Bauckham offers no examples for the book as a whole, but does note that in the account of the New Jerusalem (21:9–22:5), the numeral twelve occurs twelve times if we include the gates, which are mentioned in four groups of three (21:13) and the list of jewels (21:19-20), which ends ὁ δωδέκατος ἀμέθυστος.[12] Drawing on C. H. Giblin,[13] he also notes that the terms θεός and ἀρνίον each occur seven times in this section of Revelation.

Fourteen

Next we move on to fourteen, a significant number, as it is seven multiplied by two, the symbol of testimony or witness. Bauckham notes that the proper name Ἰησοῦς occurs fourteen times, including four in the first chapter and three in the last chapter.[14] The repetition in the final words of the book ("Amen. Come, Lord Jesus! The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints. Amen.") could be seen as evidence of making up the total to fourteen.

Πνεῦμα occurs twenty-four times in Revelation: four are in the expression "the seven spirits," which we have already noted; four are references to unclean

[10]Ibid., 326.

[11]Ibid., 36.

[12]Ibid.

[13]C. H. Giblin, *The Book of Revelation: The Open Book of Prophecy*, GNS 34 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 203-204.

[14] Bauckham, 34.

or evil spirits (13:15; 16:13, 14; 18:2); and two are probably references to the human rather than divine spirit. Thus in Rev 11:11, the two witnesses receive "the breath or spirit of life from God," which could be the Holy Spirit, but which Bauckham thinks is probably the breath of life which animates all living beings. In Rev 22:6, we have the phrase "the God of the spirits of the prophets," which appears to mean more than the breath of life which animates all life, but less than *the* Holy Spirit, as it appears to be linked with individual persons. Thus if we discount these two occurrences, there are fourteen references to the divine πνεῦμα in Revelation, an appropriate number for the Holy Spirit, who bears witness (7x2).

Twenty-eight

Bauckham offers two examples of twenty-eight. The first and clearly the most significant is the designation of Jesus as the Lamb (ἀρνίον). Bauckham says that its use twenty-eight times (4 x 7) is to "indicate the worldwide scope of his complete victory."[15] Seven of the occurrences are in phrases coupled with God (5:13; 6:16; 7:10; 14:4; 21:22; 22:1, 3). There is also a twenty-ninth occurrence of ἀρνίον in Rev 13:11, where the beast has "two horns like a lamb." Though this is clearly different from all of the other uses, it would be somewhat surprising if the number 28 was so important to John.

Bauckham's second example is the list of cargoes that "Babylon" or Rome, as Bauckham thinks, imports from "the merchants of the earth" (18:12-13). Providing the last phrase is taken as exepegetic ("slaves, that is, human lives"), the items of cargo total twenty-eight, an appropriate number because "they are representative of *all* the products of the *whole* world."[16] Though this example seems theologically less significant, it would, of course, be the easier to spot, occurring as it does in just two verses.

Word Frequencies for Evil Forces

Before we attempt to evaluate this evidence, we should mention the other side of Bauckham's argument that no such patterns are detectable for the powers of evil. Thus θηρίον occurs thirty-eight or perhaps thirty-seven times; δράκων occurs thirteen times; Σατανᾶς eight times; Βαβυλών six times; διάβολος five times; and ὄφις, five times (or perhaps four, if we exclude the description of the horses' tails like snakes in 9:19). The list of excluded sinners in Rev 21:8 and 22:15 is six and eight items respectively. Coupled with the number of the beast (666), Bauckham claims that John has deliberately avoided multiples of seven and twelve when speaking of evil forces. In conclusion, Bauckham says: "The more Revelation is studied in detail, the more clear it becomes that it is not simply a literary unity, but actually one of the most unified works in the New Testament. The evidence discussed in this chapter should be sufficient to

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., 31.

refute theories which divide the book into disparate sources."[17]

Evaluation

There is no doubt that this theory, as presented by Bauckham, is a *tour de force*. To associate Jesus, Spirit, and God with the number 7 (and its multiples), while ensuring that the terms for evil (beast, dragon, Satan, Babylon, serpent) are not so associated, would involve major planning. It is one more factor that shows John's great artistry in composing the book of Revelation. However, when I came to compile the chart in the table, questions arose that Bauckham did not consider. For example, what are we to make of the fact that there is a complete absence of any of these key words/phrases in Rev 8:1–10:5 or chapter 18? Revelation 8:2 begins the sequence of six trumpets, which runs through to the end of chapter 9. Revelation 10:1-5 then begins an interlude, where an angel is (surprisingly) described in the same terms as the risen Christ in the inaugural vision ("his face was like the sun, and his legs like pillars of fire"). If this section was part of a source used by John, then that would explain the absence of the seventeen characteristic words/phrases. Furthermore, Rev 8:1 has all the signs of being a connecting link (Καὶ ὅταν ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν ἑβδόμην, ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμιώριον).[18]

In chapter 18, though Bauckham suggests that John has deliberately included twenty-eight items of cargo in vv. 12-13, the fact remains that the chapter (24 verses) is devoid of any of the seventeen characteristic words/phrases that John is supposedly using to signal his theological intent.[19] At the very least, this surely challenges Bauckham's claim that these word frequencies show that Revelation is "one of the most unified works in the New Testament" and that they are "sufficient to refute theories which divide the book into disparate sources." On the contrary, they would appear to point in the direction of John's use of disparate sources.[20]

A second observation points in the same direction. Source theories have their starting point in the obvious transitions between the inaugural vision and messages to the churches (Rev 1–3), the collection of visions (Rev 4:1–22:5), and the conclusion (Rev 22:6-21). Is it a coincidence that Rev 1 and 22 have a greater concentration of these key words/phrases than any other section of the book? If John is providing the introduction and conclusion to a collection of

[17]Ibid., 1.

[18]Neither Jesus, Spirit, or Lamb will be used again until chap. 12.

[19]In total, we are talking of 150 occurrences of these key words/phrases in twenty-two chapters. The probability of no occurrences in three of its chapters happening by chance is low.

[20]Disparate in the sense that some of these sources did not contain any of the seventeen words/phrases that John was using to convey theological truth through word frequencies.

visions, perhaps written over a period of several decades, then we would expect a greater concentration of his key words/phrases at the beginning and end. Unlike the rest of the book, these chapters were composed at the same time with the single intent of preparing the collection of visions (Rev 4:1–22:5) for dissemination among the seven churches. Again, we would have to conclude that, far from proving that Revelation is "one of the most unified works in the New Testament," it adds weight to the view that the beginning and end were added to an already existing collection of visions.

A third observation challenges Bauckham's conclusion from a slightly different angle. If Bauckham is correct that John is intending to have just four, seven, twelve, fourteen, and twenty-eight occurrences of these key words/phrases, then the composition of the conclusion (Rev 22:6-21) was crucial. Any work requires some sort of final greeting, and John evidently felt that his work required some sort of defense of its origins and authority. On Bauckham's theory, John was also aware that he needed four more occurrences of προφήτεια, three more occurrences of ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ, ἔρχομαι, ἔρχου and Ἰησοῦς, two further beatitudes, and an additional πνεῦμα. Of course, one could reply that it would not have been as mechanical as that, and perhaps much of it came about more or less unconsciously. But that is not what Bauckham is suggesting. He claims that John deliberately provided these totals as part of his theological message and he expected at least some of his more diligent readers to notice it.[21] I can only comment that I would have a very different view of the integrity of the book if I thought Rev 22:20-21 ("The one who testifies to these things says, 'Surely I am coming soon.' Amen. Come, Lord Jesus! The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints. Amen.") was John's final attempt to arrive at fourteen occurrences of Ἰησοῦς and seven occurrences of ἔρχομαι and ἔρχου. I conclude that if Bauckham is correct that all of these word frequencies are deliberate, then far from pointing to the integrity and unity of the book, it points to the use of disparate sources and a rather artificial conclusion to the book.

I do not think Bauckham is correct in assigning these word frequencies to John's intention. Let us begin with the words/phrases that occur just four times. The description of God as "the one who lives for ever and ever" is convincingly linked with his role as creator in the first three occurrences, but it is not clear that this is uppermost in Rev 15:7 ("Then one of the four living creatures gave the seven angels seven golden bowls full of the wrath of God, who lives for ever and ever"). One could, of course, argue that the seven bowls are ultimately destined to be poured out upon the earth, but this is a clearly a heavenly scene. Similarly, it seems quite arbitrary to argue that John planned to mention the seven churches (or the seven spirits) on just four occasions because they represent all the churches of the world. One could just as easily argue that there should be seven or twelve occurrences to represent the whole people of God.

Combined with the fact that numerous other words occur just four times

[21]Alas, it took nearly 2,000 years to be realized!

(ἀλληλουιά, ἀστραπαί, ἑκατόν, ἥτις, μακάριος in the singular, μυστήριον, ναί, ὄρος, ὑποκάτω), it is hard to see why Bauckham's examples deserve special consideration. One could even argue that the eight occurrences of Satan appear in two fours—the nominative form Σατανᾶς and the genitive Σατανᾶ—and argue that this represents his evil testimony on the earth (4x2). It does not appear to me that an argument based on words/phrases occurring just four times can be sustained. The number is so small that many words or phrases will occur with this frequency in any work. Furthermore, if required to support such an argument, anything in Revelation relates to the earth in some form or another.

Neither does twelve appear to be a significant number for word frequencies. Bauckham's argument that δώδεκα occurs ten times in Rev 21:9–22:5, which becomes twelve if we include the enumeration of the gates in four groups of three (δώδεκα is not mentioned), and the enumeration of the jewels in Rev 21:19-20 (δωδέκατος), is not very convincing. The word δώδεκα occurs twenty-three times in Revelation, just missing 3x7 and just missing 2x12. How are John's readers supposed to deduce that on this occasion, it is not final word frequencies that are intended, but a complex calculation appearing in just a small section of the book? One could as easily discuss the twelve occurrences of ἁγίων, αἷμα, βιβλίον, γράψον, ἡμέρας, and πνεῦμα and make a point about specific case endings. It seems better to dismiss the case for word frequencies totaling twelve.

Bauckham gives two examples for 14. The strongest is the name "Jesus," especially if one can be persuaded that the final verses were intended to make up the total. However, his example of πνεῦμα is less convincing. In all, the word occurs twenty-four times, but with a variety of meanings. Seven are in the refrain to the seven churches: "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the churches." Four are references to John being "in the Spirit." Four are references to the seven spirits, the meaning of which is much debated. Some think it is a reference to the Holy Spirit, while others think it draws on the tradition of seven archangels or even astral symbolism. Four are references to unclean or evil spirits (13:15; 16:13, 14; 18:2) and two are probably references to the human spirit or something called "the spirits of the prophets." All in all, it seems unlikely that John is expecting his readers to sift through twenty-four occurrences of πνεῦμα and discern fourteen that are specifically references to "the divine spirit."

As for the number 28, ἀρνίον is clearly a crucial term in Revelation, and one could argue that the repetition of "the throne of God and the Lamb" in 22:1, 3 is an attempt to complete the twenty-eight occurrences. However, if this were a key concern, it is surely surprising that he includes a twenty-ninth occurrence when he describes the beast as having two horns like a lamb in Rev 13:11. Of course, it could be argued that this is a completely different usage and would be dismissed by the diligent reader. But it could equally be argued that if John were so intent on communicating the number 28, he would not have made it harder for the reader by including a twenty-ninth occurrence.

His second example, the twenty-eight cargoes listed in Rev 18:12-13, is convincing insofar as it is easily noticeable, but it surely conflicts with his other example. If 28 is the number of occurrences appropriate for the Lamb, how is it appropriate for the cargoes imported by the oppressive enemy, Rome? To say that it is twenty-eight because he wishes to signify "all the products of the whole world" is surely a minor observation compared with the startling parallel that its frequency is the same as the Lamb. I do not consider that word frequencies based on 28 are convincing.

This leaves the number 7, a number that is clearly important to John from the series of septets. It will be tedious to examine every example in turn, so we will summarize. The seven beatitudes are a convincing example, as they are easily remembered. One can imagine members of the congregation trying to enumerate and remember them. But is it really the frequency of the word μακάριος that would be in mind? Surely it is the fact that John has included seven beatitudes, just as the fourth Gospel includes seven ἐγώ εἰμι sayings. This is not in itself an argument for word frequencies.

The seven occurrences of Χριστός and προφητεία are his best examples. Again one can imagine astute members of the congregation working through the text to locate what is said about the Χριστός or what is said about προφητεία. But it is hard to accept that readers would notice those phrases that occur in a variety of forms, such as "sitting on the throne"; "Lord God Almighty"; and "tribes, tongues, peoples, and nations." Despite some convoluted explanations for the variety, it would surely have helped John's cause to have kept the phrase the same throughout the book if he were really wishing his readers to notice word frequencies. Bauckham argues that the phrase "first and last" occurs seven times if you count its synonyms, "alpha and omega" and "beginning and end." This would be noticeable, as it is clearly a significant title, but would the readers have been struck more by the total seven than the variety of expression? I conclude from this that John may well have planned just seven occurrences of Χριστός and προφητεία, just as he planned the septets and beatitudes, but the other examples look more like special pleading.

Conclusion

Bauckham's theory is wrong on two counts. First, even if all of his examples were convincing, the deduction that Revelation is "one of the most unified works in the New Testament" does not follow. Indeed, the distribution of the key words/phrases (see Table) points more in the direction of disparate sources. Furthermore, the concentration of these terms in the first and last chapters would add evidence to those that see these chapters as additions to an already existing collection of visions. And third, it would imply an extremely artificial composition technique for the final chapter. If Bauckham's theory is correct, his deduction that Revelation is "one of the most unified works in the New Testament" is not.

However, our major conclusion is that Bauckham's theory is not correct. Cumulative arguments can be convincing if all the constituent parts are

plausible. We have not found the arguments for four, twelve, or twenty-eight at all convincing. There are some convincing examples for seven, but we already knew that seven was a special number for John. Perhaps the fourteen occurrences of Ἰησοῦς are deliberate, though it is mere speculation that they occur because Jesus is described as a witness and hence has 7x2 occurrences. What about all the other "witnesses" in Revelation? Should not their names or descriptions occur fourteen times? That numbers are important to John is not in doubt. That he intends to communicate specific theological content through word frequencies is not supported by the evidence.

Significant Words/Phrases Occurring Four, Seven, Fourteen, or Twenty-eight Times in Revelation						
Chapter		**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	x4				vv. 9, 10	
ἑπτὰ πνεύματα	x4	v. 4		v. 1	v. 5	v.6
ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίας	x4	vv. 4, 11, 20[2]				
μακάριος	x7	v. 3				
κύριος ὁ θεός παντοκράτωρ	x7	v. 8			v. 8	
ἐγω εἰμι πρῶτος/ἄλφα	x7	vv. 8, 17				
χριστός	x7	vv. 1, 2, 5				
καθημένος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ	x7				v. 9	vv. 1, 7, 13
προφητεία	x7	v. 3				
φυλή, γλῶσσα λαός, ἔθνος	x7					v. 9
ἐρχομαί [Ιησους]	x7		vv. 5, 16	v. 11		
ἔρχου	x7					
δρέπανον	x7					
δωδέκα	x12(23)					
Ιησοῦς	x14	vv. 1, 2, 5, 9[2]				
Divine πνεῦμα	x14	v. 10	vv. 7, 11, 17, 29	vv. 6, 13, 22	v. 2	
Divine ἀρνίον	x28					vv. 6, 8, 12, 13

Chapter		**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	x4					v. 6
ἑπτὰ πνεύματα	x4					
ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίας	x4					
μακάριος	x7					
κύριος ὁ θεός παντοκράτωρ	x7					
ἐγω εἰμι πρῶτος/ἄλφα	x7					
χριστός	x7					
καθημένος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ	x7	v. 16	v. 15			
προφητεία	x7					
φυλή, γλῶσσα λαός, ἔθνος	x7		v. 9			v. 11
ἐρχομαί [Ιησους]	x7					
ἔρχου	x7	vv. 1, 3, 5, 7				
δρέπανον	x7					
δωδέκα	x12(23)		vv. 5^3, 6^3, 7^3, 8^3			
Ιησοῦς	x14					
Divine πνεῦμα	x14					
Divine ἀρνίον	x28	vv. 1, 16	vv. 9, 10, 14, 17			

Chapter	11	12	13	14
ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας x4				
ἑπτὰ πνεύματα x4				
ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίας x4				
μακάριος x7				v. 13
κύριος ὁ θεός παντοκράτωρ x7	v. 17			
ἐγω εἰμι πρῶτος/ἄλφα x7				
χριστός x7	v. 15	v. 10		
καθημένος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ x7				
προφητεία x7	v. 6			
φυλή, γλῶσσα λαός, ἔθνος x7	v. 9		v. 7	v. 6
ἐρχομαί [Ιησους] x7				
ἔρχου x7				
δρέπανον x7				v. 7
δωδέκα x12(23)		v. 1		
Ιησοῦς x14		v. 17		v. 12
Divine πνεῦμα x14				v. 13
Divine ἀρνίον x28		v. 11	v. 8	vv. 1, 4^2, 10

Chapter		15	16	17	18
ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	x4	v. 7			
ἑπτὰ πνεύματα	x4				
ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίας	x4				
μακάριος	x7		v. 15		
κύριος ὁ θεός παντοκράτωρ	x7	v. 3	v. 7		
ἐγω εἰμι πρῶτος/ἄλφα	x7				
χριστός	x7				
καθημένος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ	x7				
προφητεία	x7				
φυλή, γλῶσσα λαός, ἔθνος	x7			v. 15	
ἐρχομαί [Ιησους]	x7		v. 15		
ἔρχου	x7				
δρέπανον	x7				
δωδέκα	x12(23)				
Ιησοῦς	x14			v. 6	
Divine πνεῦμα	x14			v. 3	
Divine ἀρνίον	x28	v. 3		v. 14[2]	

Chapter		19	20	21	22
ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	x4				
ἑπτὰ πνεύματα	x4				
ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίας	x4				
μακάριος	x7	v. 9	v. 6		vv. 7, 14
κύριος ὁ θεός παντοκράτωρ	x7	v. 6		v. 22	
ἐγω εἰμι πρῶτος/ἄλφα	x7			v. 6^2	v. 13^3
χριστός	x7		vv. 4, 16		
καθημένος ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ	x7			v. 5	
προφητεία	x7	v. 10			vv. 7, 10, 18, 19
φυλή, γλῶσσα λαός, ἔθνος	x7				
ἐρχομαί [Ιησους]	x7				vv. 7, 12, 20
ἔρχου	x7				vv. 17^2, 20
δρέπανον	x7				
δωδέκα	x12(23)			vv. 12^3, 14^3, 16, 21^2	v. 2
Ιησοῦς	x14	v. 10^2	v. 4		vv. 16, 20, 21
Divine πνεῦμα	x14	v. 10		v. 10	v. 17
Divine ἀρνίον	x28	vv. 7, 9		vv. 9, 14, 22, 23, 27	v. 1, 3

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 43, No. 2, 301-313.

STRUCTURAL MODELS FOR WORLD MISSION IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: AN ADVENTIST PERSPECTIVE

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Introduction

Many writers have discussed the internal and external missiological challenges of the times. David J. Bosch's magisterial work, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*,[1] traces paradigm shifts in mission through the centuries and suggests elements of an emerging postmodern paradigm. In *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*,[2] Philip Jenkins discusses the shift of Christianity's numerical center of gravity into the global South (Africa, Latin America, and Asia) and what it implies for mission. Lamin Sanneh addresses a provocative question in the title of his book, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West*.[3] Modernity,[4] postmodernity,[5] and globalization[6] present particular challenges to Christian mission.

The factors mentioned above only begin to outline the context in which an effective paradigm for mission must function. Contemporary missiologists are more confident in outlining challenges than in making prescriptions for mission in the new century, for several reasons: First, as Bosch says, mission is always in a state of crisis or flux.[7] This is because mission functions at the nexus of history, culture, and faith. Where the church is already established, mission seeks to retain a pure faith within the constantly evolving historical-cultural context. Where the church is being newly planted, the challenge is carrying a pure faith across the bridge between the missionary's context and the receivers' contexts.

Second, the global church has an unprecedented array of human and material resources and communication media to use. This abundance, with its diversity and complexity, presents a formidable strategic and logistical challenge.

[1]David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991).

[2]Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[3]Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

[4]See Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[5]See Stanley J. Grenz, *A Primer of Postmodernism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

[6]See Malcolm Waters, *Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

[7]Bosch, 2.

Third, never have so many unevangelized peoples lived on the earth. In 1901, there were about 1.3 billion non-Christians, but that number swelled to approximately 4 billion by 2001. The proportion of Christians actually fell slightly in the last century, from 34.5 percent to 33.0 percent.[8] This means that more cross-cultural Christian missionaries are needed than ever before, but the challenges missionaries face are in some ways greater than ever before.

Finally, forces actively opposed to Christian mission have developed unprecedented levels of sophistication. Hinduism and Islam stand ready and determined to block the spread of the gospel, yet the hearts of people yearn for the salvation and peace that only Jesus Christ can provide.

In view of these and many other challenges, the starting point is to reaffirm the ministry of cross-cultural missionaries as a permanent part of the mission paradigm. Roughly one third (2 billion) of the world's population lacks the presence of a local Christian congregation—of any denomination—from whom to hear the Good News. Problems with missionary service during the colonial era and the fast growth of Christianity outside of America have led some to think of missionary service as an anachronistic relic, but this conclusion is inaccurate.

Several working definitions will be helpful for what follows (see Figure 1).[9]

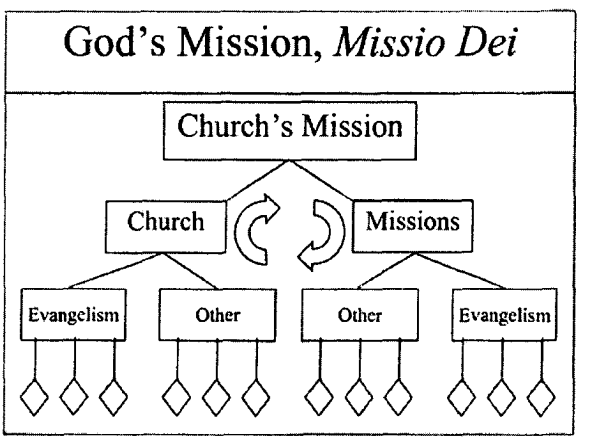

Figure 1.

"Mission" (singular) refers ultimately to God's work to save lost humanity. God's mission is larger than the church, although the church is his primary human

[8]Unless otherwise indicated, global statistics are taken from David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, eds., *World Christian Trends* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001). Seventh-day Adventist statistics come from the General Conference Office of Archives and Statistics <www.adventiststatistics.org>.

[9]Working definitions may not be all-inclusive or exhaustive.

agency. Because this article focuses on the work of the church, "mission" is used to refer to the whole work of the church. "Missions" (plural), as in "doing missions," refers to the sending of people to minister in cultures other than their own and to the doing of cross-cultural ministry. Thus "mission" is the broader work of the church, while "missions" is the specific work of crossing cultural boundaries. A "missionary" is a person sent by the church to do cross-cultural missions.[10] "Doing church" refers to the ministry of believers in local congregations within the communities where they live and work.[11] "Missiology" means the "theology of mission" or "the conscious, intentional, ongoing reflection on the doing of mission,"[12] the work I do as a "missiologist."

Adventist Missionary Service in Historical Perspective

As the twentieth century dawned, the task of Adventist leadership was to lead some 75,000 members—83 percent of whom were in North America—in mission to about 2 billion people, 1.3 billion of whom were non-Christians. As leaders pondered this goal, they realized that the existing organizational structure was not able to accomplish it and went through the reorganization of 1901. By 2001, the world population had grown to 6 billion, about 4 billion of whom were non-Christians. There were 12 million Adventists in 2001, 92 percent of whom lived outside North America. Adventist membership grew 439 percent in the final quarter of the twentieth century. Projections for the year 2025 suggest an Adventist membership of about 50 million in a world of about 7.8 billion, of whom 5.2 billion will be non-Christians.[13]

The restructuring of 1901 prepared the Adventist Church for action. Presidents A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer were leaders of broad vision, who led dramatic new initiatives in mission.[14] The church had enough human and material resources to make major advances, and was, in effect, a mission agency, with the work of missionaries handled at the very heart of the organization.

Over the course of the twentieth century, the Adventist Church grew steadily in size and complexity. The organizational skeleton of 1901 was

[10]While every Christian is a "missionary" in a broad sense, this article focuses on a narrower meaning.

[11]The boundary between "doing missions" and "doing church" can become a little "fuzzy" when multicultural congregations minister in multicultural and multireligion communities.

[12]A. Scott Moreau, ed., *Evangelical Dictionary of World Mission* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 633.

[13]Unpublished projections by Jonathan Brauer, September 2002, General Conference Office of Archives and Statistics, ranging from 47 million to 52 million, depending on growth rate.

[14]See Bruce Lee Bauer, *Congregational and Mission Structures and How the Seventh-day Adventist Church Has Related to Them* (D.Miss. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission, 1983).

"fleshed out" with the addition of new or enlarged features. The functions of areas such as publishing, education, youth ministry, and family life were handled by specialists in departments who were not responsible for general church administration. Missionary service, however, was located within the general administrative structure (the Secretariat), instead of in a specialized department. In 1990, the Office of Global Mission was established to develop strategy and make new initiatives among unreached people groups. Within their own territories, the world divisions placed workers among unreached peoples.

Harmonizing Mission Theology, Structure, Strategy, and Methodology

Like most Christian groups, twentieth-century Adventists were so preoccupied with the practical realities of doing missions in the midst of two world wars, a global depression, a cold war, a shift from colonialism to political independence, and many other historical factors, that they tended to overlook the theological underpinnings of mission.[15] However, the experience of the twentieth century and the fresh challenges of the twenty-first century have forced upon many denominations and groups the realization that they must work harder in bringing their theology, structure, strategy, and methodology for world mission into closer harmony. The global reach and cultural diversity of our own denomination make this harmonization an urgent need. Many denominations have more members than do Adventists, but only Roman Catholics function within a single global structure such as Adventists do.[16] The range of Adventist cultural, economic, and educational diversity is vast, yet mission demands a high degree of unity.

The need for unity rests on twin imperatives, one practical in nature and the other theological. The practical imperative seeks unity for the sake of doing effective evangelism, or "finishing the work." The theological imperative requires unity as part of the church's core identity. It would not remain what it is if it were to become fragmented into separate national or regional organizations. Scripture demands a unity that is more than merely nominal—it must include spiritual unity of heart and functional unity of structure.

The relationship of structures for doing church and missions varies widely between denominations and groups. Structures invariably reflect particular theologies of church and mission, even if they are not fully articulated. Conversely, a group's ecclesiology and missiology are invariably molded over the passage of time by its own structures. This being the case, it is vital that one's theology of church and mission be clearly articulated and that structures be intentionally constructed to reflect theology. If the church is to retain the unity within diversity that it considers theologically and practically essential, it

[15]Charles Van Engen, *Mission on the Way: Issues in Mission Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996), 19.

[16]Many Protestant denominations enjoy a global fellowship but operate within national or regional structures that are not globally linked.

dare not allow structure, strategy, and methodology to simply evolve in reaction to economic and political pressures, completely out of contact with theological reflection. Rather, it must accept the task of articulating and harmonizing all of the component parts of missiology.

Paul G. Hiebert, the renowned Mennonite anthropologist and missiologist, discusses two structural models used with variation by many different denominations.[17] Hiebert's models, including his critique of them, are the starting point for this article's look at structures for church and missions.

Model 1: Missions Separate from Church

This first structural model is the most common among Protestant groups (see Figure 2).

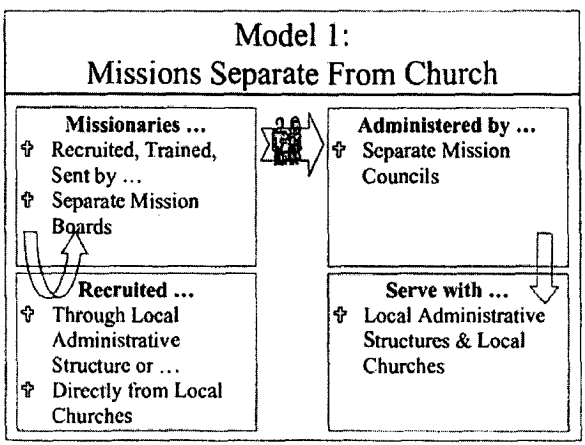

Figure 2.

Historically, this model was developed in the early nineteenth century by people such as William Carey, whose mission vision greatly exceeded that of the established denominations. Scholars argue about how mission-minded the Protestant Reformers were, but without question "the churches which resulted from their labors were not missionary churches in the modern sense of the word, and the theologians who followed them and claimed to be their true successors and interpreters did not advance the missionary idea and motivation."[18] Credit for the awakening of Protestantism to the mandate of the Great Commission belongs to the German Pietists.

The modern missionary society, such as Carey's Baptist Missionary Society, was a voluntary organization that depended on freewill support and involved lay

[17]Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 249-252.

[18]George W. Peters, "The Church in Missions," *BSac*, 125/497 (1968): 46.

men and women, was often interdenominational, and was not linked to denominational structures. Andrew F. Walls says that "it arose because none of the classical patterns of church government, whether episcopal, presbyterian, congregational, or connexional had any machinery (in their late 18th century form anyway), to do the tasks for which missionary societies came into being."[19]

In this model, doing missions is seen as a separate activity from doing church. Mission boards are independent from local church or denominational structures. Mission boards rely on spontaneous donations in the "faith-mission" tradition or on congregational or denominational subsidies in a variety of combinations. They are frequently interdenominational and often serve congregationalist churches that lack resources to administer their missionaries serving abroad.

In the field, missionaries tend to emphasize church planting, moving to new areas when church plants are successful. Missionaries work with local churches, but may or may not be members or officers therein; and they are administered by separate mission councils that may or may not include local people. "Missions" is defined primarily as the evangelization of unreached peoples. Walls, who is positive in his assessment of the modern mission society, focuses on the institutional inertia and myopia that made it necessary.[20]

Wall's model has advantages and strong points. It fosters a direct faith-response by members in support of specific missionaries and projects. People working in the organization have an undivided focus on missions that resists distraction. This approach fosters a strong connection between senders and missionaries that stimulates zeal and support for missions. It is well suited to specialized ministries such as Wycliffe Bible Translators and media ministries.

Given the key role of mission societies in the modern missionary movement, one might ask, Why argue with success? However, Peters points out three negative features:

> First, it [the missionary society] left many of the larger churches passive and uninvolved in mission. Second, it set up a trade company type of mission administration and complex with the mission societies becoming autonomous agencies alongside autonomous church bodies, thus introducing a dichotomy on the home base. Third, it related the churches of the mission lands to a missionary society rather than to a mother or sister church of the sending countries.[21]

To partially restate Peters' objections, the weak points or disadvantages of separating church and missions can be summarized as follows: First, and perhaps most significantly, this model rests on a weak ecclesiology. Adventist ecclesiology defines the church as one organic global fellowship, which rules

[19]Andrew F. Walls, "Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement*, 3d ed., ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1999), 234.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Peters, 48.

out a type of church planting that establishes autonomous congregations or groups of congregations and then severs their relationship with the planters. If the church is God's primary agency for the salvation of humankind, placing missionaries within agencies that work at structural distance from the church, either at home or in the field, is unacceptable.

Second, this model assumes and fosters a dualistic theology of humanity, where mission focuses exclusively on "saving souls," rather than on ministering to whole persons. The global church can best manage human and material resources for holistic missions from a unified structure.

Third, missionaries who do not enter into and fully participate in local church structures cannot fully embody the ideal of "incarnational ministry."[22]

Fourth, relationships between missionaries and local church members in the field are ambiguous and potentially troublesome when they work within separate structures. When structures link senders with missionaries in the field, but not directly with the young churches they plant, the long-term potential for partnership in congregation-building and evangelization is diminished. The "plant-'em-leave-'em" approach that may result from an exclusive church-planting focus wastes human and material resources in the long term.

Finally, transferring leadership to nationals is problematic when the departure of the missionaries includes the removal of a major structural element, the missionary council.

Clearly, this first model does not fit the Adventist Church, although there may be justification for some operational distance for some specialized ministries. In Adventism, missiology and ecclesiology are tightly interwoven, and this interweaving should be reflected in organizational structures.

Model 2: Church and Missions Together

In this second model, the mission board functions within church structures (see Figure 3). General administrative officers and committees appoint and oversee the work of mission-board officials. Mission-board funding, however it is obtained, is overseen by church leadership.

In the field, missionaries join and serve, when needed, as officers in local churches. Missionaries in the field serve within local church structures, without having separate missionary councils. Missionaries may or may not occupy leadership positions in the field.

This model has strong points that rectify many of the problems of Model 1: First, it rests on a strong theology of the church as God's primary agency of salvation. Second, holistic ministry is best facilitated when all departments and agencies are linked within a common structure. Third, the ideal of incarnational missionary service is best fulfilled as missionaries work within local church structures in the field. Finally, transferring leadership to nationals is easier when

[22]The "incarnational" model is based on Christ's incarnation, or coming into the world as fully human. The "incarnational missionary" enters into the life and culture of people he or she serves.

they simply take over positions held by missionaries, instead of having to fill the vacuum made by the departure of separate missionary councils.

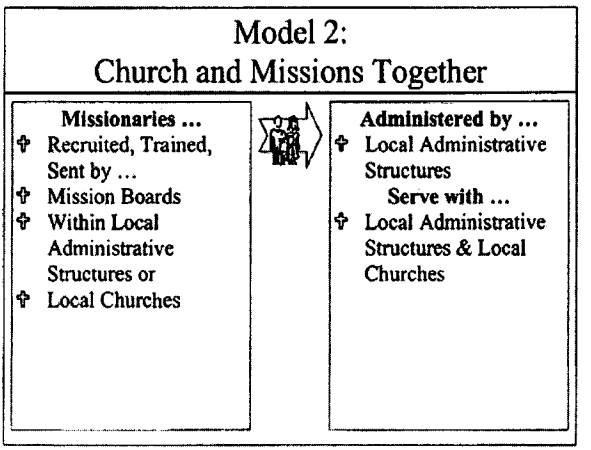

Figure 3.

There are, however, also disadvantages linked with this model: First, as membership in the field grows, as national leadership takes over, and as missionaries depart, the missionary senders may lose contact with the field, and their general focus on missions may fade. When this happens, senders may lose the motivation and the pathways for making direct faith-responses to needs in the field.

Second, the predictable trend toward the institutionalization of missions over time may be augmented by the structural linkage of this model. Maintaining the sense of being a movement may be difficult.

Finally, the denomination may lose its shared understanding of missionary service as a specialized ministry. The administration of missionaries can be perceived as a generic administrative task. Church officials who combine responsibilities for both church and missions in their portfolios may be distracted from the single-minded focus and specialization that cross-cultural missionary service needs and deserves.

Clearly, this model suits Adventism better than the first. Adventist ecclesiology and missiology require doing church and missions together. History demonstrates the advantages of this model; in a real sense Adventists have been a "missionary church" precisely because they have done church and missions together. However, their experience also illustrates some of the challenges associated with this model.

First, dramatic membership growth and leadership nationalization outside of North America have weakened the sender-to-receiver linkage, making North America's continued participation in world missions problematic. Only about 8 percent of membership now resides on the continent of the denomination's

birth, and North Americans comprise a diminishing fraction of official missionaries. Many members have the misconception that "the day of the missionary is over." There is a general inclination toward isolationism that waxes and wanes. Sabbath School mission offerings are in decline, and the Sabbath School mission report is less often heard, yet both the human and material resources of North America remain vital for Adventist global mission.

Second, as the church has grown and become more complex and institutionalized, the official missions enterprise has become depersonalized. General Conference missionaries are invisible from within their home divisions. Giving Sabbath School mission offerings seems like supporting a multinational corporation. The offering-plate funding of official missionaries, for all the stability that the system provides, does not facilitate direct faith-responses to their work. Passion for missions is redirected to parachurch agencies, special projects, and short mission trips. As valid as alternative missions activities may be, warning lights begin to flash when the church's official missionary program no longer focuses and channels the commitment and support of the members as well as it did in the past.

Finally, officials of the General Conference Secretariat carry general administrative responsibilities, in addition to their responsibilities for missionaries. This takes away the specialization and single-minded attention that missionary administration needs. Church executives in the specialized areas of publishing, healthcare, youth ministry, religious liberty, and others do not carry responsibilities in general church administration. This article argues that although world missions overlaps specialized areas of service (such as those named above), the tasks of devising mission strategy, planning new initiatives, and the administration of missionaries (in its many phases) is, in itself, a specialized work.

Hybrid Model A: Together at Home but Separate in the Field

As might be expected, the main models for doing church and missions are sometimes crossed with each other. In Hybrid Model A (see Figure 4), Models 1 and 2 are crossed with each other to produce the following features: Missionaries are sent by mission boards that function within church structures. In the field, however, missionaries serve under separate mission councils instead of within local structures. In other words, church and missions are done together back home, but separately in the field.

Adventist missions partly resembled this model during the colonial era. Missionaries in the field joined and served in local churches and were part of local organizational structures. However, matters pertaining exclusively to missionaries were handled by "Section 2" committees, on which nationals did not serve. Thus church and missions were partially separated in the field. Today, all missionaries in the field are handled by the same committees that administer local church work.

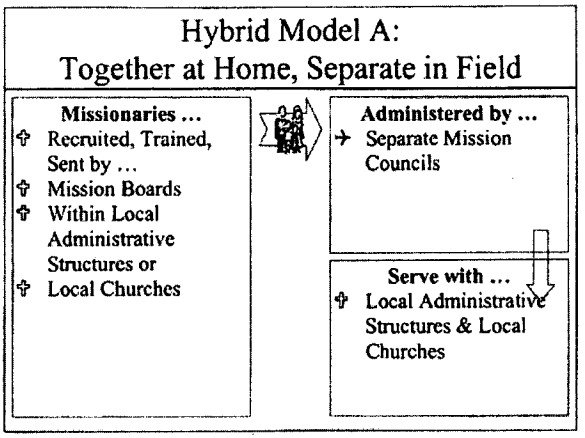

Figure 4.

Hybrid Model B: Separate at Home but Together in the Field

In Hybrid Model B, doing church and missions are seen as separate activities, as in Model 1 (see Figure 5). Mission boards are independent of church structures. In the field, however, missionaries serve within local organizational structures.

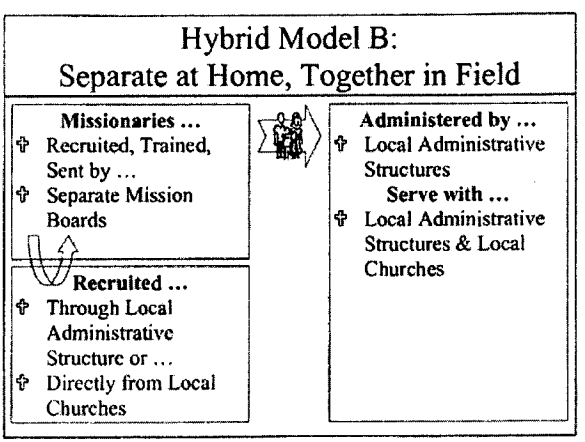

Figure 5.

At first glance, Adventist missions may seem to have nothing in common with this model. However, a closer look may indicate that the contemporary situation actually resembles this model. Missionaries are sent

from within the church structure. However, a situation has evolved that has distanced church from missions on the sending end.

For many years, the General Conference and the North American Division were barely distinguishable from one another. However, with the dramatic growth of the church outside North America, the North American Division is gradually developing a separate identity, which increases the distance between itself and the General Conference missions program. Although North American Division officials at world headquarters may sit on committees that administer missionaries, their primary focus is on their own division.

The unions, conferences, and local churches of the North American Division have never participated formally in the administration of missionaries. In the past, there was effective informal networking between the North American Division and the missions program through the many church members who had relatives or friends serving abroad. Today, however, North Americans comprise a diminishing portion of the missionary workforce, meaning that a diminishing portion of sending churches are linked informally with serving missionaries. Thus the missionary from North America serves within church structures in the field, but is virtually invisible and detached from his or her North American Division senders. The actual functioning of the General Conference Secretariat currently resembles the "Missions Separate from Church" paradigm of Model 1. A century ago this was less true, but the church has evolved with the passage of time to increase the distance between the Secretariat and the local churches, conferences, and unions of the North American Division. The distance is even greater between the General Conference Secretariat and other divisions.

A Proposed Model for the Twenty-first Century

In light of the foregoing analysis, what adjustments to the structural model might enhance the effectiveness of Adventist missions (see Figures 6 and 7)?

First, strong anchors are needed at both the sending and receiving ends of the missionary bridge. As we have seen, Adventist missionaries already have reasonably good anchorage at the receiving end, but better anchorage is needed at the sending end. Divisions, unions, conferences, and local churches at the sending end need to have ownership and participation in all phases of the missionary enterprise. Missionaries should be formally linked with conferences and congregations in their homeland, to whom they send regular reports and make visits while on furlough.

Second, the key elements of strategic planning and missionary administration could probably be best administered within one structure. Protestant denominations generally refer to such an entity as a "mission board." Even though "mission board" was used by Adventists in the early twentieth century,[23] the term sometimes raises questions today because some mistakenly think it necessarily implies Model 1 missiology. In other words, some may think

[23]See Bauer.

that the name implies taking Adventist missions out of the church structure and administration. In fact, the term works well with the "Church and Missions Together" paradigm of Model 2. This article does not contend for any particular term, but its usage is one that is familiar in Christian missions.

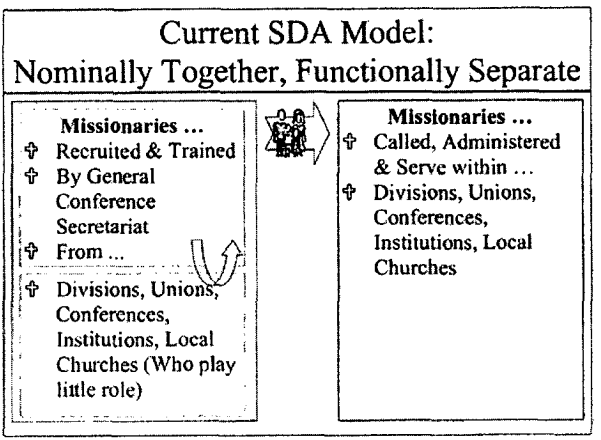

Figure 6.

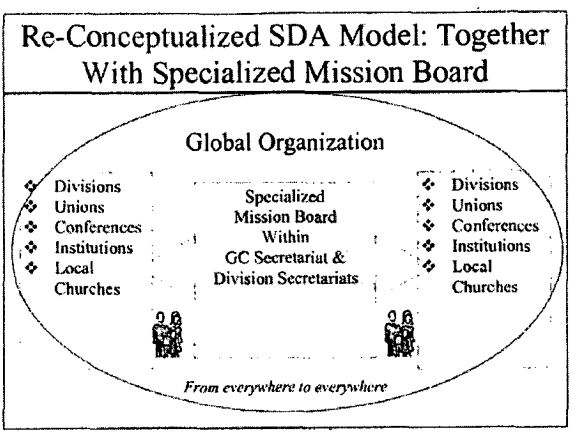

Figure 7.

An Adventist mission board might fit the "department" model, reporting to Presidential, Secretariat, and Treasury administrations. Alternatively, it might be located in either the Secretariat or Presidential (where the Office of Global Mission now resides) administration. The mission board could function at both General Conference and Division levels. At the General Conference, it would

coordinate the areas of global strategy and missionary funding, education, placement, and care in the divisions. At the Division level, the board could develop strategy for its territory, arrange funding for the missionaries it sends, and recruit, educate, and provide care for missionaries. Perhaps the implementation of this design in the divisions would take some time, depending on economic factors. Perhaps missionary budgets would continue to come from the General Conference with the divisions gradually providing more of the budgets as their vision and means allow.

Third, new and creative methods for funding missionaries are needed. With Sabbath School attendance and offerings declining in North America, we cannot continue to consider the Sabbath School offering as the sole or even major source of funding for missions. A new pathway is needed to channel the faith responses of Adventists, who are moved to directly support the ministry of cross-cultural missionaries through the proposed mission board.[24]

Fourth, new and creative methods of making cross-cultural missionary service more visible to and appreciated by church members are needed.

Finally, the challenges of missions among "creative access peoples" suggest that missiological education needs to be significantly enhanced. The church has already accomplished the easiest part of its mission by establishing a vibrant and growing membership in the relatively more receptive regions of the world. The task we now face is much more demanding and even dangerous.

Conclusion

Humanly speaking, the Great Commission of Matt 28:19-20 is impossible. Existing budgets are inadequate, and the masses of unevangelized people seem almost beyond numbering. Even the most ideal organizational structure will not successfully complete the task. Yet there are adjustments that need to be made so that the human element of God's mission to the world will be configured in the best possible way. Men and women stand ready and willing to commit themselves and their resources to world mission. The church's task is to structure itself so as to unleash and channel the passion of its spiritually gifted members.

[24]This article does not advocate the direct funding of individual missionaries.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 43, No. 2, 315-331.

CREATING UNITY IN A MULTICULTURAL CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATION: IS THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH EFFECTIVELY MEETING ITS GOAL OF SCRIPTURAL UNITY?

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A core value of the Christian church is unity. Jesus prayed that his followers might have complete unity so that the world might believe and know that he was sent by the Father (John 17:20-23). But is such unity possible in an ethnically and multiculturally diverse organization, such as the Seventh-day Adventist Church? The denomination's official position is that such unity is not only possible, but scripturally commanded.[1] The purpose of this article is to examine, from the perspective of grounded theory, whether the denomination is effectively meeting its goal for unity, by comparing core aspects of biblical unity with the perceived realities of church administrators and field workers in expressly multicultural and multiethnic settings.[2]

Historical Background: Multicultural and Multiethnic Challenges to Unity

Since its humble beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has grown from small Northeastern and Midwestern American roots to a worldwide organization. As the denomination has sought to create a welcoming environment for its members, it has had to learn new ways of interacting and conducting business within its worldwide network.

For instance, on July 1, 1968, a large group of Western missionaries, most of whom were Americans, went to the Singapore airport to welcome the first Asian expatriate worker to serve in the church's Far Eastern Division. At that time, the Far Eastern Division served as the Adventist headquarters for Southeast Asia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan. A young Filipino office secretary joined a few other Asians, all of whom were Singaporeans and who included a switchboard operator, a messenger boy, and some janitors and gardeners. The basic social structural process[3] of

[1]Bettina Krause, "'Quality of Life, Unity, and Growth': Leaders Vote Strategic Plan for the World Church," <www.adventist.org> (April 18, 2001), 1-2. Unity is one of three core values for the corporate Seventh-day Adventist Church. These values, unveiled in April 2001, include unity, growth, and quality of life.

[2]This article incorporates work from my "Working Together in the Margin: Synergy for Multicultural Christian Organizations" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1997).

[3]Barney G. Glaser defines basic structural processes as social structures, e.g.,

multiculturalization had now entered a twenty-five-year transition stage between missionary stage of 1913 to 1968 (then called the Far Eastern Division, obviously expressing a Western perspective) and the increasingly national- employed stage of 1993 to the present (in which the territory is now called the Asia-Pacific Division).

Beginning in the 1970s with the appointment of A. C. Segovia as the educational department associate, administrative employees of Filipino descent were added to the Far Eastern Division office. Segovia became the first Adventist of Asian descent to hold a divisional office within the Asia-Pacific arena. During the 1980s, Indonesians, Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese denominational employees were appointed to administrative positions. But it was not until January 1, 1993, that the period of transition between the missionary (or Far Eastern Division) and the national (or Asia-Pacific) stages was completed when P. D. Chun, a Korean national, took office as the first Asian division president.

A major consequence of the basic social structural process of multiculturalization within the denomination's Asia-Pacific region was the proliferation of marginal zones[4] between employees of differing backgrounds. A margin may be thought of as a zone that exists around a given cultural "text," where people of varying backgrounds may meet one another, find points of commonality and departure from one another, and within which they work for the purpose of creatively solving problems that could inhibit the accomplishment of their mutual mission. Communication and interaction between employees of Western and Asian backgrounds took place within these margins, thereby creating a new basic social-structural process, which, therefore, called for new understandings of the scriptural concept of unity. The multicultural organizational margin emerged as the primary structural place where the basic social-psychological process[5] of synergic unifying, the primary focus of this article, took place.

Two primary causal conditions in the Far Eastern Division led to the transition from a Western-missionary-dominated organization to a truly multicultural organization: the preparation of Asian nationals through education and leadership experience, and the decline of American resource strength. The first cause continues as an ongoing condition, but the second does not; for even

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decentralization, in the process of growing or deteriorating (*Theoretical Sensitivity* [Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press, 1978], 102). During this transition period, the multicultural aspect of the Far Eastern Division was growing.

[4]The term "marginal zones" is an *in vivo* term, meaning that it came directly from an informant (File 45, 1993).

[5]Glaser, 103, cites "becoming," "learning," and "health optimizing" as examples of basic social-psychological processes. The basic social-structural process of the family allows the basic social-psychological process of child development to occur. "The BSSP [basic social-structural process] abets, facilitates or is the social structure within which the BSPP [basic social-psychological] processes" (ibid., 102).

if American resource strength were to increase, it would not necessarily result in a reversal of the multiculturization process. There is a perception among those of the Asia-Pacific arena that "Asians need to be in charge of the work [of the church] in Asia."[6]

Three consequences of the multiculturalization of the Asia-Pacific Division's workforce are an increase in diversity of culture and ethnicity, an increase in the number and importance of cultural/ethnical margins, and a corresponding need for creating unity within these new and developing conditions. In the headquarters for the Asia-Pacific region, employees were faced with dealing directly with these consequences. As diversity increased within division headquarters, employees struggled with ethnocentrism, evaluating others by the standards of their own culture. During the transition stage, employees reported that the margins separating cultural and ethnic groups seemed distinct and hard, but with the coming of Asians to top administration, there tended to be a "blurring" or "widening" of these marginal areas.[7]

In grounded-theory methodology, a unit or place provides the set conditions for the operation of a basic social process within a particular environment.[8] Could the multicultural organizational margin provide important conditions for creating unity within the Asia-Pacific Division administration? The margin supplies the primary contextual condition of spirituality since multicultural employees of the church are followers of Jesus, who made himself nothing, became a servant, and obediently went to his death on the cross (Phil 2:7-8). Jesus was triply marginalized at birth (i.e., conceived of an unwed mother, placed in a manager for animals at birth, and dislocated from a secure home environment through threat of death and escape to Egypt). He identified with marginalized people throughout his public ministry. Thus spirituality is by definition an act of voluntary self-marginalization that involves self-emptying and Spirit-filling.[9] The margin also provides mission definition—another important condition of unity.

The overarching responsibility of gospel workers, then, is the involvement in social service and evangelism for the express purpose of reaching out to those who have been marginalized physically and spiritually. Thus there is a need for creating synergic unity among the various employees and members of the church.

[6]File 78, 1993. By the end of 1992, the Far Eastern Division was the only Seventh-day Adventist world division whose president was not a national worker.

[7]File 45, 1993.

[8]Glaser, 109.

[9]See Jung Young Lee for a stimulating discussion of the hyphenated Jesus-Christ, the marginal man *par excellence*, and the Christian's responsibility to engage in mission to the marginalized. My research findings also suggest that the unifying that precedes mission completion (John 17:20-23) also takes place in the margin (*Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1995]).

The Application of Grounded Theory to Multicultural Environments within the Seventh-day Adventist Church

The purpose of grounded theory is to describe and analyze social processes that groups, organizations, and societies are using to solve social problems.[10] A social problem that this article addresses is that of unity and the core values that drive that effort. Because the Seventh-day Adventist Church views Scripture as normative for life and praxis, and thus seeks to define its understanding of unity according to Scripture, this article will examine how effectively the church is applying its scripturally based definition of unity to multicultural work environments. What is the working definition of unity that emerges from Scripture? What core values arise from this definition that may be qualitatively applied to the subjects of this study in order to evaluate the Adventist Church's

[10]The findings of grounded theory are presented as integrated hypotheses that are grounded in data collection and analysis. The goal is a research-based, problem-solving theory of a basic social process rather than empirical verfication of the theory. Researchers look for a core category to emerge from the data. Procedures include data collection through participant-observation, interviewing, and studying documents and nonprofessional literature; and data analysis through the constant comparison of incidents, coding for categories and their properties, and theoretical coding, sampling, saturation, and continuous memoing in preparation for the final write-up. For literature about grounded theory see, e.g., Barney G. Glaser, *Examples of Grounded Theory: A Reader* (Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press, 1993). The classic foundation of the enterprise is Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1967). Glaser further developed the methodology in *Theoretical Sensitivity* (Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press, 1978). Later, Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin wrote a handbook on how to do grounded theory, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990). But Glaser disapproved, calling it "forced conceptual analysis," and countered with *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence vs. Forcing* (Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press, 1992). For an insightful critique of both Strauss and Corbin, and Glaser, that retains the essential concepts of the method, see Scottish sociologist Ian Dey's *Grounding Grounded Theory* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999). See also Glaseer's Grounded Theory Institute Website, <www.groundedtheory.com>.

A grounded theory is validated by its fit to the data, its parsimony (economy of explanation) and scope (a wide view), and the "theoretical sensitivity" of the researcher (Glaser, *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*, 18, 105; idem, *Theoretical Sensitivity*. The product of the research is not technically "findings," but an integrated set of conceptual hypotheses about the substantive area of study (idem, *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*, 16).

Grounded theory is unlike verificational studies, where the aim is usually to generalize to a population. I studied the basic social process of unifying, not the entire Far Eastern Division as an organizational unity. If I had done a unit study, my aim would have been to generalize to other multicultural organizations, a difficult task because other units are different. But in a process study generalizability is far greater than in a unit study (ibid., 109-117). The process of creating unity may be generalizable to the same process in any multicultural Christian unity, e.g., denominational world headquarters, regional synods or dioceses, mission agencies, church-planting team, hospitals, schools, local churches, and other organizations within the church (e.g., cell groups, women's groups, children's clubs).

effectiveness in creating worldwide organizational unity? Finally, how effective is the church in achieving its goal for unity? Has the church been able to create an atmosphere of synergy, in which the actions and effects of its diverse parts work together to form a whole that is greater than or different from the sum of the parts?

In order to answer this question, this article will examine the results of my qualitative research, which was accomplished in several stages and among several multiethnic and multicultural settings. The data on unity presented in this article was collected primarily from organizational workers in Singapore.

Participants were observed working together in selected activities, such as committees and other types of organizational meetings. When I conducted my research at the Asia-Pacific Division headquarters in 1993, the division president, executive secretary, treasurer, and associate secretary were respectively Korean, Filipino, Australian, and American. The three associate treasurers were respectively American, Indonesian, and Korean. Departmental directors and their associates included one Thai, two Chinese-Malaysians, four Singaporeans, five Filipinos, two Koreans, three Japanese, four Indonesians, nine Americans, and five Australians. These employees were confidentially interviewed. In the first stage of questioning, employees were asked about their general impressions of working in a multicultural setting. As data was gathered, basic conceptional categories emerged, which resulted in more specific questions concerning the question of unity within the multicultural and multiethnic workplace.

As a result of observation and interviewing, a grounded theory developed that was centered around the core category for my study, which I called "synergic unifying."[11]

Creating a Core Category of Synergic Unity

The term "creating" is used in this article in the sense of creating more unity or amplifying unity rather than creating it out of nothing. Revelation 14:7 (NIV) states: "Fear God and give him glory, for the hour of his judgment has come; and worship him who *made* heaven and earth" (emphasis supplied). A powerful way to proclaim the Creator God is to demonstrate to the world that he is still at work creating unity in churches and multicultural organizations. In Christ, "all things in heaven and on earth were created, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or powers—all things have been created through him and for him" (Col 1:16, NRSV). Christ, therefore, creates leadership—and organizations with their structures and corporate-culture value systems. He invites the members of his body to participate with him in the mighty act of creating unity "so that the world may believe" (John 17:21, NIV).

"Synergy" may be defined as the effects of the joint efforts of diverse parts working together for mutual advantage and forming a whole that has

[11]Strauss and Corbin, 116-142, call this choice "selective coding," which they define as the process of selecting the core category and relating it to the other categories.

combinatorial properties that cannot be produced by the parts acting alone.[12] The meaning of συνεργέω, the Greek source of synergy, is "to engage in an activity together with someone else—'to work together with, to be active together with.'"[13] Synergy also works well with unity because it includes the idea of "working together with."[14] Unity by itself cannot be a direct causal condition of mission accomplishment because it does not include the idea of working for humanity in social service and evangelism. Synergic unity is thus a causal condition of "finishing the work," jargon for completing Christ's world-mission mandate. The two basic social processes of "creating unity" and "working together" are simultaneous and overlapping. The foundational concept of "creating unity" describes what God is doing with our help, while "working together" describes what we, as human participants, are doing with God's help.

Scriptural Definition of Unity: A Grounded Theory Reading of Genesis 1–2

As I sought to discover a Scripture-based multicultural organizational model for creating unity in the margins between cultures and ethnic groups, I turned to the core of synergic unity, the process of creation. As I compared the Gen 1–2 data with my field research, I concluded that the God who began creating unity in Gen 1–2 is still creating unity in multicultural organizations today. My following analysis of the Gen 1–2 data is not an attempt to analyze metaphysical, cosmological, or historical implications of the biblical creation story. Rather, my intent is to focus on the text as it reads in order to seek its help in developing a grounded theory for creating unity. Five conditions for creating unity and working together emerged from my combined study of Scripture and the multicultural/multiethnic work environments at the Asia-Pacific Division headquarters: spirituality, communication, identifying, appreciating, and defining our mission.

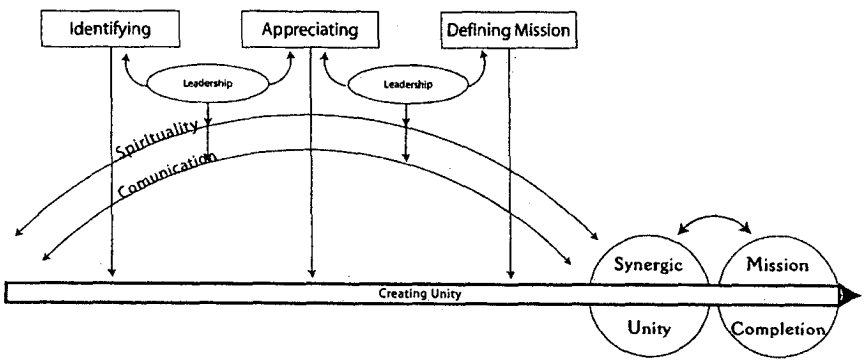
The following model (see below) for creating unity in the multicultural-organizational margin emerged from my examination and analysis of the

[12]See, e.g., Buckminster Fuller, *Synergetics: Explorations in the Geometry of Thinking* (New York: MacMillan, 1975); and Hermann Haken, *The Science of Structure: Synergetics* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984). For application to leadership and organizational studies, see Stephen R. Covey, *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 261-284; Nancy J. Adler, *International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior*, 3d ed. (Boston: Kent, 1996), 96-223; and Philip R. Harris and Robert T. Moran, *Managing Cultural Differences*, 5th ed. (Houston: Gulf, 2000).

[13]See, e.g., 2 Cor 6:1, where Paul uses the word in the context of God's ambassadors going out in a ministry of reconciliation. "As we *work together* [Gk. συνεργέω] with him, we urge you also not to accept the grace of God in vain" (NRSV).

[14]See Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2d ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989), 1:512.

various components of syngergic unifying.[15] The task of leadership is to identify those elements that will lead toward unity and define its organization's mission for creating and maintaining unity. This task is filtered through the process of growing spirituality and direct communication between the various members of the organization in order to fulfill and complete the mission, in this case, of completing the work given to the church by Christ, i.e., the gospel commission. We will now turn to a more complete description of the contextual conditions that make up this model.



Contextual Conditions: Spirituality and Communication

Beyond place and time,[16] spirituality and communication are the two major contextual conditions[17] of creating unity in the model.

Spirituality. Before God created diversity and united wholes, the context of his activity was set in Gen 1:2 (NIV): "Now the earth was formless and empty, darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters." God went into the margin, which was empty except for the

[15]Other important case studies that illustrate synergic unifying include Abraham and Ephron (Gen 23) and the Gadites and Reubenites (Num 32; Deut 3:12-20; and Josh 22).

[16]The model assumes "the margin" as the place where synergic unity is being created. It also assumes the need to allow more time for decision-making in cross-cultural contexts. My informants (see File 74, 1993) suggested that taking more time to reach consensus in the short term helps to insure less disagreement over the long term. The Bible indicates that instant miraculous synergy may be available, as when Jesus fed more than five thousand people with five loaves and two fish!

[17]Dey, 164, states: "We think of contextual conditions as 'setting the scene' for a (causal) sequence of events and therefore contextual conditions must precede that sequence or at least be coincident with it."

presence of his Spirit. The spiritual condition for creating unity was thus established. Every created thing has a spiritual dimension that comes from God. The spiritual condition for unity has often been epitomized in Christian circles by the principle "the closer we come to Christ, the closer we get to one another."

Application. Two prominent properties of spirituality came to the front in my research: the distinction between "disinterested" and "utilitarian" spirituality, and the dual nature of the church as both spiritual body of Christ and business organization. On the first point, an informant stated: "God should be first priority, and unity [should be] a result of that. Unity should be secondary to our relationship with God."[18] Another said: "Our goal is a healthy spirituality [what I am calling "disinterested spirituality"] that moves beyond pragmatic reasons [or "utilitarian spirituality"] and enjoys God for who he is."[19] Comments like these prompted me to ask: "How can spirituality be nurtured for its own sake without giving the impression that it is merely a driver for unity and mission achievement?" Suggestions included appointing a chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the workers and for the institution of daily prayer bands.

The second important aspect of spirituality to emerge from my interviewing was the dual nature of the church as the spiritual body of Christ and as a business organization. Informants were divided as to which quality should be the primary paradigm the Church should follow. For example, one day when a personnel problem was exposed, a leader said: "If this were a secular organization, heads might roll, but it is not; it is a church."[20] Some felt the organization was depending too much on modern business methods instead of stepping out in faith. But other informants, though not belittling the importance of spirituality, felt that professional expertise was also needed to solve problems. "We may question the idea that by kneeling down and praying we can solve everything," I was told.[21] Another said: "It is a sad situation when mediocrity is perpetuated in the name of spirituality."[22] One person tried to combine the two ideas: "We need to ask how we can apply spiritual principles to actual business matters in a way that is not perceived as being naive. Economic matter should also be considered theologically."[23]

Employees were clearly struggling with coming to terms with this dual nature of the church. An informant saw the relationship between low worker spirituality and perceived mistreatment by the church as business employer: "People have a hard time distinguishing between church as agency of God and church as employer. Church as employer can be dry, harsh, and impersonal.

[18]File 106, 1993.

[19]File 108, 1995.

[20]Ibid.

[21]See, e.g., File 62, 1993.

[22]File 101, 1993.

[23]File 62, 1993.

Yet church as agency of God on earth is warm and caring. Some people have a difficulty reconciling the two."[24]

Weak spirituality is evidently one consequence of failing to understand and explain the dual nature of the church to incoming employees and new church members. Charles Van Engen, following the example of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, concludes: "Only as we join the human and the divine aspects of the Church's nature in a unified perspective can we possibly arrive at a true understanding of the Church's mission."[25]

Communication. The model's second major contextual condition for creating synergic unity is communication. The spoken word of God in Gen 1 is powerful and speedy: "And God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light" (Gen 1:3, NIV).[26] When God speaks diversity into existence, he also provides for the diverse parts to come together in unity. Thus God created light, atmospherically diverse waters, dry land, two kinds of great lights, different kinds of fish, birds, mammals, and creeping things, and two distinct human genders—all by speaking. Diverse parts, such as day and night, male and female, and days for work and rest, all share commonalities that enable them to relate to one another in unity. None are totally different from their corresponding counterparts. By speaking commonalities as well as diversities into existence, God insured that the diverse parts would be able to relate and/or communicate together.

Application. But can multicultural organizational leaders participate with God in the act of speaking diverse parts and united wholes into existence? While the text of the creation account speaks to the miraculous effects of God's speaking, my informants were unanimous in extolling the effects of open communication for creating unity in multicultural organizations. Their comments suggest that God is still creating diversity and unity through the communication efforts of organization members. My research suggests a cause-and-effect relationship between organizational love, trust, and open communication. When members feel they are loved by leaders and other members and that they have a basis for trustworthy communication, they, in turn, trust one another and are willing to communicate openly with them. Thus there is a close relationship between communication and spirituality because

[24]Ibid.

[25]Charles Van Engen credits Dietrich Bonhoeffer for the idea that the church is both a sociological entity within world society and a fellowship of the followers of Jesus (*God's Missionary People* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991], 40; cf. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *A Dogmatic Inquiry into the Sociology of the Church* [New York: Harper, 1963]). David Bosch calls the church—as both a theological and a sociological entity—"an inseparable union of the divine and the dusty" (*Transforming Mission* [Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991], 385).

[26]See also Ps 33:6, 8-9, where world mission is mentioned in the context of God's speaking: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, their starry host by the breath of his mouth. Let all the earth fear the Lord; let all the people of the world revere him. For he spoke, and it came to be; he commanded, and it stood firm."

human beings rely on communication with God for spirituality and communication with one another for creating unity within the organization.

Some informants spoke about the difficulty of trusting others in their experience of working for the church. One person remembered a committee member blurting out: "You just don't trust me! You just don't trust me! You treat me like a three-year-old kid!"[27] Low trust inhibits open communication, creativity, meeting diverse others in the margin, creating synergic unity, and, ultimately, mission accomplishment. An informant spoke frankly: "In an environment of little or no trust, all my energy is channeled towards practicing protective management rather than creative management. My relationships are influenced by my desire to cover [or protect] myself."[28]

Others spoke about the lack of openness within the organization. One person contrasted organizational "cover-ups" with a statement made by pioneer Adventist visionary Ellen White: "Everything that Christians do should be as transparent as the sunlight."[29] Another person suggested that in an organization where problems can be freely discussed in the open, leaders have more control than in a closed organization, where closed communication lines may prevent top leaders from even finding out what the problems are. He concluded: "Our corporate culture doesn't encourage people to address issues openly, so they do it in the corridors."[30] Jan Paulsen, then serving as a General Conference Vice President, spoke on openness in a commencement address at Andrews University, where he defined openness as the ability to be "transparent, genuine, and nonthreatening."[31] Openness enables those working within multicultural organizations to meet each other in the margin and creatively work together to solve problems of internal cohesiveness and external mission completion. Trust-based, open communication provides the power for creating synergic unity.

Conjunctional Conditions: Identifying, Appreciating, and Defining Mission

The three conjunctional conditions of identifying, appreciating, and defining mission intersect with the two contextual conditions of spirituality and communication. They form fuzzy stages[32] in the process of creating synergic

[27]File 83, 1993.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ellen G. White, *Thoughts from the Mount of Blessing* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1965), 68.

[30]File 48, 1993.

[31]Jan Paulsen, "Open Border, Open Minds," *Adventist Review*, November 9, 1995, 1,400-1,402.

[32]See Dey's, 90-92, discussion of "fuzzy logic." Also see Paul Hiebert's application of Lofti Asker Zadeh's concept of fuzzy sets to mission thinking in *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 107-136.

unity, meaning that these conditions do not have neat beginnings and endings, but overlap one another. Once underway, they tend to continue as long as the process of unifying continues and do not always occur in the order presented even though that order may seem to be the most natural.

Identifying. God continues the process of creating unity by identifying the diverse parts he has spoken into existence and by establishing their distinguishing characteristics through the process of separation and naming. "God separated the light from the darkness. God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night" (Gen 14b-5a, NRSV). He "sanctified" (KJV) or "hallowed" (NRSV) the seventh day, terms that mean "separation" or "setting apart for a special purpose." Diverse parts evidently need a time of separation to establish and maintain their identities so that they can make a unique contribution to the united whole. Biblical case studies of separation include the Tower of Babel (Gen 11:1-9), Abraham and Lot (Gen 13), and Paul and Barnabas over the issue of John Mark (Acts 15:36-41).

Naming also further distinguishes the parts, permitting them to relate together in the whole. God includes Adam in the process of creating unity by allowing him to name the animals and the birds. The name precisely fits the characteristics of the diverse part. It is difficult to relate meaningfully with someone whose name one does not know. In the Bible, it is significant that Abram, Sarai, and Jacob are renamed. Solomon's name means "peace"; he was called Jedidiah, meaning "Beloved of the Lord" (2 Sam 12:25, NRSV, margin).

The importance of identification as a condition for the process of creating unity is confirmed by Paul's analogy of the church as a human body in 1 Cor 12–13. In these chapters, Paul refers to two kinds of diversity: spiritual gifts (12:1-11) and ethnicity (12:12-13). He emphasizes the importance of identification (12:14-26), making it clear, e.g., that the body needs separate parts with unique functions. Then he concludes his argument by pointing his readers to the supremacy of love. Diverse parties working together in Christian groups can come together in love for each other (chap. 13). Later the point is rephrased:

> But speaking the truth in love, we must grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every ligament with which it is equipped, as each part is working properly, promotes the body's growth in building itself up in love (Eph 4:15-16, NRSV).

Application. While I was conducting field research in Singapore, the Far Eastern Division Officers and Departmental Council met to discuss changing the name of the division. The president began by questioning the logic of a "far East" when the globe is round. To the European, the division's territory might be considered to be far East, but to a Californian it would appear to be in the far West. Council members responded favorably. One member said that the name "Far Eastern" reflected an old colonialist idea that now needed to be replaced. An officer stated: "We need to give ourselves a name that identifies this region. People have no idea what we are or what we do." The name change to Asia-Pacific Division communicated the message that "we are no longer to

be defined in terms of the West, but in terms of who we really are."

Appreciating. From the first day of creation, God valued the diverse parts he created. "God saw that the light was good" (Gen 1:4a, NIV), even before the separating, naming, and coming together took place. On the third and fourth days, however, appreciating was the last activity mentioned. On the sixth day, God valued the animals first, then everything that he made.

God values the diverse part for itself; then, he values the unified whole when the parts come together—in fact, he may value the whole even more than the part alone, for "it was not good for the man to be alone" (Gen 2:18, NIV). A close reading reveals that God insured that diverse parts would share commonalities as well as differences. For example, the night is equipped with a lesser light; male and female are "bone of each other's bone and flesh of each other's flesh" (Gen 2:23a).

Application. In my field research, "appreciation" of both diversities and commonalities emerged as the term that best includes the valuing that God does in Gen 1–2 and the ideal attitude toward diversity and commonality in the multicultural organizations I studied.

The term "appreciate" means to place a value on a particular thing or things, to be fully aware of, to be grateful for, and to increase the intrinsic value thereof.[33] Multicultural organizational members learn to appreciate individual, cultural, economic, work-related, and biological diversities. Although I found a mix of positive, neutral, and negative attitudes toward diversity in the multicultural organizations I studied, it must be remembered that all human beings are simultaneously like no others, like some others, and like all others. Balanced views are needed not only for appreciating diversities, but in recognizing and valuing those shared commonalities that are vital for synergic unifying. Appreciating diversity and commonality means to know both of them well enough to place a value on them, to be thankful for them, and to see their value increase.

Defining Mission. The third conjunctive condition of creating unity is mission definition. After creating the birds and the fish on the fifth day, "God blessed them and said, 'Be fruitful and increase in number and fill the water in the seas, and let the birds increase on the earth'" (Gen 1:22, NIV). In Gen 1–2, God defined a mission statement for the parties he created. The expanse or dome was separated from the waters; the sun and moon govern the day and night, thereby separating light from darkness and serving as signs. God blessed the man and the woman, giving them a mission to "be fruitful and increase in number; [to] fill the earth and subdue it" (Gen 1:28, NIV), and to rule over the living creatures. Thus the diverse parts, brought together in united wholes, have a mission.

After announcing their missions, God immediately gave both humans and animals provision for sustaining and maintaining life (Gen 1:29-30). There is a sequence that God follows: blessing, defining mission, and providing for the accomplishment of the mission. This blessing occurs at the conjunction of

[33] *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 1985), s.v. "appreciate."

spirituality and mission definition in the model.

Application. In 1992, the Asia-Pacific Division voted a mission statement to "present Jesus Christ, in His fullness, to every person within its territory, and to make ready a people prepared for the Lord."[34] The statement was similar to the mission statement of the General Conference, voted in 1993, which stated that the mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church is to "proclaim to all people the everlasting gospel in the context of the three angels' messages of Revelation 14:6-12, leading them to accept Jesus as personal Savior and to unite with His church, and nurturing them in preparation for His soon return."[35] Both statements define the mission of the whole denomination without saying anything in particular about the mission of the part. We still do not officially know what the specific mission of either organization is. Therefore, workers at the Singapore headquarters seemed confused at times about the precise definition of their mission. One informant questioned: "What is our mission here? To spread the gospel, right? People staying here all by themselves on this compound—can they spread the gospel? If they live outside in a flat with people and smell what the people are cooking, they are spreading the gospel better."[36]

While in Singapore, I found a document that gave the following explanation of what the division was supposed to be doing: "The Division works with other church entities as partners with whom it cooperates in a learning relationship. *While retaining centralized control in essential areas,* the division organization emphasizes decentralization, encouraging decision making and control to be done at the lowest level possible" (emphasis supplied).[37] When I asked the meaning of the expression "control in essential areas," I was told that church constituencies around the world have told the divisions to preserve the doctrinal purity of the church and the competence and integrity of those elected to govern the work at the union level (one level below the division).[38] While this is important for maintaining unity of the whole organization, it was not helpful in understanding how the part was to accomplish these tasks within the whole. I only discovered the precise mission of the Asia-Pacific Division as an organizational unit among others through the interviewing process.[39]

[34]Far Eastern Division Committee minutes (1992), 76.

[35]"Our Mission," *Adventist Review*, April 22, 1993, 399.

[36]See File 46, 1993.

[37]*Far Eastern Division Manual*, n.d., 1-15-15, emphasis supplied.

[38]See File 98, 1993.

[39]By contrast, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada (the Canadian Union Conference) has now published vision and mission statements that clearly define its own unique mission: "Vision: Proclaiming Christ, Nurturing Believers, Serving Humanity. Mission: Our mission is providing strategic leadership, support, and resources to our conferences and national entities to achieve our shared vision. In our leadership role we will: Innovate, Influence, Impact, [and] Foster unity." I conclude that a published statement which defines the specific missions of the General Conference and its

Unity and Mission Completion

The process of creating unity results in the product of synergic unity, which, in turn, is the causal condition of mission accomplishment. This unity is clearly pluriform oneness rather than mere uniformity. The twenty-four-hour day, the plants in their soil, the married couple, and the seven-day week are united wholes composed of diverse parts. When the parts become united with each other, the whole enhances the identity of each part as salt flavors food. The meaning of "darkness" and "light" is their diversity; the meaning of "night" and "day" is their identity; and the meaning of "evening" and "morning" (Gen 1:5b) is their coming together in partnership within the twenty-four-hour day. Indeed, the time of meeting, at dusk and dawn, may be described as the most beautiful time of the day. Similarly, the man and woman are destined to open up to each other in forming a united married oneness (Gen 2:24). The purpose of these unities is the accomplishment of the missions of the wholes.

The relationship between unity and mission accomplishment is a reciprocal, never-ending cycle of interactive effects.[40] Synergic unity is a causal condition that leads directly to mission accomplishment as consequence. But the ultimate goal of the ultimate mission accomplishment is eternal kingdom unity, with all creation uniting in worship of God and allegiance to Jesus Christ as King of kings. So the time will come when unity will continue even though mission as we know it has ceased. Yet who is to say that eternal kingdom unity will not become the causal condition for the accomplishment of still to be determined missions X, Y, or Z?

Creating Synergic Unity: Leadership Today and the Church of Tomorrow

What are the practical applications of the synergic unity model for Christian leaders today and the church of tomorrow? The model shows that leadership is an intervening condition that works to strengthen all of the other conditions that work together to process synergic unifying.[41] The Genesis account indicates that diverse parts need leadership to help them secure their identities and to nudge them together in unity. God provides leaders and partners who complement each other as they govern. Two great lights "govern the day and the night" (Gen 1:18, NIV), while male and female are given joint dominion over the animals (Gen 1:26). God as matchmaker puts the man and the woman together. God can create synergic unity through the

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divisions is needed in order to expedite the process of creating synergic unity throughout the world field.

[40]See Glaser's discussion of the "interactive family" of theoretical codes (*Theoretical Sensitivity*, 76).

[41]Leadership, of course, cannot enforce spirituality. It can, however, introduce people to God, set up an environment conducive to spirituality, and encourage people either singly or in groups to strengthen their own spirituality by maintaining a close relationship with God through the indwelling Spirit.

variety of hierarchical, democratic, or consensus leadership styles that we find in the world today. When leaders apply the grounded theory of creating unity—found in Gen 1–2 and supported by multicultural organizational research—to the problems of creating unity today, they need to keep in mind the events of Gen 3–4 (the Fall) and 10–12 (the creation of diverse nations and the mission of Abram). We live in a world where when things fall apart, the center cannot hold.

If leadership is essentially "the management of corporate culture,"[42] Christian servant-leaders and followers, working together, will focus on those basic assumptions, beliefs, and values that insure internal unity for external mission accomplishment. They will search for synergies and create unity through the power of vertical and horizontal communication. And they will simultaneously be unifying the diverse components of their corporate culture.

The results of my grounded-theory research reveal a desire on the part of the diverse parts of the church to follow the scriptural commandment for unity; however, as the following summary demonstrates, there is still room for growth:

Condition	**Grounded Theory of Creation: Gen 1–2**	**Application**
Contextual	*Spirituality* - God stepped into the margin to create the universe	- need for making clear distinctions between disinterested and utilitarian spirituality - need for developing spirituality that is nurtured for its own sake and not simply employing it as a driver for unity and mission achievement - need for finding and maintaining a healthy balance between church as the spiritual body of Christ and church as a business organization
	Communication - God not only created diversity; he created the ability of diverse parts to come together in unity and with the potential for communication to take place among these parts	- need for trust between the diverse parts of the organization for the development of synergic unity - need for openness within the organization so that problems may be discovered and corrected, which will provide conditions for individuals to meet in the margins

[42]See Edgar H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 2d ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1992), 374.

Conjunctional	*Identifying* - God identified and established the distinguishing characteristics of the diverse parts of creation by separating them from one another and by naming each part	- need for identifying and accurately naming the diverse parts so that the individual parts may be seen in their uniqueness and as parts of the whole
	Appreciating - God valued each aspect of his creation, saying that each part was good. He not only valued the diverse parts for themselves, but also the unified whole	- need for appreciation of both diversities and commonalities by learning to value individual, work-related, biological, cultural, and ethnic diversities - need for appreciating diversity and commonality by learning to know others well enough to place a value on them, to be thankful for them, and to see their value increase.
	Mission Definition - God defined a mission statement for everything he created, blessed his creation, and provided for the accomplishment of the missions of the diverse parts within the unified whole	- need for defining a mission statement that not only addresses the unified whole, but also the mission of the diverse parts within the whole

A Possible Mission for the Church of the Future

If the church of the future were to apply my model for creating unity in the margins, gleaned from a search of Scripture and the data compiled from the multicultural-organizational study presented above, I suggest it might look like the following:

1. We are amplifying and creating synergic unity internally within our church as a whole and in each unit of which we are a part. Further, we are creating unity externally between ourselves and other Christian organizations without compromising our beliefs.
2. We are completing a corporate culture audit of the General Conference and other structural units of the church.
3. We are redesigning our corporate structure in order to better serve our goal of working together with God and with each other to complete the mission of God.

4. We are continuing to refine, integrate, and develop our corporate culture based on three core values of unity, growth, and quality of life. We are open to changing our corporate culture if it will help us to better complete the mission of God.
5. We understand that the contextualization of our missionary message, strategy, and methods is a consequence of our commitment to the mission of God to the peoples of the world. We are embracing contextualization as a necessary consequence of appreciating diversity and commonality in our corporate culture values system. We recognize that contextualization is the work of the Holy Spirit in our midst; it is being practiced by all our units as we seek to "finish the work."
6. We as members—both leaders and followers—are nurturing and strengthening the following five conditions for creating unity: spirituality, communication, identification, appreciation, and mission definition.
7. We are creating unity and accomplishing our mission because of our love for God, our humble thankfulness for Christ's work of atonement and mediation, and our reliance on the power of the Holy Spirit.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

PROCLAMATION IN CROSS-CULTURAL CONTEXT: MISSIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Name of Researcher: Sung Ik Kim
Faculty Adviser: Bruce L. Bauer, D.Miss.
Date Completed: June 2005

This study explores the biblical foundation of salvific mission as revealed in God's purposes for the nations (*missio Dei*) in the book of Daniel and to investigate the means that Daniel employed in his ministry as an overt missionary who was sent to witness to God's salvific purpose in the cross-cultural context of heathen kingdoms.

The main objective of this research is to validate the book of Daniel as a missionary document and to show that its missiological implications are still relevant to present-day missions. Chapter 1 explores the salvific purpose of *missio Dei* in the book of Daniel, including God's initiative for salvation in human history, "God's salvific purpose for all people." It demonstrates that Daniel was aware of the sovereignty of God in the process of the exile to achieve God's salvific purpose for all people through his human agents.

Chapter 3 researches the strategies of *missio Dei*, showing how God uses committed individuals, dreams, visions, and spiritual conflict. It shows that God's strategy involves not only calling people to serve for his salvific purpose but also his direct intervention in human history through dreams, visions, and spiritual conflict.

Chapter 4 focuses on the cultural perspective of Daniel's ministry by analyzing the process of cultural learning and symbolism within the book of Daniel. Furthermore, Daniel's process of witness to Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius is examined and analyzed from the cross-cultural perspective. It reveals that Daniel and his friends were sensitive to the local culture to communicate God's truth in a cross-cultural context without sacrificing the content of the truth.

Chapter 5 suggests some missiological implications from the book of Daniel for present cross-cultural missionary work. The elucidation of practical implications demonstrates that the book of Daniel should be treated as a missionary document to develop for the present-day, cross-cultural mission practices as well as theology.

REACTIONS TO THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST EVANGELICAL CONFERENCES AND *QUESTIONS ON DOCTRINE*, 1955-1971

Name of Researcher Juhyeok Nam
Faculty Adviser George R. Knight, Ed.D.
Date Completed: March 2005

Topic

The Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences of 1955-1956 resulted in the publication of articles favorable to Adventists in *Eternity* magazine, and the publication of the book *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*, both of which evoked a variety of reactions among evangelicals and Adventists.

Purpose

This study identifies and analyzes various evangelical and Adventist responses to the Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences and *Questions on Doctrine*. In particular, this investigation examines the interaction between the major theological camps that emerged within and outside the Adventist Church.

Sources

This research is a documentary/analytical study of materials produced between 1955 and 1971 in reaction to the Seventh-day Adventist Evangelical Conferences and *Questions on Doctrine*. Sources of particular importance to this study have been major evangelical and Adventist periodicals and unpublished materials gathered from archival collections at Andrews University, the Ellen G. White Estate, the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Loma Linda University, and the Presbyterian Historical Society.

Conclusion

Four distinct types of reactions were identified by this research: pro-Adventist evangelicals, anti-Adventist evangelicals, pro-*Questions on Doctrine* Adventists, and anti-*Questions on Doctrine* Adventists. The first group was represented by Walter R. Martin, Donald Grey Barnhouse, E. Schuyler English, and Frank Mead, who accepted Adventists as an evangelical church. The rest of the evangelical world belonged to the second group and continued to regard Adventism as a cult. The third group was led by those General Conference leaders who participated in the Adventist-evangelical conferences and in the publication of *Questions on Doctrine*. The final group was led by M. L. Andreasen, who strongly protested against the book, which he considered to be significantly un-Adventist. The reactions by and interactions among these four groups until 1971 show that the controversy over the Adventist-evangelical dialogues and *Questions on Doctrine* was never fully resolved and the four sides remained in tension.

Chilton, Bruce. *Redeeming Time: The Wisdom of Ancient Jewish and Christian Festal Calendars.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002. viii + 132 pp. Hardcover, $19.95.

Bruce Chilton, a noted scholar of early Christianity and Judaism, attempts to analyze time philosophically and aesthetically through the eyes of the ancient Jewish and Christian festal calendars. He begins in chapters 1 and 2 with a discussion of two aspects of time in our contemporary world: constraint and rhythm. The constraint of time results in a feeling of busyness and emptiness, and is a profoundly disturbing feature of our lives. Time as rhythm is more enjoyable and involves recurring, patterned expressions of events. Rhythm is dichotomized into recurrence (cyclical time) and interval (linear time). The problem facing today's society is the sense of growing constraint and decreasing rhythm, which results in a feeling that time crushes us rather than develops who we are. The solution to this dilemma, according to Chilton, is found in the sacrificial systems as expressed in the ancient Jewish and Christian calendars with their explanations of time's rhythms of festal joy and intervals of communal memories. In this context, the author's purpose is to help human beings better understand themselves in time.

Chapters 3 and 4 analyze respectively festal Judaism (with emphasis on *Pesach*, *Shavuoth*, and *Sukkoth*) and festal Christianity (in the context of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline thought). In reading through these pages, one will encounter historical-critical methodology and fairly technical issues of NT interpretation. Furthermore, one will notice somewhat of a disconnect in these chapters from the main purpose of the book. Just how the Jewish feasts in the OT relate to our experience of time today is unclear. Neither does the discussion on the NT shed any light on our contemporary experience of time.

In chapter 5, the conclusion, Chilton shows how Judaism and Christianity responded differently to the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem. Each found ways to protect the holiness of time, rescuing the eternal interval from the destruction left by Rome. "For the Mishnah, the interval of eternity is a matter of infinite extension; for the Epistle to the Hebrews, that interval is a single moment consuming all other moments" (90). And it is here that the book finally provides several profound insights concerning the Christian's relationship to time. For example, the death of Christ "is the eternal pivot of all time" (ibid.). This being the case, Christ's entry into the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 9:11-12) "becomes the only time there is, an eternal moment: aorist eternity" (93). This aorist eternity, the author maintains, is accessible to the believer through the experience of baptism and the act of prayer. Furthermore, aspects of this aorist eternity are conveyed through the Christian calendar with its three anchors: Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany. Those interested in the origin of the liturgical year will find this discussion noteworthy.

At several points throughout the book, Chilton engages various scholars such as Thorleif Boman, James Barr, and René Girard. One wonders why he left out engagement with such scholars of theological time as John Wilch, Simon DeVries, Robert Banks, and Oscar Cullman. This would have enriched the book's discussion of theological time. Another weak point is the lack of practical application. As a scholarly book attempting to reach a wider audience, the author needed to discuss more thoroughly how a redemptive understanding of time can impact every facet of human life. Again, this is where much of the discussion is disconnected from the main purpose of the book.

In spite of these shortcomings, this book delivers a redemptive view of time and eternity that will stimulate theological reflection. Specialists will find much to discuss and debate, while all will appreciate the moments of profound insight in the conclusion.

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Davis, James Calvin. *The Moral Theology of Roger Williams: Christian Conviction and Public Ethics.* Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004. 178 pp. Hardcover, $24.95.

Roger Williams, in modern times, has been alienated from the Reformed tradition and fashioned into a secular libertarian fighting the Puritanical influences of colonial America. Although living a century prior to the Bill of Rights, he has been molded into a Jeffersonian democrat. It has been forgotten that this voice in the wilderness for religious liberty was a separatist who had a dogma as personal and vehement as any other New Englander of his time. As many already know, Williams did promulgate freedom of conscience. However, James Calvin Davis in *The Moral Theology of Roger Williams* points out that this political theory arose out of the same Reformed tradition that the Massachusetts brethren used to stifle liberties. Williams, and those influenced by him, saw himself more as a John Calvin than a James Madison. A restoration of this Reformed portrait is what Davis of Middlebury College, Vermont, exhumes for us. *The Moral Theology*, which began as a dissertation under ethicist James F. Childress, is an exploration of Williams's synthesis between private Christian conviction and public ethics.

How is it possible that a theological particularist could preach and live the values of a liberal universalist? *The Moral Theology* proposes an alternative found in the scant yet potent writings of Williams. Davis believes—after rummaging through the archaic English—that Williams saw in the Christian moral tradition, particularly Calvinism, "the theological resources necessary to explore bases of morality shared with people outside the faith community" (xiv).

The Moral Theology of Roger Williams is not a biography; nor is it intended to be chronological. Theological ethics is the focus of this work, and it is organized thus. Part 1 develops the narrative of Williams's association with the Puritans in the Old World and the reasons for his subsequent immigration to the New. The sectarian hostility characteristic of the reign of James I placed a separatist imprint upon young Roger. His separatism was not evident at first. In fact, Williams had the good fortune to serve under Sir Edward Coke, the foremost legal mind of England at the time, who would become an influence upon the early Federalists. Already at an early age, Williams was fusing morality and public ethics.

Davis briefly outlines the well-known story of Williams's eventual departure for his new home in the nascent New England colonies. However, this proponent of religious freedom was unable to be cordial to his fellow Puritans. He was intolerant toward the fallacies in religion and government that the Puritan leaders were committing in their settlements. After involuntarily (or at times out of his own volition) moving to a number of established colonies, he was forced to found Providence, Rhode Island.

Rhode Island would become a haven for separatists, dissenters, agnostics, and pagans alike. The liberties that Williams espoused arose out of his correspondence with John Cotton, the spokesman for religious compulsion, for which New England would become known. Anticipating James Madison's views against religious assessments, Williams outlined for Cotton that religious compulsion was counterproductive to civil peace as well as evidently contrary to the gospel. Drawing from the same Reformed

tradition as the Puritans he debated, he forcefully demurred that persecution brought the peace and unity Christianity sought. Instead, he referred cogently to Scripture, history, and Calvinist theologians to show that a marriage of church and state spawns instability. He proposed that belief could only be cultivated through logical persuasion, experience, and *divine* compulsion (he branded *human* compulsion as "soul rape"). These views were first and foremost drawn from a religious well, and only afterwards applied to a secular context. The political firebrand that he wasn't is a caricature invented later. Although Williams considered himself primarily a Reformed theologian, does this necessarily mean that we have to view him as such? Davis believes that the subsequent political takeover and application of Williams's views does not give us the right to see him as anything except a Reformed theologian.

Anyone viewing Williams through political spectacles or seeing a dichotomy between particularism and universalism will be challenged at how it is possible to even consider a person with strong religious convictions as engaging in public ethics. Although the practical applications are nondescript, Davis does give a fine presentation of the theoretical possibility of such a combination happening.

What was the theology that led Williams to theories of conscience and toleration? According to Davis, not only was he interpreting the Reformed texts differently than other Puritans, he was also applying a different hermeneutic to the Scriptures. His use of typology would be seen in his incarnational theology. In his debating with Cotton and the Quakers, one can see Williams's christological perspective applied to public ethics. He believed the first advent of Christ to be a moment of cataclysmic consequences to the old covenant with Israel. His particular view of dispensational typology undercut the Puritan endeavors toward a "city on a hill." The new Israel has a different relationship that does not incorporate civil government. The civil government's position would be to prevent violence and protect liberties. The "holy commonwealth" of New England has, in Williams's incarnational theology, no validity according to Scripture.

Is it possible for one man to see the theory, application, and preservation of civil liberties just from Scripture and tradition? Williams may have prided himself on his exegetical prowess (however polemical he could be), but Davis reminds us that he was undoubtedly influenced by his experience. This is the subject of part 2, which centers upon Williams's anthropology. One notable relationship that led Williams to a belief in the freedom of conscience was with the Native Americans. He was not a prolific nor pithy writer, but his *A Key into the Language of America* would be the epitome of his ethical views. Throughout his life he served as a mediator between his friends, the Narrangansett Indians, and the snobbish colonists. King Philip's War between the English invaders and the Americans convinced this Reformed theologian that these pagan Americans were human beings capable of morality. Thus they were worthy of the same rights of conscience as Christians. The seeds for public conversation were sown. Davis shows that, in what would appear to be a grammar text, *A Key* contains the belief that the Native Americans were actually superior to the Europeans in morality.

It is almost unbelievable that a separatist, thrown out of settlements due to dogmatic views, would be able to accept and incorporate "pagans" into his worldview. The mystery that Davis poses is that if "separatism, then, breeds a spirit of intolerance, we might expect the extreme sectarian Williams to outdo his fellow Puritans" (52), yet Williams is an alternative to Christian particularists and strict universalists. The dogmatic right and libertarian left join hands in the person of Williams.

Williams saw natural law and reason as a basis for public conversation and cooperation. Pointing back to Calvin, he preached that the moral law (i.e., the Decalogue)

is written upon every heart. Citing Tertullian, he argued that religious persecution deprives individuals of the rights of conscience that are inherently universal. This becomes the basis for toleration, which leads to peaceful social coexistence. The tripod of Williams's argument is constructed of "Religion, Reason, and Experience" (68).

Politically, Davis presents Williams as a minimalist. Neither ecclesiological nor political leaders ought to have too much control over what nature has given man in the form of conscience. There is to be some legal intrusion, though, due to the existence of sin and the weakness of the will. However, one does not need to be religious to be moral. In fact, pointing to history, it is often the case that religious people are immoral. Williams argued that "Kingdomes and Governments in the World have long and long enjoyed civill peace and quiet," without "the very name of Jesus Christ amongst them" (97). Morality is already a part of man's nature and is accessible to all: Christian, Jew, Muslim, pagan, and others.

Not only is religious compulsion in opposition to the gospel and natural law, it is also against common civility—virtues such as justice and courtesy. The third and final section of Davis's book discusses how Williams's theology and anthropology then led him to his well-known views upon public discourse. Williams believed civility, not Christianity or religious compulsion, will preserve social peace. What surprised Williams most was that his brethren, formerly oppressed in England, would fight just as vehemently to deny that religious freedom to others in the New World. This transgressed the civil code of justice, in Williams's thinking. One can deny the gospel without destroying elements of private and philosophical discussion. Denying the code of civility, on the other hand, has social ramifications that can destroy peaceful coexistence. Williams's debates with the seventeenth-century Quakers (as opposed to later Quakers) revealed their lack of civility, especially courtesy. He was disgusted with them not so much because of their theology, but because of their rejection of common civility. This is why Williams is remembered as a Jeffersonian democrat today rather than a Reformed theologian. Williams, contrary to a modern view by sociologist Robert Bellah, was concerned with the public good over private interest. In spite of his own views of himself, his public ethics on civility would gain him the reputation of the early prophet of the First Amendment. Historians today see him as an espouser of secular liberties. But how would he have us see him? He would prefer to be remembered, as Davis loyally portrays him, as a Reformed theologian, who built a community of toleration and civility based upon Scripture and natural law.

How we remember him is not as important as how we apply him. Although promising to show "how Christians can do the same in a contemporary setting," *The Moral Theology* fails the reader in this area. Williams was, Davis reveals, a man who combined Christian conviction with public ethics. The application of civility is the practical example from Williams's life. Yet this civility was more prevalent among the Native Americans than the Christian Europeans. In stressing civility, it appears that Davis is undercutting Christian particularism. However, the practice of civility is a guide for the common man. Williams was not a plebeian; he was a political leader. How does a political leader meet such challenges? This is an area Davis does not address and is perhaps to be reserved for another context. *The Moral Theology* does outline the theoretical foundation for social cohesiveness in a pluralistic society and then encourages its vigorous pursuit today. Williams lived, and Davis shows, the divine maxim: "The world will know you are my disciples if you have love for one another."

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Fortin, Denis. *Adventism in Quebec: The Dynamics of Rural Church Growth, 1830-1910.* Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2004, 216 pp. Paper, $19.99.

As Seventh-day Adventism has spread across North America, it has experienced a variety of regional variations. However, relatively little attention has been given to these geographical characteristics. In the 1940s, Harold O. McCumber examined *The Advent Message in the Golden West,* and more recently Doug R. Johnson wrote *Adventism on the Northwestern Frontier.* Although devoted to particular areas of the United States, neither of these books advanced any argument regarding the particular shape that Adventism took or why it developed as it did in these regions. While providing interesting narratives, these works did not provide much in the way of interpretive analysis.

Denis Fortin has now added a third work on regional Adventism with his account of *Adventism in Quebec.* In contrast to the earlier works, the author not only narrates the story of the denomination in this province; he also seeks to explain why Adventism went through cycles of progress and decline. He argues that there were three primary factors that ultimately weakened the church: the continuing migration of members to more populated areas (in this case the United States), a lack of financial resources, and—perhaps most importantly—frequent changes in local denominational leadership and, therefore, inconsistent guidance and support. He concludes that these issues remain significant today not only in Quebec, but in rural American churches generally.

In pursuing this argument, Fortin traces the development of Adventism in a series of chronologically organized chapters. After briefly describing Quebec's Eastern Townships in the nineteenth century, he examines the Millerite Movement's significant impact on the area. William Miller visited Quebec three times between 1835 and 1840, followed by Josiah Litch in 1842. The latter's arrival resulted in the first Millerite campmeeting, held in Hatley in June. Although they faced increasing opposition, the Millerites remained active in Quebec through the Great Disappointment of 1844. During the next few years, these Millerites formed what would ultimately become Evangelical Adventist and Advent Christian Churches. "By the end of the 1840s," Fortin observes, "Adventists in the Eastern Townships numbered about one thousand" (51).

This Adventist presence drew leaders of the developing sabbatarian Adventist movement into the region as they sought out former Millerites to whom they could present their beliefs. They argued that Jesus had entered the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary on October 22, 1844, to begin his final work of judgment, and that the seventh-day Sabbath was still binding on Christians and was the great test of the last days that would bring the true followers of God out of the Babylon of error and disbelief. With visits from Joseph Bates in 1848, from James and Ellen White in 1850, and Bates and John N. Andrews in 1851, small pockets of sabbatarian Adventists developed in the Eastern Townships in the early 1850s.

The conversion of two Baptist brothers, Augustin and Daniel Bourdeau, in the mid-1850s brought greater dynamism to the sabbatarian movement in the region. Fortin writes that "the Bourdeau brothers' preaching efforts were relatively successful and, by the end of the 1850s, Sabbatarian Adventist believers were found in most villages along the border [with Vermont]" (68). Between 1862 and 1865 several churches organized, including Troy-Potton, Richford-Sutton, Westbury-Eaton, and Sutton-Dunham. With the organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church between 1861 and 1863, the Eastern Townships of Quebec came under the umbrella of the Vermont Conference. Unfortunately, this conference largely neglected Quebec into the mid-1870s, while the General Conference transferred the Bourdeau brothers to Iowa for several months in 1866, a decision that slowed the growth of the denomination in both Vermont and

Quebec. More significantly, Fortin points out, this action began a pattern of interrupted leadership that would continue to characterize the region. Other factors that weakened the small congregations included inadequate financial resources, interpersonal conflicts, and Augustin Bourdeau's shift from itinerant evangelism to serving largely as pastor of the Bordoville church in Vermont.

In 1875, Augustin Bourdeau began conducting extensive evangelism that continued until 1883 and resulted in the formation of the Quebec Conference in 1880, with 132 members distributed among three churches and two companies. Daniel Bourdeau rejoined his brother shortly thereafter. Although new members continued to join the denomination, emigration to the United States depleted the numbers. By 1884, the conference had nineteen fewer members than when it had organized. Meanwhile, the Bourdeau brothers had left again, although Augustin's son-in-law, Rodney S. Owen, provided strong leadership to the conference between 1884 and 1893. During this time, a school was established and colporteur work begun, and the denomination actively opposed a Canadian national Sunday law. With Owen's departure for Georgia in 1894, Fortin observes that "the phase of expansion and growth that had begun in 1875 had reached its peak" (152).

Joseph Bangs Goodrich replaced Owen as president of the conference in 1893, providing vigorous leadership until 1897. From that point until 1910, the end date of this study, seven different individuals served as president of the conference and were unable to develop a good understanding of the region or provide consistent leadership. With the establishment of the Canadian Union Conference in 1902 and the decision to place its headquarters in Montreal, it was apparent that interest was shifting away from the Eastern Townships. Fortin concludes that "perhaps all that could be hoped for in the Eastern Townships was the maintenance of what had been achieved so far" (173).

Following this generally chronological account, Fortin in his final chapter summarizes his historical interpretation and then shifts to a more sociological discussion of the challenges facing contemporary rural churches in both the United States and Canada. Emigration of church members, the impact of modern society on rural families, and the high turnover of pastors have all contributed to a weakening of the rural church. Fortin calls for a new vision of rural church ministry that includes the training of lay leadership. A two-page Epilogue describes the development of Adventism in Quebec through the early twenty-first century. Three appendices list the early Adventist churches in Quebec, camp meetings up to 1910, and conference officers between 1880 and 1910.

Fortin has developed his study on the basis of extensive and solid research. Millerite sources include William Miller's books and correspondence, as well as such papers as the *Signs of the Times* and the *Advent Herald*. The *World's Crisis*, a publication of the group that would become the Advent Christians, is also a major source for the post-Millerite period. For the movement that became Seventh-day Adventism, he relies largely on a close reading of the *Review and Herald* reports for Vermont and Quebec, as well as letters to the editor. Not content to depend exclusively on religious publications, however, Fortin has also used local newspapers, particularly the *Stanstead Journal* and the *Waterloo Advertizer*, which provide him with significant supplemental information and an "outside" viewpoint. This type of research is slow and painstaking as one looks for bits and pieces of information scattered through many small reports. The author is to be commended for the broad range of his sources and the thoroughness with which he has handled them.

As noted at the outset, unlike previous regional histories of Adventism, in this volume Fortin has sought to move beyond simple narrative to provide an analytical

interpretation of his findings. He has carefully organized his information, presented it in clear prose, and systematically put forward his argument on the basis of clearly identified evidence. He has avoided the temptation of whitewashing problems, particularly the issue of inconsistent pastoral leadership. *Adventism in Quebec* offers not only provocative historical arguments based on solid research; it also provides evidence that should provoke reconsideration of the denomination's approach to rural churches. In that sense, it is something of a case study, as its subtitle, *The Dynamics of Rural Church Growth*, suggests.

In addition to these accomplishments, there are two things that I think the author might have done. First, except for a few references to other churches experiencing emigration problems, he does not discuss the development of Adventism in relationship to the economic and social history of the region. A quotation from a secondary source briefly refers to a recession affecting Quebec for thirty years after 1867 (130), but nowhere is this economic situation discussed in relationship to the Adventist experience. The connections between Adventism and the larger society need further exploration and might contribute to a deeper knowledge of the Adventist experience in Quebec.

Second, in several places more extensive detail would have enlivened the text and at the same time increased our understanding. Vague references to "interpersonal conflicts" and "personal failures" of pastors and members (99-100) make the reader wonder what was happening in these churches. While I am not suggesting that the author should give undue attention to scandal-mongering, human behavior is the "stuff" of history and concrete discussion of these issues would help us better understand the situation. There are several references to debates between Adventist evangelists and other ministers and, in one case, a reference to a debate being carried on in letters to a newspaper (124). Providing more detail regarding these debates would both create color and help us further understand the mindset of both Adventists and their opponents. A brief reference to four ministers "confronting" Owens and Moses E. Kellogg (141) raises many questions, among them being the form of the confrontation, the issues at stake, and the results. Finally, rather than simply stating that camp meetings occurred at a certain time and place, the author might tell us more about what happened at these gatherings. Who were some of the speakers, and what subjects did they discuss? What do reports say about the reactions and behavior of those who attended? How did the local newspapers respond to the meetings? Again, detail that moves beyond cursory references would put flesh upon the bare bones of historical fact, such as Fortin does in his discussion of Owens's response to the Sunday-law proposal (150-51).

I also have some questions for which in some cases there may be no definitive answers. Is there something about Adventism that requires strong pastoral leadership? It is clear that when supervisory ministers were absent, the churches went into decline; yet the Baptists, for instance, seem to do quite well with their congregational form of organization. Also, one frequently finds in nineteenth-century Adventist literature references to a low spiritual state in the church, as referred to in this work (95). What does this mean? It tells us about the opinion of whoever might be our source, but should it be taken at face value regarding the people that are being described? And lastly, the frequent turnover of pastoral leadership that Fortin argues was a major factor in the ups and downs of Adventism in the Eastern Townships seems to have been a general characteristic of Adventism. The denomination has followed almost everywhere the policy of frequently moving not only pastors, but virtually all of its personnel. If this is true, how is the effect of this practice distinctively important for the Eastern Townships? I suspect that the rural nature of the region may have made it more

vulnerable to the effects of constant personnel change than areas with greater population. This issue deserves further thought, for it has denomination-wide implications.

These criticisms and questions, however, are minor in relation to Fortin's accomplishment in this volume. He has provided a model of thoroughness and analytical and interpretive acuity that hopefully will be followed by other regional studies of the denomination. *Adventism in Quebec*, while addressing a seemingly minor topic, will be helpful not only to historians but also to anyone concerned with the health and development of the church.

Andrews University GARY LAND

Green, Alberto R. W. *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East.* Biblical and Judaic Studies, 8. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003. xviii + 363 pp. Hardcover, $42.50.

Alberto Green is Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Rutgers University, New Jersey. *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East* is his first monograph, aside from a number of journal articles (e.g., "The Date of Nehemiah: a Reexamination," *AUSS* 28 [1990]: 195-209). The author received a Ph.D. in 1973 from the University of Michigan, with the dissertation "The Role of Human Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East," published in 1975 under the same title by Scholars Press. The monograph series in which the book is published is edited by William H. Propp from the University of California, San Diego, and includes such important contributions as *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreter*, *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography*, and *The Structure of Psalms 93-100*.

In his introduction, Green points out the need for a systematic study of the *storm-god* motif, since it represents one of the most important concepts in the evolution of human religious experience, transcending sociocultural, geographic, and chronologic boundaries. The purpose of the book is to fill a current vacuum and provide an interpretation for the ideological and sociological importance of this motif throughout the ANE, following a geographic sequence from Mesopotamia (chap. 1), through Anatolia (chap. 2), Syria (chap. 3), and arriving, finally, at Coastal Canaan with a strong emphasis on the *storm-god's* relationship with YHWH (chap. 4). The author justifies this last delimitation on the basis of the scarce iconographic and epigraphic material from this region (6), and in this way follows the classic work on the same topic by A. Vanel, *L'iconographie du dieu de l'orage dans le Proche-Orient ancien jusqu'au VIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (1965), but enlarges the geographic panorama and adds a sociocultural interpretation. However, besides iconography, Green also takes into consideration epigraphic material of mythological, epic, or historical character. Correctly, the author observes that the relationship between the texts and images is not always an easy one to interpret, and suggests a methodology that looks for the points of contact between the various classes of data (3). An important detail in the interpretation of the motif is the presence of its semidivine attendants that are associated with the *storm-god* in both the literary and archaeological sources and provide, according to Green, a key element in deciphering the importance and function of the motif throughout the ANE (2). Methodologically, Green's study is a typological comparison of a phenomenon occurring in various cultures that are chronologically and geographically removed from each other, acknowledging the challenges that such a comparison presents (7). The author mentions from the outset that the form and function of the *storm-god* motif is a dynamic one, changing from region to region, and that a difference in the manifestation of the motif exists between the public and domestic cults (4). Therefore, any general conclusion

about the motif has to recognize the dangers of partiality and superficiality.

Chapter 1 begins with a geographic, climatic, and ecological description of Mesopotamia that, according to Green, constitutes an important element for the understanding of the *storm-god*. He presupposes a strong dependence of culture on its environment and, consequently, suggests a transferal of human necessities onto the gods in the form of dynamic divine attributes; see, e.g., the section "The Storm-Gods of Mesopotamia: Representations of Primary Human Concerns" (72-84), which has its counterparts in the other chapters. In this way, the associations with a variety of semidivine attendants, which appear in the iconographic sources in close proximity to the motif, can generally be understood as projections of the god's functions: e.g., lion, bull, eagle with lion-head, and dragon portray various divine—but humanly desired—attributes, most often fertility and power. Nevertheless, as a universal marker for the presence of the *storm-god* motif, Green mentions the meteorological weapon constituted by a two- or three-forked bundle of lightning.

In combining the iconographic with the mythological and nonmythological data, the author observes a fusion and interchange of names and functions of the various *storm-gods* within the different Mesopotamian pantheons (cf. Martin G. Klingbeil, "Nombres y funciones de las deidades en la iconografía del antiguo cercano oriente y su importancia en los estudios bíblicos," *Theologika* 11/1 [1997]: 160-183). A good example can be found in the discussion of the material from Mari (58-72), which mentions three different gods with different temples throughout the city (Addu, Ilu-Mer, and Dagan), which, however, display the same attributes and all represent the *storm-god* motif. Diachronically, Green suggests for Mesopotamia an evolutionary development of the motif, from which Adad, accompanied by the bull, emerges as the principal *storm-god*, although the iconographic and epigraphic sources do not always coincide with each other with regard to describing or portraying the god (88).

In Anatolia (chap. 2), one notices from the outset a lack of local iconographic or epigraphic material, which leads to a reconstruction of the motif for this region based on suppositions and the intent to fill the *lacunae*. It appears that the presence of the motif in Anatolia is mainly due to foreign influences related to migrations, such as the Assyrian traders who settled in Anatolia at the end of the third millennium B.C.E. Earlier indigenous representations of the motif show a water-god, which can be identified with the god Taru mentioned in Hittite sources as ^{d}IM. Later on, a syncretistic form of Taru appears in the *storm-god of Ḫatti*, characterized by the holy mountain and the bull as semidivine attendant. The proximity of the *storm-god* in Anatolia to the earth and fertility cult is attested in all existing sources, although this is unique within its larger ANE context for its notable absence of cosmic or meteorological identifiers that can usually be found in other regions. For Green, these differences can be related to the geographic and climatic peculiarities of Anatolia, being a high plateau with frequent seismological movements (89-93).

Moving south, to the upper Euphrates valley in northern Syria (chap. 3), with its frequent thunderstorms and floods, Hadad (Adad) emerges as the local adaptation of the *storm-god* motif from the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E. His attributes are clearly cosmic and warlike, connecting him with the Mesopotamian version of the god, who is named identically. For the environmental conditions in western Syria, Green suggests a drastic climatic change during the second millennium B.C.E., caused by a systematic deforestation, which was accompanied by a lowering of the water table and a desertification of the lowlands and coastal plains (153). This led to an adaptation of the *storm-god* motif in the god Baal-Hadad and, later on, Baal, whose main characteristic is

the fertility cult and the provision of rains in order to guarantee human survival in this arid region (284). The epigraphic sources confirm this transferal of names and functions: the mythological texts from Ugarit show Baal in his victorious battle against Yam (the chaos serpent) and, subsequently, against Mot (representing drought, sterility, and death), in this way stressing his central role in the fertility process. According to Green, Baal (-Hadad) represents the most popular version of the *storm-god* in the ANE during the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1200 B.C.E.).

The last geographic region examined by Green is Coastal Canaan (chap. 4), where, according to the author, YHWH's presence as the local *storm-god* can be observed in extrabiblical texts from the fourteenth century B.C.E., more specifically, as the earliest appearance, in a topographic list of Amenhotep III, which refers to "the Shosu-land of YHWH" (232) in the context of the Habirus's activities in Palestine during this period (232-236). Green does not connect the origins of Yahwism to the mythological thunderstorm nor to the fertility cult that has characterized the *storm-god* throughout the rest of the ANE, but rather sees his origin as a terrestrial and historic warrior-god at the end of the Late Bronze, who is leading a band of warriors in their conquest of Trans- and Cis-Jordan. However, it is in the OT that the author finds the most important evidence for the identification of YHWH with the *storm-god*, and the following passages are discussed in order to support this notion: e.g., Gen 49; Exod 15; Deut 33; Judg 5; Pss 18, 29, 68, 77, 89; and Hab 3. Green concludes that YHWH is being identified in these texts with El, the principal god of the Canaanite pantheon. In his reading of these poetic texts, one cannot but notice a strong mythological perspective in the interpretation of the poems, which appears to reflect the state of affairs in biblical interpretation of about thirty years ago, when the proposal of a general Canaanite background for biblical poetry was in vogue, especially in the publications of the so-called pan-Ugaritic school. However, more recent publications have sufficiently criticized and abandoned this approach as a paradigm for the interpretation of poetic texts. See, e.g., my published dissertation, where I engage three of the Psalms discussed by Green in a comparative study (*Yahweh Fighting from Heaven: God as a Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography*, OBO 169 [Fribourg: University Press, 1999]). I furthermore discuss the three poems from the Pentateuch mentioned by Green in another study ("Poemas en medio de la prosa: poesía insertada en el Pentateuco," in *Pentateuco: inicios, paradigmas y fundamentos: estudios teológicos y exegéticos en el Pentateuco*, River Plate Adventist University Monograph Series in Biblical and Theological Studies, 1, ed. Gerald A. Klingbeil [Libertador San Martín: Editorial Universidad Adventista del Plata, 2004], 61-85). At this point, for the first time, the suspicion arises that the evidence presented by the author is not as up-to-date as the date of publication for the book suggests. Nevertheless, Green notices during the history of Israel a synthesis between YHWH and El and, later on, with Baal, the Syrian *storm-god*, based on the supposed cultural adaptation to its Canaanite environment that Israel went through from the twelfth to the tenth century B.C.E. (285). In this section of the book, the absence of epigraphic and iconographic material is notorious, especially if one considers that a number of studies have, meanwhile, been published that discuss the development of religious history in Canaan and Israel based on iconographic sources (e.g., Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel*, trans. Thomas H. Trapp [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998]).

The last chapter summarizes the previous sections and presents a synthesis, followed by some final remarks on a comparison between YHWH and the *storm-gods* of the ANE. In conclusion, Green interprets the motif as a dynamic power responsible for

three major areas of human concern: the *storm-god* as the dominant environmental force upon which people depended for their survival, usually with dualistic characteristics and accompanied by various semidivine attendants that serve as his functional markers in the various geographic contexts; the *storm-god* as the foundation of centralized political power, usually legitimizing and validating the authority of the king as the instrument of divine government; and the *storm-god* as the foundation of a continuously evolving sociocultural process, symbolically projected through his accompanying semidivine attendants, basically the bull, dragon, eagle, lion, and the goddess of fertility (281-291). Almost as an afterthought, Green surprisingly notices in the last page of his final chapter that YHWH does not fit very well into this never-ending chain of changing names and functions of ANE deities and their semidivine attendants, and that there are three unique traits that differentiate the Hebrew *storm-god* YHWH from all the other *storm-gods* of the ANE: he is the Creator God of all, he acts in history and not in mythology, and he is the only god who does not need any semidivine attendants (292).

Green has to be congratulated for his attempt to reach a synthesis on such a diverse and methodologically difficult-to-capture theme as the *storm-god* in the ANE. The result is a work that has accumulated data from various disciplines (e.g., history, iconography, and epigraphy) and that has produced a coherent theory about one of the most important motifs in the religious *Weltbild* of the ANE. The multidisciplinary and sociocultural methodology is consistently followed through until the fourth chapter, where the author has to replace the iconographic and epigraphic sources with biblical texts, nevertheless applying the same mythological perspective in the reading of these passages, and consequently arriving at a mythological and evolutionist interpretation of YHWH, which the author himself seems to refute with his final observations.

Browsing through the extensive bibliography (293-333), one cannot help but notice that the majority of entries stem from the 1980s, with a few exceptions reaching as far as 1993, which raises the question of whether Green's research should not have been updated before going to press. A closer look at the iconographic sections does nothing to improve this impression: most of the iconographic data is based on Vanel's important but outdated work, which was published in 1964, and represents the "prehistory" of iconographic research. The author ignores completely Othmar Keel's and other publications from the Fribourg school, which over the years have developed a methodology of iconographic interpretation and, even more, have presented fundamental iconographic material for the discussion of the *storm-god* motif that has been ignored by Green. It is also surprising to see the low quality of reproductions of line drawings of iconographic objects from Vanel—especially if one considers that Green's book has been published by Eisenbrauns. I have a photocopy of Vanel in my archive that appears to be of better quality than some of the illustrations provided in Green's book.

While Green has covered geographically most of the ANE with a strong emphasis on Mesopotamia, one awaits an explanation for the exclusion of the Egyptian evidence with relationship to the *storm-god*, considering that the motif is widely represented in this region by the god Reshef, who also underwent a local Palestinian adaptation process (e.g., Izak Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al*, OBO 140 [Fribourg: University Press, 1994]).

The contribution of *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East* is most significant with regard to the synthesis and interpretation of the epigraphic material, especially from Mesopotamia and Syria. However, there is a lack of updated bibliographical material, and the chapter on Canaan lacks epigraphic and iconographic data. When the author

tries to force his perspective of the religious history of the ANE onto the data, which does not correspond to his established methodology, the resulting interpretations appear unsatisfactory. Aside from these specific comments, I would recommend the book for the bookshelves of students of epigraphy, iconography, and religious history, since it brings together a wealth of divergent material from various disciplines that almost transform it into a reference work.

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Gulley, Norman R. *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena.* Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2003. xxx + 810 pp. Hardcover, $49.99.

Norman Gulley is Research Professor of Systematic Theology at Southern Adventist University, Collegedale, Tennessee, and past president of the Adventist Theological Society.

In fifteen chapters, Gulley introduces the issues that precede theology proper. He is thoroughly evangelical, fully conversant with ancient and modern sources and ideas, and capable of elucidating very difficult subjects. Millard Erickson pens the foreword. Helpful are initial purpose and summary statements, chapter outlines, and introductions and conclusions for each chapter. The bold headings provide not only structure, but good aesthetics as well. The layout of each slightly larger than 9" by 6" page is pleasant to the eye; the print is crisp and readable with ample white space. The text runs across each page in one large column with centered bottom page numbers.

Gulley first shows the impact philosophy and science have had on theology by introducing the idea of a timeless God, who cannot break into our phenomenal world. Later, to Descartes, Hume, and Kant, God was inward, subjective, and unknowable. Man's reason was elevated above the Scriptures. Resulting philosophies, such as pragmatism, existentialism, and logical positivism, are critiqued next, with a discussion of various aspects of theological language. These philosophical theories, Gulley asserts, cannot rival the understanding of truth and absolutes that come from biblical revelation. He perceptively evaluates Grenz and Guy, finding their view of community wanting, carefully meeting their points one by one.

In chapters 4 through 6, Gulley defines and gives the parameters of theological study. He argues that the Scriptures are the sole basis for theology, and it has its own presuppositions and methods. Gulley remarks: "The disciplines of science and philosophy begin with a given, a first principle. In theology that given is a self-revealing God in Scripture" (246). Gulley notes the place of general revelation, its strengths and limitations, and also the importance of seeing the propositional nature of Scripture. His understanding of Barth, Torrance, and Bloesch is remarkable. He kindly but firmly demonstrates their weaknesses with clear and cogent explanations.

Gulley insists on both the divine and human aspects of the Word. But rather than use the word "inerrant" to describe Scripture, he prefers the term "trustworthy." "Scripture is trustworthy because Scripture is revelation" (329). He writes: "It must be admitted that Scripture has a human side with errors that defy resolution at this time. However—and this is crucial—these are not major errors" (330). I will discuss below some objections to this statement and offer some points for clarity.

Chapter 9 considers authority. God is Creator, and "by virtue of His position He is the source of all other authorities. . . . The Bible is as authoritative as He is because it represents His truths" (361-362). Gulley rejects authorities such as church, reason, and

experience, rightly concluding that "*sola Scriptura* declares Scripture to be the only judge of authority . . . [and] it is the sole authority in judging all other claims to religious authority" (382).

Having established Scripture as the sole framework for doing theology, Gulley then reaches the apex of his book—the biblical worldview—which he terms the cosmic controversy, namely, the battle between Christ and Satan (chap. 10). The issue before the universe, according to Gulley, is the justice of God. From Satan's fall to the final judgment God is showing not only his love, but his justice to a watching universe. Isaiah 14, Ezek 28, Job 1–2, and Christ's death on the cross, revealing God's love, emphasize these ideas. Satan's rebellion and hatred were exposed at Calvary. Central to this worldview is the free choice all human and angelic beings have. There are subsidiary ideas as well. For instance, Gulley holds that God created a vast system of intelligent beings that inhabit "innumerable populated planets in His vast interconnected universes" (431-432); the final judgment issues in the annihilation of all fallen angels and unsaved humans (446); and that Michael the archangel and Christ are one and the same (434).

Gulley next offers an excellent critique of postmodernism. He shows its origin, reviews its proponents, and artfully exposes its fallacies, countering with the sure foundation of God's Word. Two additional chapters present a history of hermeneutical views from early rabbinical interpretation to postmodernity with analysis and conclusions. Gulley is thorough in his treatment and consistent in upholding the *sola Scriptura* principle. The Bible must be allowed to interpret itself.

Having laid the groundwork for biblical interpretation, Gulley, in his final chapter offers a critique of dispensational hermeneutics, which sees a separate place for a future redeemed Israel in the land of Canaan. He argues that God's promises are conditional (Deut 28), that Israel broke the conditions, and that the church is "the new Israel of God" (742). He chides dispensationalists for holding a literal view that Israel must one day inherit the Promised Land. He compliments progressive dispensationalists for some advances toward his view, hoping for greater future movement.

Gulley, abreast of so much diverse scholarship, is to be thanked for his monumental work, his clarity of expression, and the cogency of his logic. His irenic tone reflects his compassionate spirit, yet he never wavers from his message. I offer the following observations with a sense of gratitude to Gulley for the stimulating writing he has produced.

In a passing remark on Christ's incarnation, Gulley posits Christ's "relinquishing of omnipresence" (83), and practically a nonuse of other divine attributes. Care must be taken in this regard, since prior to the cross Jesus said, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them" (Matt 18:20), and John 3:13 (NKJV) also speaks of his omnipresence.

Gulley several times refers to the Bible containing "errors," but believes the Scriptures are still trustworthy (330, 332, 335). But if the Bible has some errors, how can I be certain it is not also erroneous about its purpose and saving content? It would be clearer to consistently say that there are alleged errors, or apparent contradictions or inconsistencies. The Matt 27:9 passage that Briggs touts was ably answered in Edward Young's *Thy Word Is Truth*. He offered five or six possible solutions, noting that we may still not know the answer.

In spite of the evidence Gulley gave, it is not totally convincing that Isa 14 and Ezek 28 are about Satan's fall rather than poetic descriptions of the king of Babylon and the leader of Tyre (398-427). That, however, does not void the cosmic controversy. It

is still taught in Scripture. It might be a stretch to say that the Book of Job opens "at the United Nations of the Universe, which was convened before God. . . . This could have been a meeting of different leaders from the inhabited planets throughout the universe" (431). Do these other worlds have fallen beings, and has God made salvation provisions for them? Job 1:6 could take place on earth, with Job being one of the "sons of God" who came to worship God. This section seemed somewhat speculative.

Though verses were listed, the argument for annihilation, rather than eternal punishment, seemed to be based primarily on reason rather than on the *sola Scriptura* principle (412-413, 427, 446). Why could not free creatures be eternally punished, though eternally separated from God, because they choose to sin forever? Why did Jesus repeatedly warn about being cast into hell where the worm does not die and the fire is not quenched (Mark 9:43-49)? Jesus taught degrees of punishment in Matt 10:15 and 11:21-24, but annihilation knows no degrees.

Dispensationalists will not find Gulley's arguments against a future place for a redeemed Israel convincing, believing that many of God's promises are unconditional. In the midst of their captivity, God promised Israel and Judah that he would restore them in belief to "dwell in the land that I have given to Jacob My servant, where your fathers dwelt" (Ezek 37:25, NKJV). Jeremiah 31:31-34 may have different interpretations, but it is addressed to Israel and Judah. Again, long after the Jews had asked for Jesus' death, Paul still distinguished between Israel and the church (1 Cor 10:31). Galatians 6:16 is perhaps best seen as distinguishing between the church and Israel, where *kai* simply means "and" (NKJV, NASB, NRSV, ESV).

I believe Gulley confuses "God-breathed" with "being carried along" when he applies *theopneustos* to the writers (163, 310). He says: "The Holy Spirit moved the prophets. They were God-breathed" (314). The product was God-breathed, while it was the writers who were carried along. 2 Timothy 3:16 notes the *product*, the Scriptures; 2 Pet 1:21 the *process*, men carried along by the Holy Spirit.

Gulley's book has no bibliography. This does not mean, however, that he is unfamiliar with his sources. On the contrary, the 2,440 footnotes average 163 per chapter. There are indices of Names, Scriptures, and Subjects. The Names index is somewhat faulty, completely omitting Thurneysen (234); Tenney, who is quoted (285); Paul Althaus (287); and Chemnitz (quoted for 5 lines, p. 300, and also p. 364). Entreaty is likewise quoted for seven lines (300) but is omitted. The index listed Hordern's appearances from p. 61 on, but he is also found on pp. 54-55, 58-59, and 60, which are missing. Bromiley, quoted and cited for three points (299), is absent from the Index of Names. The Subject Index is helpful but somewhat sketchy. "Hell" has no separate entry but is found under "Justice." Though there is considerable discussion of "kingdom" in the final chapter, the index omits it. Only eight Bible books are not quoted, an indication of how extensively Gulley uses Scripture in his prolegomena.

It is always a concern that a volume based on much research handles its sources properly, so I checked a few quotes. This volume had its share of quoting errors. One of the worst, but very common, was to have "Armenian" where the original had "Arminian" (78). Page 197 saw five minor copy mistakes in C. S. Lewis, the largest being a substitution of "fantasies" for "fancies." On p. 80, n. 144, Gulley has nine words in italics besides just the two in the original quote. Four verses referenced to John's Gospel (134, line 9), are actually found in 1 John. The correct page for Henry's quote on p. 86 is 372, not 373. "Or" replaces "of" in the seventh line of Calvin's quote (307), and on the next page David's words are attributed to Samuel. Four verbs from Rev 20:7-10 are found in the present tense rather than the NIV's past tense (445-446). The word

"concerning" is missing from the end of the second line of Reymond's quote (673). Revelation 16:13-15 does not end with the word "awake," so an ellipsis should indicate that part of the verse is omitted (72). Gulley may have created some confusion with references to the *New Scofield Bible* (736) and the *New Scofield Study Bible* (727-728), as well as the unexplained abbreviation, *NSB*, on the latter two pages. The proper nomenclature is *The New Scofield Reference Bible*, which he has correctly indicated on p. 427, and which I believe Gulley had in mind in those final pages of his text. There is a quote of thirteen words on p. 89 without footnoting either source or page, and similarly on p. 90. I found only a few uses of secondary citations (306, 336, 339-340). Occasionally, there were imprecise page references, as when a single sentence is quoted (195), then unhelpfully referenced as from pp. 55-68.

Similar to quoting errors are possible typos and other mistakes. Page 462, n. 21, has 1955 for a date, whereas 1995 is correct on p. 479, note 112. The god of this "word" should be "world" (423), while the correct title of Lewis's book is *The Case for Christianity*, not *The Case of Christianity* (197). The date of Arndt's book is 1962, not 1932 (345). The biblical quote on p. 243 from "John 16:12-15" actually begins with verse 7. Page 232 should omit the second time "one" appears in line five. It seems strange to say "the Word of God is ciphered through religious experience" (206). On p. 253 the second paragraph begins, "No one argues that there is more to God and truth than He reveals in both nature and in Scripture." But, in fact, most would agree with the opposite. I believe a "not" should be inserted after "is."

In the page break between the sentence spanning pp. 254 and 255, a "the" fell out and should be reinserted before "Holy Spirit." The Greek word given to correspond to "Scriptures" should also be plural, not singular, in the fourth line of p. 276. Most frequently when quoting OT verses, a particular name of God appears correctly as "LORD" (198-199, 274); but on p. 151 and twice on p. 279, the second through fourth letters are not diminished (LORD). Strangely, two quotes from Lemke about von Rad (183) are actually attributed in nn. 136 and 137 to von Rad himself. Lemke's volume should be referenced there.

Page 310 says that research lay behind the writing of the Book of Acts, which is certainly true, but Luke 1:1-4 is the given proof text. The words "apostemh" and "doxa" in note 101 (170) apparently were meant to be in Greek characters, but remained in English letters before also being transliterated into italics.

It is accurate to say the KJV contains only thirty-nine OT books (317), but it originally had the Apocrypha in 1611. A glaring error, though hopefully not intentional, was the statement on p. 318 that the Catholic Church accepts the *New* Testament Apocrypha, which then influenced "its veneration of Mary" and several other doctrines. No church, to my knowledge, treats the NT apocryphal writings as canonical. Alexander the Great lived in the fourth century B.C., not A.D., as reported on p. 524.

The inclusion of accents on Greek words is sporadic, found on only one word on p. 194, and incorrectly over a consonant on p. 73. I wondered why Hartshorne's death date of 2000 was not included (77), since publication came in 2003. Otherwise, birth and death years were helpful in placing persons and their views.

Spelling errors spoil many books. Fortunately, few were found. However, there were: "disguiuse" (disguise, 128); "strenthening" (strengthening, 130); "perspecuity" on pp. 208 and 299 (but "perspicuity," spelled correctly on pp. 644 and 666); "claimes" (claims, 303); and "dubius" (dubious, 582). The Greek word γραφε (misspelled three times, p. 667) should be γραφη. The transliteration "aiwnas" (431) should be "aionas." An English "w" cannot be used for a Greek omega.

The abbreviations used for states in the footnote publication data seemed old-fashioned with no standard. Examples are: Mich., Calif., Conn., Ind., Ore., Tex., and N.J., but also Md., Id., and Ga. Most inconsistent was the use of Penn., and also Pa., (538, 544), and Ken., (477, 656), but also Ky. (512). Why not follow the standard postal two-capital-letter abbreviations? Copyright dates should be the original copyright, not reprint dates. One might think Gesenius (1988, p. 428) were still alive, as well as Berkhof (1996, p. 246). I suggest dropping the use of "etc." on pp. 154, 286, and 351 to enhance precision.

Even with these few technical shortcomings, Gulley's volume is to be admired, read, and pondered. I gained much from its reading and heartily recommend it to other theologians and serious students of the Word for a fine presentation of prolegomena.

Liberty University JAMES A. BORLAND
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Gulley, Norman R. *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena.* Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2003. xxx + 810 pp. Hardcover, $49.99.

Prolegomena is the introductory volume of a proposed multivolume *Systematic Theology* of the doctrines of the Christian faith. The theological orientation of this study is indicated in the "Dedication" to two great evangelical theologians, Carl F. H. Henry and Millard J. Erickson, who are described as "scholars who have stood tall in presenting Scripture as revelation." Erickson has contributed an affirmative and gracious two-page "Foreword." In *Systematic Theology,* Norman Gulley, Research Professor of Systematic Theology at Southern Adventist University, Collegedale, Tennessee, who studied under T. F. Torrance in Edinburgh, demonstrates a masterful command of the philosophical, hermeneutical, and theological systems of thought from the early church to the present and a marked ability to describe these in clear, concise passages of thought.

The volume commences with a seven-page "Preface," in which Gulley points directly to God's self-revelation in Scripture as the foundation of his system and outlines the concerns, method, and contributions of his study. *Prolegomena* is comprised of thirteen chapters which constitute a comprehensive survey of the foundational and methodological themes of systematic theology. The structure of the chapters indicates that the study is intended for, and admirably suited to, classroom use. Each chapter commences with a declaration of "Purpose," expressed in several one-line statements. This is followed successively by a brief "Summary" section, an "Outline" of the section headings of the chapter; a brief "Conclusion," and finally a set of "Study Questions." There are three exhaustively complete indices—"Name," "Scripture," and "Subject"—some sixty pages in all. There is no bibliography, but this is not essential inasmuch as the frequent brief quotations are clearly identified in the footnotes and are readily available via the indices and would have added many pages to an already large book.

This volume, subtitled *Prolegomena,* constitutes the most extensive and detailed such treatment of which I am aware. The concept of *prolegomena,* developed and popularized by theologians of the period of Protestant orthodoxy, usually consists of a chapter or two at the beginning of a systematic theology. Generally, *prolegomena,* meaning "things said before," have been thought of in two categories: things that must be said "previously," called external *prolegomena;* and things that must be said "first," or internal *prolegomena.* External *prolegomena* serve to locate and describe the theological undertaking in relationship to wider currents of thought and knowledge. Internal *prolegomena* define

the subject matter, sources, methodology, and centralizing foundation of the system that follows. Somewhat surprisingly, given the extensive *prolegomena* presented, Gulley gives only a brief explanation of the significance and functions of *prolegomena* (xxii). He does not directly differentiate between the two functions, but utilizes each as seems applicable to the particular subject under discussion. In so doing, he treats us to an extensive and detailed series of largely internal *prolegomena* in preparation for the scripturally based systematic theology that is to follow.

Gulley covers an amazing breadth of material—philosophical, theological, scriptural, and hermeneutical—generally in historical perspective, from the early church to the present. The first two chapters deal with philosophy and science and their relationship to and impact on theological thought; these are followed by two chapters dealing with the foundation, shape, and nature of systematic theology. There follow two chapters on general and special revelation and the place and functions of each in theological construction. The subsequent three chapters deal with the inspiration, trustworthiness, and authority of Scripture. In the following chapter, "Biblical Worldview," the outlines of the biblical cosmic controversy, which constitutes the central organizing theme of Gulley's theology, are carefully explored. The final four chapters deal with hermeneutics, in both historical and methodological perspective, and given Gulley's commitment to *sola Scriptura* as the propositional foundation of theology, this is the essential base of his work. Sandwiched between the chapters on Scripture and hermeneutics is a chapter with the title "The Postmodern Worldview: Its Challenge to Theology," in which a clear view of Gulley's criticisms of contemporary accommodative theologies and his own response are given.

Throughout the volume, Gulley locates, briefly outlines, and evaluates systems of thought in clear, bold lines and frequently gives brief citations that allow the masters to speak for themselves. He passes judgment on even the "greats" of history with a clear-cut boldness that is refreshing and, at times, surprising. The analyses of thought he presents—whether on philosophy, hermeneutics, or theology—are generally developed in historical perspective. This is almost as much a history of Christian doctrine as a presentation of *prolegomena.* The indices are somewhat like an encyclopedia; hardly a significant name or subject title is absent.

As far as I am aware, this will be the first comprehensive systematic theology written by an Adventist. Over the years, many volumes on Adventist church doctrine have been published, but no systematic theology. It thus seems of importance to inquire into the significance and meaning of the term. Gulley answers this in detail in the chapter "What Is Systematic Theology?" For Gulley, "systematic theology" means, first, that the various *loci* are connected and find meaning within a centralizing system; and second, that it employs a disciplined methodology and has both a rational structure and a clearly defined function. Gulley devotes a major section of this chapter to "Theology as Science." This may seem strange in an era when the word "science" conjures up thought of empirical investigation of the things of nature; however, upon reflection it would appear that the case can be sustained.

A question that naturally arises is whether this theology is addressed primarily to an Adventist or a general evangelical readership. No specifically Adventist issues are addressed in *Prolegomena,* and judging by the contents and issues addressed, it is located in the conservative evangelical orbit of thought. If this assessment is correct, it seems appropriate to ask what particular contributions it is intended to make. The book is published at a time when there has been an outburst of evangelical theologies, several of which have departed from the usual propositional foundationalism. First, Gulley

makes the case for a theology based on the *sola Scriptura* principle. In so doing, he appears to be concerned to call evangelical theology back to Scripture as the only propositional foundation of theology. Second, he develops a theology centered upon the biblical cosmic controversy. Here he introduces the Adventist Great Controversy theme, but develops it as a theological center that provides the most satisfactory solution to the age-old theodicy problem, for it is in this context that the love and justice of God can be most clearly explicated. Third, he seems to be concerned to demonstrate the rational validity of scripturally based answers to the challenges of postmodernism.

Some readers will doubtless ask whether, in all of this, Gulley cuts the line too fine in pressing for *sola Scriptura* as the sole foundation and authority of theology, in rigidly rejecting the *prima Scriptura* position, and whether he exaggerates the stance regarding *sola Scriptura* taken by the Reformers. Certainly, the *sola Scriptura* principle was affirmed by Luther and Calvin, but not as exclusively as Gulley seems to affirm. They were heavily dependent upon tradition—the great creeds of the early church—in the definition of doctrine, and Luther could hardly have been the exegete he was without this background. And while Gulley rigorously endorses the *sola Scriptura* principle, he is also open to the functions of tradition, reason, and experience at a secondary level. He writes: "General revelation in nature, history and the human conscience is an avenue for the working of the Holy Spirit even as particular revelation is in Scripture. . . . [G]eneral revelation is more available than particular revelation" (224). How then can he write as negatively as he does about what has come to be called the Wesleyan quadrilateral? Wesley certainly accorded supreme foundational authority to Scripture, but in addition allowed that tradition, reason, and experience were helpful sources of theological understanding. Gulley judges this "a backward step from Luther, Calvin and Turretin, and a position not much different from the Council of Trent. . . . [I]t lowered Scripture from its sovereign position. . . . What the papacy could not do at Trent, Protestants have done in the so-called Wesleyan Quadrilateral" (557). He tars the work of Fritz Guy (95, 110), Richard Rice (372, 373), and Woodrow Whidden (558, 559) with the same brush. In arriving at this position, he applies uncompromising terms such as "foundation," "authorities," and "bases" to the subordinate triad in the Quadrilateral, instead of the usual Wesleyan reference to them as "sources" and "vehicles" of knowledge and revelation. In thus radically downplaying the *prima Scriptura* position—which upon examination appears not to be significantly different from his own—in order to bolster a *sola Scriptura* position, he may, unfortunately, alienate some theologians who otherwise would be supportive of the case he builds for a scripturally based theology. His judgments of the work of several other theologians may have a similar effect. I cite one further instance. He categorizes the theologies of Moltmann and Pannenberg as "some of the theologies of modernity that really are secular, because in varying degrees, they reject the full authority of the written Word of God" (384).

If this deeply spiritual, solidly scripturally based *Systematic Theology* is intended to be a general evangelical theology with the Great Controversy theme as its organizing and theologically orientating center, it will serve a great purpose and provide much for which to praise God and be thankful. However, if this judgment is correct, and there is nothing in *Prolegomena* to indicate differently, then another set of questions from a specifically Adventist point of view arises. If Gulley intends this to be the systematic's text of choice in Adventist universities and seminaries, how does he propose to bridge the gap between evangelical and Adventist theology at crucial *loci*? A quick mental listing of Adventist distinctives, viz., the Millerite Movement, a people of prophecy and the Three Angels' Messages, the Spirit of Prophecy, the Sabbath and its significance, conditional

immortality, judgment, and eschatological hope, serves to indicate that in spite of a general parallelism with evangelical thought there are many distinctive differences. Gulley must have wrestled with all of this, but *Prolegomena* is significantly silent about anything distinctively Adventist and gives no hint regarding the manner in which he intends this study to serve his own church.

One such case of silence in *Prolegomena* stands out because of the central focus it gives to revelation and Scripture. In the seven chapters dealing with Scripture and hermeneutics, no reference is made to Ellen White or W. W. Prescott and the Adventist understanding of Scripture and the gift of prophecy. There is no mention of the discussions regarding inspiration and inerrancy during the decade commencing in the late 1880s, which were occasioned by W. W. Prescott's propagation of the dictation and verbal inerrancy theory of Scripture. This view was derived from François L. Gaussen, the Swiss interpreter of Daniel and preacher of the Second Advent, who gave shape to the Adventist doctrine of Scripture and revelation (cf. Ellen G. White, "Introduction" to the *Great Controversy*; and letters in *Selected Messages* 1:14-23, and 111, Appendix C. Ellen White was actually opposed to this view). It would not seem to be possible to present an adequate concept of the Adventist understanding of the nature and functions of revelation without consideration of the discussions and decisions of this period.

As is inevitable in any large work, there are some errata:

173	Turrentin (1623–87) "sixteenth-century reformer" should be "seventeenth-century reformer."
183, n. 136	Ibid. should relate to n. 134, not to von Rad, n. 135.
193, line 1	*anknupfungspunkt* should be *anknuepfungspunkt.*
333, line 4	"Princeton was founded in 1812" should be "Princeton Theological Seminary was founded in 1812."
370, line 10	Should be expressed "by" Isaiah.
502, nn. 213 and 216	Should include vol. 1.
524, center of page	"fourth-century A.D." should be "fourth-century B.C."
540, line 4	"One must be realized" should be "One should realize."
746, line 5 from bottom	Rom. 9:26 should be Rom. 11:26.

It is with considerable interest that I await the next volume to see whether, and in what way, Gulley addresses the distinctive Adventist self-understanding and doctrines. Notwithstanding these issues, *Prolegomena* is a mine of competently integrated and focused theology that is academically fulfilling and spiritually inspirational. I believe teachers and students using this text as a text will find the experience highly rewarding.

Andrews University RUSSELL STAPLES

Hoppe, Leslie J. *There Shall Be No Poor Among You.* Nashville: Abingdon, 2004. 197 pp. Paper, $22.00.

Leslie Hoppe, Professor of Old Testament Studies at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, states in his Introduction that the purpose of this work is "to determine how the Bible can help individual believers and communities of faith shape their response to the poor and poverty today" (7). His further intent is for the reader to become "engaged

in direct communication" with the texts under study (16). His approach is to examine issues of the poor and poverty in the canonical, apocryphal, and pseudepigraphal texts, as well as Rabbinic tradition and Catholic and Protestant documents. Hoppe then proceeds to reference every text in the sacred writings in which a word having "the poor" in its semantic field occurs. However, he goes beyond the classic word-study approach. He is appreciative of the larger social issues that cause poverty and thus is able to recognize the biblical writers' concerns regarding the problem, even if they did not use the words "poor" or "poverty."

This study examines the issues and texts in their historical, political, and economic settings. It takes cognizance of socioeconomic realities and does not simply treat "the poor" and "poverty" as literary spiritual symbols, detached from the physical and literal social circumstances of the times. Thus, in contrast to Albert Gelin's classic *The Poor of Yahweh*, Hoppe argues that "the poor" and "poverty" in the Bible are not religious metaphors for "poverty in spirit." The biblical tradition sees poverty as a social and economic problem that the community of faith can ignore to their own destruction.

There Shall Be No Poor Among You is an excellent introductory survey on poverty and the poor in biblical times. It adequately and concisely summarizes the social situation and carefully addresses all the issues surrounding both the problematic and straightforward texts regarding the poor. The book is ideal as an introductory text or supplementary reading material for a university or seminary class. It is not burdened with footnotes, yet the minimal well-chosen endnotes give credence to the work. However, the more serious researcher of the sociological/political/economic backgrounds will find the book less helpful. But this is not the main purpose of the work. It is the biblical text that drives its ultimate purpose. Hoppe wishes the reader to hear the text and the text alone.

This work is not only valuable as an academic text, but it can also serve as an excellent study guide for the local church or for small-group discussions. Of special benefit in this regard is the list of questions for reflection that concludes each chapter. In addition, Hoppe occasionally relates the biblical material to contemporary events. For example, the pre-Exodus servitude of the Hebrews is equated with Jim Crow laws of the South, antiunion practices of the industrial North, and the oppression of the indigenous population of Chiapas, Mexico, by the government.

Although my commendation of this book is overwhelming, I find its treatment of the NT material quite inadequate. I can only hope that a second edition will give more space to this area.

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Kannengiesser, Charles, with special contributions by various scholars. *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Vol. 1: xxxv + 670 pp., Vol. 2: xii + 828 pp. Hardcover, $339.00.

The *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis* is a unique and indispensable reference work on biblical interpretation in early Christianity. This is a monumental, 1,500-page guide both to patristic scriptural exegesis, and to the burgeoning international literature in this field. C. Kannengiesser is the primary author of these two volumes, though more than a dozen collaborators lend their expertise on a variety of topics.

The *Handbook* divides into two parts. The first ("General Considerations") contains four long essays. Kannengiesser opens with a helpful orientation to the literature and

research. He provides annotated lists of collections of texts and translations, leading reference works, journals, and a variety of bibliographic tools. This chapter is quite comprehensive, though the important computer database of Greek literature, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae,* should also have been mentioned, as it is an invaluable tool for word searches. Most of the author's comments in this section are colored by helpful assessments of the trends in the research from 1945 to 1995, though a few remarks are unexpectedly cantankerous—one might contest the claim that a leading journal of early Christianity is driven by a "strictly secular agenda" (69).

The contributors to this volume make their first appearance in the next essay, entitled "Judaism and Rhetorical Culture: Two Foundational Contexts for Patristic Exegesis." The overview of Rabbinic literature is learned, though oddly distant from the concern of the *Handbook.* Little effort is made to relate Rabbinic exegesis to the Christian exegesis with which it was, if not in dialogue, then certainly in contact. C. Schäublin's overview of Graeco-Roman rhetoric offers a discussion more relevant to this *Handbook.* He outlines the basics of late antique rhetorical education and its relationship to literary analysis, or philology; yet even here the relevance could have been greater—readers would have benefitted from a targeted discussion of philology in late antiquity, as this (and not rhetoric) was the most immediate and foundational context for early Christian biblical exegesis. By far the most comprehensive documentation of the presence of Graeco-Roman philological procedures in early Christian biblical exegesis can be found in Schäublin's landmark study, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der Antiochenischen Exegese* (1974) and in his pupil, B. Neuschäfer's work, *Origenes als Philologe* (1987).

The third essay offers a lengthy examination of the terms, distinctions, and nuances pertaining to the literal and spiritual senses of Scripture. Kannengiesser reminds us that the literal sense of Scripture was no less a result of divine authorship than its spiritual sense (168). While he introduces several valuable distinctions in this essay, the only disappointment is the reemergence of the typology/allegory distinction (161 and 228ff.). This distinction has little traction in early Christian literature. Invariably, modern patristic scholarship has meant by "typology" an acceptable form of nonliteral exegesis, to be demarcated clearly from its unacceptable nonliteral twin, "allegory." While the fathers were also concerned with the criteria that distinguished successful from unsuccessful nonliteral exegesis, they did not label these two ways of reading "typology" and "allegory" respectively. "Allegory" was invariably *not* the pejorative term in early Christian literature that it has come to be in the modern world. As for "typology," the Latin noun *typologia* is only the product of the nineteenth century's imagination, and its Greek variant is even more recent; "typology" is applied anachronistically to patristic scriptural exegesis. The allegory/typology distinction is, then, quite misleading, and it is somewhat disappointing that it is endorsed in a reference work of this magnitude and importance.

The first part of the *Handbook* concludes with an essay authored by D. L. Balás and D. J. Bingham. It is particularly useful since it offers bibliographies of patristic homilies and commentaries keyed to the individual books of the Bible. A quick consultation of this essay will provide an extensive list of exegetical literature on any given book.

The second part of this guide ("Historical Survey") offers an overview with admirable, and indeed, astonishing breadth. It ranges from the second century through the eighth century and surveys Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, and Ethiopian literatures. In this part, the bulk of the *Handbook,* individual authors are discussed within the framework of larger chapters (e.g., "Third-Century Greek Christian

Literature"). The basic pattern for each entry is a discussion of the author's exegetical activity, followed by bibliographies of editions, translations, and studies. Entries on interpreters range in length from half a page to several that vary between thirty and forty pages in length (e.g., Origen of Alexandria, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret). The longest, on Augustine, amounts to nearly 90 pages. While there will, no doubt, be quibbles about how the entries were weighted (e.g., should John Chrysostom have received only four pages of discussion?), the real value for the scholar lies in the consolidation of bibliographic data for any given exegete.

While Kannengiesser has labored to include even some of the most marginal scriptural interpreters in his volume, two striking omissions ought to be indicated. Eucherius of Lyon, who flourished in the first part of the fifth century, wrote an important treatise on spiritual exegesis, entitled *Formulae spiritualis intellegentiae*; Junilius Africanus, a sixth-century North African, authored the *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*, a version of the *Regula* of a Syriac exegete, a certain Paul of Nisibis. These works are important in their own right and take their place alongside the other introductory works on the interpretation of Scripture in the early church: Tyconius's *Rules*, Augustine's *On Christian Teaching*, and Hadrian's *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures* (cf. Cassiodorus's grouping of these works together at *Institutions* 1.10).

With this *Handbook*, Kannengiesser has rendered an immense service to scholars of early Christianity. It would be churlish to slap the ambitious reach of these tomes, since they have no peer in the field. These are accessible volumes, more comprehensive than anything available to date, and rich in bibliographic detail. All students of biblical exegesis in the early church will consult these volumes with much profit.

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Knight, George R. *Joseph Bates: The Real Founder of Seventh-day Adventism.* Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2004. 222 pp. Hardcover, $16.99.

The cover of George R. Knight's new work on Joseph Bates, his life and contributions to Seventh-day Adventism, seizes one's attention on two counts. First, there is the familiar portrait of the unsmiling, former sea captain, with his arresting eyes focused on some distant horizon. Most startling, however, is the subtitle, suggesting nothing less than a revolution in Adventist history. Its thesis is carefully elaborated in the Preface by a series of specific assertions:

> The current volume argues that the *real founder* of the denomination was Joseph Bates. After all, it was Bates who in the 1840s developed the Sabbatarian Adventism that James White built upon in the 1850s and early 1860s to form the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. Without Bates' accomplishments White would have had no platform to construct the Seventh-day Adventist Church upon.

That, alone, would have been a forceful enough statement of Knight's thesis; but he goes on:

> It was Bates who was Adventism's first theologian and first historian. . . . [He] developed what we today think of as great controversy theology. Bates was also Sabbatarian Adventism's first mission theorist and first missionary. . . . Also Bates would be the denomination's first health reformer.

Each of these critically important points is nicely developed, adequately

documented, and convincingly argued in language entirely accessible to the average reader. The essential scholarly apparatus is present in reasonable detail: footnotes, evaluation of sources, and an adequate index.

In the final pages ("And What About His Accomplishments?"), Knight firmly reiterates his conclusions: "The short answer to the question of Bates' accomplishments and contributions is the fact of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. That is, without Bates there would be no Seventh-day Adventist Church." Then he restates his startling thesis: "It is therefore safe to say that the *real* founder of Seventh-day Adventism was Joseph Bates" (210). Then, this thorough author lists the six distinct contributions of Captain/Elder Joseph Bates to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, so that even the most unsophisticated reader will have no excuse for ignorance: our first theologian, first historian, first mission theorist, first missionary, first health reformer, and, lastly in this stunning list, first senior statesman (210-212).

Finally, clearly demonstrating that he was writing history and not mere Adventist hagiography, Knight fairly balances the record: "But [Bates's] contributions to the development of Adventism were not all positive," he candidly admits. "His legalistic tendencies, his confusion between behavior and religion, and his living in the fear of judgment perspective did not have a healthy influence on later Seventh-day Adventism" (212). Yet Knight is convinced that "while Bates' negative contributions were serious, the positive framework he established for the development of Adventist understandings far overshadowed them" (212).

Knight's thesis has been admirably developed and convincingly defended, yet a few peripheral areas may be profitably considered. One notable positive facet of Knight as author is his unusually generous acknowledgment of his debt to scholars who have previously published in this area. Amazingly, he even dedicated this work *to two of his own graduate students:* "Dedicated to Merlin Burt and Alberto Timm, doctoral students who helped me to obtain a fuller understanding of Joseph Bates' contribution to the development of Seventh-day Adventism." (He discusses his debt to these two students more fully in the Preface.) If this were not sufficiently impressive professional courtesy, Knight even thanks several students for their helpful work on the M.A. level. Two of these were my own students and from another university: Jerry E. Daly and Michael Ooley (xi, 34). This, of course, is in marked contrast to the conduct of all too many authors, who freely "borrow" from others without attribution or thanks.

In the Preface, Knight gives generous credit to the "one previously published scholarly biography of Bates—Godfrey T. Anderson's *Outrider of the Apocalypse: Life and Times of Joseph Bates* (1972), now, unfortunately, out of print. He also references Anderson's scholarly article, "The Captain Lays Down the Law," in the prestigious *New England Quarterly* (June 1971), in the footnotes for chapter 3 (55).

One essential primary source that Knight heavily utilized was Joseph Bates's *Autobiography* (1868), which first appeared serialized in the *Youth's Instructor.* Knight notes that a new edition of this classic has been released by Andrews University Press "as a part of the Adventist Classic Library to accompany this biography" (xi). A 1970 facsimile reproduction of the 1868 original by the old Southern Publishing Association in Nashville, Tennessee, is a treasure to historians; but it is unattractive by present printing standards and has no illustrations. Titled *The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates,* it was part of their Heritage Library. Another version, *Life of Joseph Bates: An Autobiography,* abridged and edited by C. C. Crisler (Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald, 1927), sadly must be judged a disaster. What criteria Crisler used for his abridgment is not indicated. The selection of illustrations constitutes an embarrassment—not only are they of poor

quality, but many have no relation to the text. Unfortunately, Adventist scholars have never subjected Bates's autobiography to critical analysis. Memory can play extremely strange tricks on the most conscientious person—even a sternly moral New Bedford captain. The venerable historical aphorism that "autobiography is just another form of fiction" provides no exceptions or disclaimers in the rigorous pursuit of truth.

The cleverly presented old picture album adds greatly to Knight's book. Unfortunately, there is no accompanying "provenance" essay, explaining the origins of these striking pictures, their physical characteristics, and their present location. This is a regrettable oversight by the editors.

There is a glaring—but markedly rare—typo on p. 32, with a fascinating etiology: "[Bates] kept expecting some undeniable experience from God so that he would never thereafter doubt his conversion. But it alluded [rather, *eluded*] him." This can be readily excused as a postmodern "high-tech" error, generated by our overconfidence and overdependence upon computers. Spell checkers would not detect this sort of basic error, since the wrong word was chosen but spelled correctly. Thus there is still need for the old-fashioned, fussy proofreader. There is also a slight mistake under a picture on p. 96b of that wild-eyed pioneer that only a stereotypical proofreader with eagle eyes would catch: "H. S. Gurney was Bate's [*sic*] evangelistic partner on many of his travels." It is presumed that "ketch" for "catch" (35), and "exorted" for "exhorted" (36) were spelled thus in the original written by Bates, since they are in quotes. Two "[*sics*]" would have removed any doubts; but this approaches so closely to insufferable pedantry that it will not be urged. Not spelling but word usage is the problem when "Shanghaied" is used on the back cover and on p. 18 of the text. I propose that the correct word in that context is "impressed," as both circumstances and procedures were sharply different for the two terms. But it is not worth troubling ancient waters now, so this will be firmly "belayed."

It seems reasonable to check how some other authors have evaluated Joseph Bates as a major Adventist Founding Father. Arthur White, in his six-volume biography of Ellen White, categorizes Bates simply as one of the three "founders" of the church, along with his grandparents Ellen and James White, and as the "apostle of the Sabbath truth" in two brief evaluative comments, without elaboration or documentation (*Ellen G. White: The Early Years, 1827-1862* [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1985], 284).

In a careful study of Adventist health reform, George W. Reid states that Bates was "the first of the Seventh-day Adventist founders known to have adopted vegetarianism." Besides having had "great" influence on the fledgling church, Bates also had the only "clear record of seldom being sick" among the pioneers (*A Sound of Trumpets: Americans, Adventists, and Health Reform* [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982], 62).

Ron Numbers, in his epochal *Prophetess of Health*, does not evaluate Bates as a founder or leader of the church, confining himself to the captain's healthful living reforms. "It seems probable," Numbers concluded, "that he was a major factor in leading Ellen White in 1848 to begin speaking out against the use of tobacco, tea, and coffee" (*Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* [New York: Harper & Row, 1976], 38).

In his college-level textbook for Adventist history, R. W. Schwarz cautiously avoids any comparative evaluative statement concerning Bates's role as an Adventist founder (*Light Bearers to the Remnant: Denominational History Textbook for Seventh-day Adventist College Classes* [Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1979]).

A quotation from Everett Dick of Union College heads Knight's preface: "Everett Dick characterizes Joseph Bates as 'probably the most interesting character among the

founders of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination,' and as a 'pioneer of the pioneers' among the shapers of Sabbatarian Adventism'" (ix). In the book from which these words are taken, Dick elaborated further on Bates's key role. His critical contributions were "maturity, good health, natural leadership, and prestige. He had successfully commanded all manner of men for two decades. He had been one of the recognized outstanding leaders of the 1844 movement." Actually, "he was, in effect, the first general conference executive in that he was chairman of the general conferences regularly" (*Founders of the Message* [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1938], 150).

Ellen White does not address the issue of Bates's leadership role in founding the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The researcher will search in vain through her voluminous writings for evaluative statements concerning Bates that would lend any significant support to Knight's analysis. Knight's pointed reaction to this clear lack of support for his thesis is provocative: "On a more personal level are the evaluations of the Whites, the two individuals who with Bates founded the Seventh-day Adventist Church," Knight has written in the concluding section of his work. "Ellen White was quite parsimonious in her remembrances . . . [while] James was a little more effusive" (209).

If I may suggest an agenda item for the next edition of this valuable work, it would involve Joseph Bates as a case study in the positive utilization of power, based on sound character developed during his years of command at sea when, as captain, he possessed perhaps the ultimate of almost unlimited power over the men under him. If, as the old aphorism attributed to Lord Acton phrases it, "power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely," how did Captain Joseph Bates escape corruption? Why did that tough school of the sea turn Bates into a man of strong character and estimable leadership qualities, rather than into a Captain Queeg, or a Captain Ahab? And, parallel to this, what sort of self-education did Joseph Bates follow that developed him into a remarkably good writer, a sound and logical thinker, and a "natural" leader of men?

One of Bates's consistent, lifelong character traits, according to Knight, "was a persistent and bold reaction to injustice" (18). This book has fully disclosed a serious injustice done to the old captain. Would he have reacted to this during his lifetime? Probably not, because his strong, reflexive reactions were against injustice to others, not against himself. Consequently, must the historical record of such injustice committed against a strongly moral, dedicated, self-effacing man such as Joseph Bates stand uncorrected? Not if historians do their job by conscientiously seeking and publicizing the truth as George Knight has so ably done here.

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Knoppers, Gary N. *I Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* Anchor Bible, 12. New York: Doubleday, 2004. xxii + 514 pp. Hardcover, $49.95.

Knoppers, Gary N. *I Chronicles 10–29: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* Anchor Bible, 12A. New York: Doubleday, 2004. xxii + 531 pp. Hardcover, $49.95.

These two volumes by Gary Knoppers represent the most comprehensive and up-to-date treatment of 1 Chronicles, done by one of the world's leading authorities on the subject. After being neglected for much of the last century, the last few decades have seen a revival of interest in the books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. Therefore, the sheer size of this commentary on Chronicles is not only a reflection of the author's

competent scholarship, but also of the burgeoning, renewed interest in the field.

The organization of these two volumes is similar to others in the Anchor Bible series. There is an original translation, followed by introduction, bibliography, and commentary. The latter treats the book of 1 Chronicles by sections, and generally includes under each section a translation, textual notes, interpretative notes, a discussion of sources and composition, and more extensive comments. The first volume contains the introduction, bibliography, and commentary on chapters 1 to 9, and closes with eight maps. The second volume contains the commentary on chapters 10 to 29, as well as all the indices for both volumes. The pagination of the two volumes is consecutive.

My review concentrates on the introductory chapters, which serve as an introduction to both volumes. In the introduction, Knoppers deals with all the relevant issues concerning the provenance of Chronicles. First, he surveys the various titles of the book and how they reflect the manner in which the work was understood. In the second chapter, he comments on the extant textual witnesses to the text of Chronicles and their relevance. In his view, "textual witnesses provide significant evidence for the development of the biblical text," and the distinction between textual criticism and higher criticism has become "blurred, if not obsolete" (54). Therefore, textual criticism is indispensable to a commentary on a biblical book. Indeed, it is given prominence all through this commentary. Although the MT and the LXX are considered the most important witnesses, Knoppers ignores no witness in reconstructing the history of the text. Textual criticism is also relevant to the third chapter, "The Chronicler's Use of Earlier Biblical Books," since it is "of great consequence for understanding both the Chronicler's method and his purpose," given the fact that "Chronicles not only quotes but also rephrases, alludes to, and reinterprets older texts" (69). In fact, Knoppers suggests, we are dealing not only with various versions of Chronicles, but also various versions of the books quoted in Chronicles.

In the fourth chapter, Knoppers discusses the arguments for and against the unity of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, and concludes that the evidence is "inconclusive" (89) but leans toward separate authors, and leaves open the possibility of multiple editions. His discussion of multiple editions in the next chapter categorizes proposed views as either *Schichtenmodelle*, involving two or more levels of redactional activity within Chronicles, or *Blockmodelle*, involving differently dated sections of material in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. On the date of composition, i.e., chapter 6, the author suggests a range from the late fifth century to the mid-third century B.C., leaning towards the late fourth or early third century B.C. Chapter 7 summarizes the major views on use of extrabiblical sources by the Chronicler and the related issue of whether the Chronicler may legitimately be called a historian. The two groups that deny the historical value of Chronicles either deny the existence of extrabiblical sources or ascribe the nonsynoptic portions of Chronicles to a later expanded version of Samuel-Kings, whereas the third group claims that Chronicles sheds light on preexilic history, because the Chronicler must have had access to both written and oral sources. Knoppers sides with the existence of extrabiblical sources, but downplays the value of source criticism for reconstructing history.

In chapter 8, Knoppers discusses whether Chronicles should be classed as a rewritten Bible, and after surveying the definitions of what a rewritten Bible is, concludes that Chronicles is more than just a paraphrase or reworking of Genesis-Kings, but should rather be considered an independent composition. Finally, the last chapter of the introduction consists of an insightful discussion of the placement of the book in the canon.

The Commentary proper begins with an enlightening excursus on types of genealogies and their functions, in which Knoppers follows the currently accepted categories of "segmented," which follows different branches of a family tree, and "linear," which follows a line of descent from an ancestor to a descendant. Genealogies are inevitably affected by the writer's point in time, since they employ literary conventions in reconciling or selecting from available traditions, often comporting with contemporary realities. It is for this reason, Knoppers argues, that the genealogical introduction of Chronicles accords special attention to Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. By the use of chiasm as a literary device, Chronicles makes Levi central to Israel and David central to Judah (260-263). Furthermore, the structure of the genealogies makes prominent both the privileged place of Israel among its neighbors, and the continuity between the postexilic society and Israel's past, "setting the stage for the reestablishment of an Israel centered around Jerusalem" (264).

A small editorial slip reveals that the author probably started out with the assumption that 1 Chronicles would be covered in a single volume. On p. 101, he states that the "major themes and theology of Chronicles will be explored in the introduction to the second volume of this commentary"; however, a perusal through the second volume yields no such introduction. Apparently, the author must be referring not to the second volume, but to a forthcoming commentary on 2 Chronicles. Judging by the quality of his commentary on 1 Chronicles, the present reviewer can hardly wait for the publication of his commentary on 2 Chronicles.

Knoppers is both thorough in his discussion and fair to the evidence and to his fellow scholars. In spite of this thoroughness, he is both succinct and lucid. This two-volume commentary on 1 Chronicles is unsurpassed for its depth and comprehensiveness. It will remain a standard reference for many years to come.

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Little, J. I. *Borderland Religion: The Emergence of an English-Canadian Identity, 1792-1852.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. xvi + 386 pp. Paper, $32.95.

The Eastern Townships form a region in the southern part of the province of Quebec that was first settled largely by American immigrants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. J. I. Little, Professor of History at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, argues that during the first sixty years of settlement in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, "a competitive struggle between the American and British denominations, as well as between radical revivalism and religious conservatism" (111), led to the emergence of a Protestant English-Canadian identity by the middle of the nineteenth century. In this borderland region to the north of the state of Vermont—divided by the 45th parallel, not the 49th parallel as presumed by Little (xii, 32, 145, 277)—American immigrants, later joined by British immigrants, established a number of Protestant denominations. Although to some extent the Eastern Townships remained an extension of the northern New England states for most of the nineteenth century, political fluctuations between the two countries and different social and political structures in Canada provided the impulse to create "a distinctively English-Canadian identity—an identity that represented a still somewhat lumpy synthesis of American and British values" (285).

Of particular interest to the readers of this journal is Little's analysis of the Millerite movement and its impact upon Protestant denominations in the Eastern Townships. As

I have chronicled in my book, *Adventism in Quebec: The Dynamics of Rural Church Growth, 1830-1910* (Andrews University Press, 2004; reviewed in this issue of *AUSS*, see pp. 338-341), the Millerite movement had a strong following in the Eastern Townships and, in time, gave rise to three Adventist denominations. Relying mainly upon denominational archives and church records, and my prior studies on Millerism, *Borderland Religion* analyzes the impact of this movement upon local churches, particularly Baptist and Methodist. Rich in details and depth, the book gives a vast amount of information on each denomination and succeeds in demonstrating that by the mid-nineteenth century churches in the Eastern Townships had acquired their own Canadian identity, albeit a work still in progress.

According to Little, Millerism's impact on Congregationalism was minimal and mainly felt in Stanstead, where Pastor R. V. Hall remarked that, as a result of Josiah Litch's revival meetings in May 1842, a number of local churches had been "awakened by the Holy Spirit," but with only a few Congregationalist church members joining the movement (62-64). But the situation was different for Baptists and Methodists. As a Baptist preacher, William Miller had a profound influence on most Baptist congregations in the Eastern Townships, particularly the Freewill Baptists. Little correctly notes that "the Millerite movement did stir up a level of debate and dissension that fragmented most of the local [Freewill Baptist] congregations," which "failed to recover from the Millerite incursion" (108).

Methodist congregations were also greatly affected by Millerism; Little notes that it "essentially accelerated a revivalist momentum that was already beginning in the southern parts of the region" (195). The combination of these revivalist impulses led to many baptisms and a general sense of progress in Methodism. But Millerism, along with emigration, also contributed to a decline in many churches, even more so after some Methodist pastors became Millerite preachers. In fact, some of the most respectable Methodist families converted to Millerism (63). Little shows that Methodist congregations sustained a lack of religious fervor after the Millerite movement came to an end in the fall of 1844 (204-205). "The Millerite movement, and the ensuing religious divisions and exhaustion, had clearly undermined all aspects of the Wesleyan missionary effort" (213). This decline, Little believes, "affected most of the Protestant denominations and churches in the Eastern Townships during the later 1840s" (213). He concludes that "the Millerite movement of the early 1840s represented the most serious American challenge to British religious hegemony over the English-speaking population of the Eastern Townships, but it was one that dissipated quickly when the predicted Apocalypse failed to take place in 1843 or 1844. In fact, by undermining the Baptist meetings that were beginning to establish a solid foundation in the region, and by contributing to the fracturing of Methodism, the Millerite movement probably strengthened the Anglican Church's position in the region" (283). This move toward a more religious conservatism also prevented more radical sects, such as the Shakers or Mormons, from spreading north of Vermont.

As briefly noted by Little, during the first years of the movement, Millerism was first and foremost an evangelical, ecumenical, and revivalist movement (11, 129). William Miller never intended to establish a new denomination and preached only in the already-existing churches that invited him, yet to refer to Millerism as an "invasion" from the United States (e.g., 104, 108, 126, 145) or as an attempt to infiltrate congregations (195) is to misunderstand what the movement was all about and also to quickly forget that most denominations in the Eastern Townships, at least those among American settlers and their descendants, had first come from south of the border.

Referring to Millerism as an American invasion would hardly have been the opinion of the hundreds of people from American descent who attended its lectures and camp meetings. Before 1843, pastors in the Townships remarked that Millerism was a welcomed revival that benefitted most churches (93-94). However, in the summer of 1843, some Millerite preachers began to emphasize that churches that did not accept the premillenialist teaching of Christ's soon return were, in fact, part of the Babylon of the book of Revelation. Hence, people were urged to leave the "apostatized" churches if they wanted to be saved on the coming day of judgment. Only then did the movement become radical and sectarian, divisive and intrusive, yet Miller himself never agreed to this approach. Little's analysis of the impact of Millerism upon Eastern Townships churches would have been more accurate if a distinction between its two phases had been taken into account more consistently throughout the book and particularly in the chapter on the Millerites.

While Little correctly observes that some Baptist congregations grew substantially between 1838 and 1841 as a result of Miller's visits—as in the case of the Georgeville congregation (94)—he does not associate Miller's first three visits with similar numerical growths during the same period in Hatley and Stanstead (102). The same can be said of his analysis of Methodist revivals when he overlooks that revivals in Hatley in 1835 and 1838 coincided with Miller's first and second visits to the area (187, 193). Again, while the author contends that the revival experienced in many churches in 1840-1841 came "a year or two before Millerism made a significant impact in the region" (142), I believe he is underestimating the positive impact of Miller's earlier visits. Although the Eastern Townships were not taken over by the same intensity of religious enthusiasm as experienced in the "burned-over district" of Vermont and upstate New York, the region nonetheless experienced some of the same revivals, and Miller's first three visits prepared the way for the more intense Millerite revival of 1842 and 1843. Furthermore, although these churches had already begun to establish their own Canadian identity by 1840, the religious and cultural affinities between the Townships and the northeastern states still provided much of the religious impulse experienced in that region. Here, in trying to distinguish his findings and conclusions from those of other historians of antebellum American religious life (142), Little is overreaching, draws some distinctions that are not fully warranted, and fails to see how the first phase of Millerism was part of a greater picture, one that benefitted religious life not only in the United States, but also in the Eastern Townships.

Borderland Religion's major contribution to Millerite study is that of pointing out that the Millerite revivalist impulse in the Eastern Townships likely peaked in 1843, not in 1844. Although I believe more study is needed to definitely confirm this point, Little is accurate in noting that some Millerite preachers observed a decline of religious fervor among their believers in the early months of 1844 (138). But were those observations only their subjective impressions that enthusiasm was not as strong in the Townships as in the United States? It is true that the absence of prominent Millerite leaders who concentrated their efforts in the major urban areas in the United States may have slowed enthusiasm in the Eastern Townships; yet, after July 1844, Millerite activities in the Eastern Townships picked up again. Moreover, the violent reactions to meetings held in Waterloo and Frost Village in late December 1844 and early January 1845 certainly indicate that to many people, Millerism was still a dangerous sectarian threat—far from being a spent force or impulse, it still provoked strong passions. This raises some uncertainty as to whether the peak of revivalism and enthusiasm came in 1843. To reach this conclusion, Little also relies on denominational statistics and notes that numbers of

baptisms in a Methodist circuit declined in 1843 and 1844 (137). Hence, he concludes that the Millerite impulse was also declining by then. However, one must remember that by the summer of 1843, now in its second phase, Millerism was becoming a sectarian movement and would not be benefitting Baptist and Methodist congregations any longer. A decline in numbers of baptisms in these congregations is rather an indication that Millerism was still a major factor influencing their growth, albeit it a negative one.

Little's conclusion that "to some extent, the Eastern Townships remained an extension of the northern New England frontier by mid-century" (284) certainly proved to be the case for the three Adventist denominations that arose from Millerism and which were dependent to a large extent on preachers from New England. Although the author estimates that "Millerism was largely a spent force by mid-century" (24), the American religious influence and sectarian impulse that generated it continued to affect the religious life of the Eastern Townships for the remaining decades of the century. These Adventist churches grew steadily and represented about 2 percent of the Eastern Townships population for most of the second half of the nineteenth century and, in 1881, reached close to 10 percent of the population in some townships closest to Vermont.

Two other factors that influenced religious life in the Eastern Townships are also well documented in *Borderland Religion* and support my conclusions in *Adventism in Quebec*. Little provides evidences that the emigration of the English-speaking population was an important sociodemographic factor in the 1840s (102, 205, 207, 218), setting a trend that would continue to deeply affect all churches in the Eastern Townships throughout the nineteenth century. In addition, in his discussion of Methodism, Little gives good evidence that a circuit-riding type of itinerant pastors (162, 220-221), with short length of parish ministry, was not the type of organizational structure most conducive to facilitating growth and retention of membership, a problem that also affected Adventist parishes during the remainder of the century.

Even though it tends to be biased against Millerism, *Borderland Religion* is a good addition to Canadian religious historiography, and students of Millerism and Adventism will appreciate its insights.

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McLay, R. Timothy. *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. 207 pp. Paper, $30.00.

Probably the most useful information for those approaching this book for the first time is a clarification of what the book is, and what it is not. *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* is *not* an introductory textbook on Septuagintal studies for any but the most sophisticated students. McLay approaches his subject in an inductive manner, launching almost immediately into detailed considerations of various citations of the Septuagint (LXX) by the NT and leaving the uninitiated reader struggling to make sense of an overwhelmingly expanding mass of data until, if tenacious enough, he finds the underlying issues and principles more explicitly laid out near the end of the book. The volume *is*, on the other hand, an important contribution to the development of methodology for analyzing NT quotations of Scripture and a persuasive argument for the recognition of the centrality and the impact of the variety of Greek translations of Scripture on the text and theology of the NT.

McLay begins his book with an important Introduction which lays out his goal of "providing a framework for understanding how the NT writings have been influenced

because of their linguistic relationship with the Greek Jewish Scriptures"(2) and goes on to define the key terms most necessary for this discussion. The introduction also attempts to illustrate the need for informed knowledge about issues in Septuagint research on the part of NT scholars, in part by giving a succinct summary of the debate over the *kaige* (or *kaige*-Theodotion) rescension which will, if nothing else, leave nonspecialists convinced of their need for clearer knowledge.

Chapter 1 uses an analysis of Acts 15:16-18's quotation of Amos 9:11-12 to demonstrate for readers the numerous issues and challenges involved in studying the use of Scripture in the NT. McLay examines the similarities and differences between the MT and Old Greek (OG) readings of Amos 9:11-12 and then goes on to demonstrate that Acts 15:16-18 follows more closely the OG. Noting that the NT text differs in places from both the MT and OG, he then walks readers through the various possible reasons for this difference and the theories often used to explain such differences.

Chapters 2 and 3 are devoted to an in-depth explanation of theories and methodologies related to the study of *Translation Technique* (TT), including a critique of the common focus on literalism and an overview of communications theory. Following this broad introduction to the approach, McLay lays out his own model for analyzing TT to understand how the Greek translator created his translation from Hebrew Scripture into Greek, and further for determining whether a NT quotation is based on a Hebrew or Greek text. This model involves the examination of: the formal comparison of the two texts under the categories of morphology, syntax, and lexicography; how adjustments were made to the formal structure of the source text in these areas in order to fit the characteristics of the target language; the broader range of possible motivations for changes in the target text; and the resulting effect on meaning produced by the translation.

In chapter 4, current knowledge of the transmission history of the LXX and its recensions is reviewed, noting the multiple text forms available at the time of the development and writing of the NT and concluding with a suggested step-by-step process for analyzing a NT citation in relation to its underlying sources. Finally, chapter 5 uses these concepts and methodologies to analyze several passages in the NT which explicitly quote from the LXX as Scripture, and to argue McLay's thesis that the LXX was tremendously influential on the NT not only in its individual citations of Scripture but in its unique influence on the basic theology communicated by the NT writers. McLay concludes with a plea for a greater recognition of, and exploration into, the Septuagint as of fundamental importance to the study of the NT.

Overall, McLay's book offers a stimulating argument regarding the nature and extent of the influence of the LXX on the NT and a valuable contribution to the development of methodology for examining such influences. Several improvements could make the book even more effective. First, it would be helpful for the nonspecialist reader to be made more clearly aware in the introduction of the book that the author will proceed primarily in an inductive manner, and that he or she will need to be prepared to absorb the broad sweep of data related to the issues, before being given the principles and methods for dealing with them. Second, a more complete examination of possible sources of NT citations should be provided by considering more consistently the witness, for example, of the biblical scrolls discovered in the caves near Qumran. Finally, the book would be rendered much more useful for review and later reference, by the inclusion of at least a couple of charts, laying out in easily reviewable form McLay's model for analyzing *Translation Technique* outlined in chapter 4, and the process for analyzing a citation given at the end of chapter 5.

Andrews University TERESA L. REEVE

Morgan, Douglas. *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement.* Foreword Martin E. Marty. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2001. 269 pp. Hardcover, $32.00.

Reprinted from *Fides et Historia: Journal of the Conference on Faith and History*, 35/1 (2003): 149-150. Our thanks to Steven Pointer, Book Review Editor, for permission to reprint this book review.

Born in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century, Seventh-day Adventism has developed in tension both with the society and government of its native land and its own sectarian, apocalyptic heritage. In this work, based on a University of Chicago doctoral dissertation, Douglas Morgan explores how these tensions shaped the course of Adventist history.

Morgan argues that Adventism's view of America can only be understood within the framework of its theology of history. Developed in the 1850s through a populist hermeneutic, this theology identified the second beast of Revelation 13 as the United States, its two horns representing republicanism and Protestantism. Adventists believed that this two-horned beast would betray its principles by forming an image to the first beast, interpreted as the Papacy, through legal enforcement of Sunday observance shortly before Christ's second coming. The denomination's subsequent history is, to a considerable degree, a story of reconciling life in the present with these expectations regarding the future.

In a series of chronologically divided but thematically organized chapters, Morgan explains how Adventists paradoxically resisted the Sunday laws that they regarded as inevitable as they sought to create a "little space of time" within which they could witness to the truth of the seventh-day Sabbath. When their sense of the imminence of Christ's coming increased, Adventists became more socially active, fighting intensely, for instance, against the Sunday law movement of the late nineteenth century. Through the leadership of A. T. Jones, who edited their religious liberty journal, Adventists sharply separated church and state, understanding government's function to be mainly that of protecting individual freedom.

Ellen G. White, Adventism's prophetic leader, softened Jones's position when she advised that the church accept Cecil Rhodes's offer of land for an African mission. Morgan points out that White's pragmatic approach provided a basis for future cooperation with government but at the same time encouraged uncritical disengagement. Until 1914 Adventists selectively engaged the larger society through their opposition to Sunday laws and support of temperance legislation, the latter justified on civil grounds, but in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century they mainly cooperated with the state, giving little attention to human rights apart from religious liberty issues. During World War I they largely discarded the pacifism that had arisen during the Civil War in favor of what they came to call "conscientious cooperation," in which church members were encouraged to serve as non-combatants who did not question the state's aims or methods of warfare.

As the issue of Sunday laws largely disappeared from the American scene, church administrators became more accommodationist, particularly with regard to accepting public money for the denomination's educational institutions. Tending toward an uncritical nationalism and slow to respond to the Civil Rights movement, these leaders were challenged in the 1960s by young Adventists who often used the church's early radical history as a foundation for a more critical stance toward American society. At the same time, Adventist scholars raised critical questions regarding Ellen White, who had placed her authoritative stamp on the Adventist theology of history. In response to the

softening sectarianism of Adventist leaders and this critical scholarship, a group of "historic Adventists" emerged that sought to restore the denomination's radical sectarian heritage. Meanwhile, that heritage, even in its diluted mainstream form, prevented most Adventists from supporting the "Christian right" in the 1980s. Despite the church's developing pragmatic accommodation with society, Morgan concludes, apocalyptic "was and remains a *central* influence" (210) on Adventism's public involvement.

The author has provided a smoothly written book that clearly explains the nuances of Adventist theology as they relate to the issues of religious liberty and social involvement. Except for Chapter Five, where he uses some correspondence, Morgan depends mostly on published sources, including the *Review and Herald*—the denomination's general paper, *Liberty*—its religious liberty journal, pamphlets, and books by White, Uriah Smith, and others. Curiously, he does not refer to the monthly *Review* columns written by Gary Ross, who served as the church's liaison with Congress from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. But overall, this is a very well researched volume on which readers can depend for accurate scholarship and analysis.

As Martin Marty points out in his foreword, Morgan "treats ... gently" (xiii) the controversies over Ellen G. White's alleged plagiarism, a matter of limited relevance to the volume's subject. But he might have explored more fully such seeming contradictions as the denomination's simultaneous battles for temperance legislation and against Sunday laws, both of which were justified by their supporters as having civil purposes.

Interestingly, the tension between accommodation and radical separatism is again being played out publically. While *Liberty* is currently raising serious questions regarding President George Bush's "faith-based" initiatives, John F. Street, the Democratic, African American, Seventh-day Adventist mayor of Philadelphia has strongly identified with Bush's position. In a few years, Morgan may have a new chapter to write.

Andrews University GARY LAND

Mulder, Martin Jan, and Harry Sysling, eds. *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004. xxvi + 929 pp. $49.95.

This reference work consists of twenty chapters on various topics related to the formation and interpretation of the *Mikra*, i.e., "Hebrew Bible" or "Old Testament." The first three chapters deal with its writing, canonization, and transmission. They are followed by a short chapter on the reading customs in early Judaism. The next several chapters cover early translations of the Hebrew Bible. Then there are chapters on biblical interpretation in early Judaism (Qumran, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus, other Hellenistic Jewish authors, and Rabbinic literature). There is a chapter on the use of the Torah in the Samaritan tradition and a chapter on the use of the Bible in Gnostic literature. Finally, there are three chapters on the interpretation of the OT in early Christianity. The individual chapters were written by various authors, including some of the most respected authorities in their field. Since most biblical scholars cannot claim to be experts in all the fields represented in this one volume, the book is a welcome and useful summary of the various related but separate disciplines represented.

Because this reprint is identical to the original edition, except for a page dedicating it to the memory of Martin Mulder, I have little to add to the earlier reviews. The

original work published by Van Gorcum (1998) received over two dozen reviews, including one in this journal (James E. Miller, *AUSS* 28[1990]:175-177). Among the most substantial reviews are those by James H. Charlesworth (*PSB* 12[1991]:107-110); Baruch Halpern (*HS* 31[1990]:218-222); James A. Sanders (*JAOS* 111[1991]:374-376); and Carol A. Newsom (*JSP* 7 [1990]:122-126; reprinted in *JSP* 8 [1991]:111-115).

Given the fact that sixteen years transpired before the reprinting, it might have been useful for the work to have been updated. Certainly, an updated edition would have been a more fitting tribute in honor of Mulder. Nevertheless, many who did not buy the book then will welcome this second opportunity to do so.

Oakwood College TARSEE LI
Huntsville, Alabama

Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Interpreting the Bible and the Constitution.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. xiii + 216 pp. Hardcover, $30.00.

Having formally studied both theology and law, I have been intrigued by the parallels between the interpretation of the Bible and the U.S. Constitution. Both are relatively old documents, written by multiple authors, and infused with broad, and at times apparently conflicting principles; yet both documents are applied to govern specific details of many modern lives. It seems that our experience in interpreting one could shed light on the reading of the other, and vice versa.

However, I had come across no attempt to systematically compare the two worlds of interpretation until Jaroslav Pelikan's recent effort crossed my desk. Pelikan is Sterling Professor of History Emeritus at Yale University and an authority on Christian creeds and tradition. He also displays a broad grasp of the history and practice of constitutional theory and interpretation.

Pelikan's discussion consists of four parts: a comparison of the authoritative role that Scripture and the Constitution play in their respective communities, a comparison of interpretive questions raised by the two documents, a review of the role of original intent in understanding both the literal words and spiritual principles of the documents, and a review of how doctrinal development occurs in the fields of law and theology.

That the Bible and the Constitution play similarly authoritative roles in their communities is not a new thought, but Pelikan proposes that the similarities of the interpretive communities and traditions around each document have been overlooked. Pelikan identifies four interpretive communities for each document: "we the people," academic scholars, professional clergy and lawyers, and the magisterial and ecclesiastical hierarchy. He admits of the importance of all groups, but he views the fourth group, the judges and justices of the courts, and the bishops and councils of the churches, as most authoritative. They can, he asserts, "trump all others" (30). Because of this, he will focus on the interpretive methods and standards of this latter group.

This is the first indication that Pelikan will employ a primarily hierarchical view of biblical interpretive authority, one associated most strongly with the traditional Catholic position, although shared by other traditions that uphold a strong, central interpretive authority. By contrast, there is a strong tradition within Protestanism holding that there is no ultimate earthly interpretive authority for the Bible.

While Protestant churches within this heritage do have doctrinal statements, these differ from Catholic dogmas in that they do not, or at least are not meant to, have equal authority with Scripture. Rather, these statements are subject to Scripture and can be modified and changed in light of further scriptural insight. Thus many Protestant groups

have no equivalent of an earthly Supreme Court to give the definitive doctrinal position on a biblical passage or doctrine.

The focus on a centralized, interpretive hierarchy influences how Pelikan deals with his second section, that of issues, or cruxes, of interpretation. Both the Bible and the Constitution contain ambiguities and puzzling statements that require interpretation. Should you really poke out your eye if you struggle with lust? Can camels really thread needles, or are all rich people lost? Does "due process of law" mean you get a jury to contest a speeding ticket? Does freedom of speech protect all lying, cheating, or obscenities?

These questions raise similar sorts of interpretive issues, such as how literally or figuratively one should read language. It also requires one to decide how much, if at all, one should rely on external sources, such as history and other literature, to understand that language. Also, in both texts, some issues require reference to "contemporary community standards," rather than absolute values. What is reverent, and even biblically required, for a church in one place and time—e.g., women wearing hats in church—may be ostentatious and inappropriate in another. Similarly, differing local mores mean that what is constitutionally obscene in one community may be acceptable in another.

How should these interpretive questions be handled? And who should handle them? These two questions are of equal importance. Deciding "who" decides can often shape and even determine "how" the deciding is done. And in commenting on the question of "who" is the final arbiter, Pelikan again shows his hierarchical orientation. While he recognizes that there is some ambiguity, both in relation to the Bible and the Constitution, as to who is the final interpretive authority, the ambiguity he allows is a narrow one. Only a few thinkers on the fringe really dispute the final interpretive authority of the U.S. Supreme Court as regards the Constitution. The weight of time and practice have suffocated any meaningful arguments to the contrary.

Pelikan's view of the "ambiguity" of biblical interpretive authorities seems equally narrow. They are: church councils, the papacy, and the Holy Spirit. But as the Holy Spirit lacks an earthly corporeal presence, and as church councils are notoriously conflicted on almost any question of theology, one can sense which entity Pelikan may view as having the strongest claim to interpretive authority. But whether the answer is the church council or the papacy, the point is that Pelikan places the authority for interpretation at the top of the church hierarchy, and not as diffusely lying within the body of Christ.

One may disagree with Pelikan's emphasis on church hierarchy. But it must be admitted that the question he raises is important, and not simple to answer. It is easy for Protestants to say that God reveals truth to the individual believer, studying his or her Bible under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But how does that individual truth become part of the truth of the community of believers? How is group orthodoxy maintained when the unit of truth is found at the personal level? How does the community not disintegrate into a disparate collection of subjective and personal truths, with no uniting Truth?

In the final two sections, Pelikan responds to these questions using principles of doctrinal development set down by the Catholic theologian John Henry Newman, and comparing these with constitutional doctrinal development. He discusses the search for original intent, using the unwritten traditions of the church to choose the correct biblical interpretation, much as the Supreme Court appeals to the founding fathers and *Federalist Papers* to guide their opinions. He touches on principles of doctrinal continuity and progression and creedal confession that he believes preserve ultimate truth for the community of believers, despite the interpretive problems posed by the Bible.

But these answers assume a commitment to a priestly and papal interpretive authority

that most of the Protestant world, at least historically, has denied. Is there no possibility of maintaining a commitment to absolute moral and spiritual truth in the absence of some worldly spiritual interpretive authority, such as a pope or council of bishops?

A constitutional analogy, appropriately, comes to the rescue. Pelikan opens his book with a quote from Edward Hirsch Levi, a legal scholar. Levi wrote that "the influence of constitution worship . . . gives freedom to a court. It can always abandon what it has said in order to go back to the written document itself. . . . By permitting an appeal to the constitution, the discretion of the court is increased and change made possible" (iv). In other words, when the court treats the broader language of the constitution as ultimately authoritative, rather than its own particular opinions, it is freer to respond to changing circumstances and to explore new dimensions of existing constitutional principles. It is freer to get it more right in the end than if it was bound by its earlier mistakes.

Similarly, a denial of earthly spiritual authority does not prevent the careful collection of doctrinal statements by groups of believers. Nor does it prevent these believers from forming voluntary associations in which a respect and adherence to these statements becomes a requirement for leaders and teachers. But it does, or should, prevent those statements from taking on an authority equal to the Bible. A denial of any ultimate earthly spiritual authority is a safeguard against particular human applications obscuring the divine principles.

The confessional statements are, or should be, continuously compared to the broader principles and teachings of Scripture. Time, circumstances, and growing understanding of the body of believers may reveal that a particular doctrinal statement is inadequate, incomplete, or even incorrect. Dissenters should not be dismissed out of hand for disagreeing with a confessional statement, but their dissent should be compared with the Bible itself. The true freedom, and the freest way to truth, is to be able to assert the authority of the Bible as a corrective to what are merely human constructs of truth.

Constitutional scholars are fond of saying the Supreme Court is not final because it is right, but it is "right" because it is final. But on this side of eternity, there will be no "final" statement of spiritual truth, outside the Bible. We have no other creed. Thus we should resist labeling any earthly body as always and ultimately "right" in matters of doctrine. For all their similarities, the Bible and the Constitution are ultimately different in this point, which Pelikan fails to acknowledge—one is of earthly origin, and subject to earthly authority; but the other is of heaven and knows no final authority here below, other than the Holy Spirit moving on the individual believer's conscience.

Berrien Springs, Michigan NICHOLAS MILLER

Resseguie, James L. *Spiritual Landscape: Images of the Spiritual Life in the Gospel of Luke.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004. 195 pp. Paper, $19.95.

James Resseguie, Professor of New Testament at Winebrenner Theological Seminary in Ohio, brings together the disciplines of NT exegesis, literary theory, and spiritual formation to take a fresh look at the Gospel of Luke. The title's description of the book as "images" is an apt one, for the scope and size of the book dictate that the Lukan passages covered be treated more as "snapshots" than with any of the elaboration of a feature presentation. Despite, however, the sometimes-frustrating brevity with which individual passages must be treated, the approach offers a creative way of seeing that makes available an abundance of fascinating insights. Resseguie organizes the images in his "album" by using the concept of "landscapes"—not only physical, but also social and economic. Within each chapter, he

uses literary and narrative criticism to examine each of the major pericopes relating to the landscape under consideration, drawing out implications for spirituality that are then, in the chapter summary, drawn together into a model for spiritual life and growth.

Two chapters on *physical landscapes*, "Topography: The Landscape of Spiritual Growth" and "Journeys: The Itinerary of Spiritual Formation," display Resseguie's ability to bring out the meaning embedded in the literary nuances of individual texts; yet a certain oversimplification also becomes evident as he assigns singular symbolic meanings to the Jordan, desert, lake, mountain, and journey, out of which he brings neatly packaged applications to modern spiritual life. The three chapters on *social landscapes*—"Families and Households: Models of Spiritual Development," "Meals: Spirituality of Hospitality," and "Clothing: A Map of the Spiritual Life"—are more straightforward, and draw on a variety of current research to strengthen his presentation. Finally, a challenging chapter on "Consumption: The Spiritual Life and Possessions" aptly expresses Luke's concerns regarding the handling of wealth.

Resseguie's writing on the individual pericopes is fluent and vivid and often full of insight. The book leaves one with a desire to dig further into the various areas of emphasis he has uncovered, as well as to spend time contemplating how they can be applied practically to the spiritual life. The book's biggest challenge is in translating its exegetical insights into the language of spiritual formation without attributing meanings incompatible with the message of the first-century text. While such theological implications need to be further developed and nuanced, the analysis of the text will be valuable both for scholars seeking to understand the theology of Luke and for pastors preparing sermons on Lukan passages or themes.

Andrews University TERESA L. REEVE

Riddell, Peter G., and Peter Cotterell. *Islam in Context: Past, Present and Future.* Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003. 240 pp. Paper, $17.99.

Peter Riddell, Director of the Centre for Islamic Studies and Muslim-Christian Relations at London Bible College, and Peter Cotterell, who teaches at the same institution, have teamed up to produce an excellent book dealing with the background and historical elements that have produced modern-day Islam. The book offers readers helpful insights in understanding Islam, describes how Islam has interacted with the rest of the world, shows historical background and root causes for present-day tensions, and suggests how Christians and Muslims can interact in the present in view of their past histories.

The authors suggest that it is the Muslim world that stands at a crossroad. Muslims must decide if they are going to go the way of violence or the way of moderation, with great tension building between the various groups over this choice. It is the Muslim world that must deal with these tensions, not the West or Christianity. The present state of affairs in the Muslim world, the authors contend, is not the fault of Western materialism or nineteenth-century colonialism; rather it is Islam's own historical past that has created the present tensions it must now face in modern Islam.

The book is divided into three parts. Part 1 focuses on the distant past, the foundational period of Islam. Many of today's tensions can trace their origins to that period. The authors follow the historical development of Islam from its earliest days on the Arabian peninsula, showing how the concept of *jihad* developed, and how it became connected with the promise of paradise and the forgiveness of sins for those who die while on *jihad*—concepts that impact present-day tensions. Tensions between Muslims

and Jews also go back to the beginning of Islam, when Mohammad accused the Jews living in Medina of informing his enemies of his military strategies, resulting in the brutal slaughter of a whole clan of Jews. The authors also trace the development of *Sunni*, *Shiite*, and *Sufi* sects of Islam, as well as their basic teachings and traditions.

Part 2 deals with the clash of empires, suggesting reasons that have contributed to present-day relationships between Islam and the non-Muslim West. The Crusades, the spread of Muslim empires, European colonialism, the Christian missionary movement, and the recent conflicts in the Middle East are described in broad strokes. Part 3 looks at the recent past and the present, offering tentative suggestions for appropriate responses by governments and Christians.

The strengths of *Islam in Context* lie in the authors' abilities to go beyond common stereotypes to present a balanced view of the Islamic world and its many faces. The book is well documented and relies heavily on primary sources, yet it is readable at both the academic and casual levels. The book addresses many of the hard questions asked about Islam and the points of tension it has with the West.

If Islam is to move in a more moderate direction, it must deal with several crucial issues. Muslims must develop a hermeneutic for interpreting the Qur'an. Will the principles of the Qur'an be used to shape a moderate Islam? Or will literal interpretations continue to hold Muslims to the practices and methods of the past? Will the common people be allowed to read and interpret the Qur'an for themselves? Or will interpretation and understanding of the text remain the exclusive domain of the Muslim clergy?

This book has a wide range of uses because of its readability and its use of primary sources. The excellent historical background given to current issues is a helpful resource for readers who want to understand the background for present-day tensions. The book would also be useful as a college or graduate text for an introductory course to Islam.

Andrews University BRUCE L. BAUER

Schenck, K. *Understanding the Book of Hebrews: The Story Behind the Sermon.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003. 144 pp. Paper, $19.95.

Kenneth Schenck is currently Associate Professor of Religion at Indiana Wesleyan University. *Understanding the Book of Hebrews: The Story Behind the Sermon* follows several earlier publications by the author, in which he also deals with the book of Hebrews: "Keeping His Appointment: Creation and Enthronement in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JSNT* 66 (1997): 91-117; "A Celebration of the Enthroned Son: The Catena of Hebrews 2," *JBL* 120 (2001): 469-485; and "Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews: Ronald Williamson's Study after Thirty Years," *SPhilo* 14 (2002): 112-135.

Schenck deals thematically in six chapters with the complex argument of the epistle. His basic premise is that Hebrews is the "story-as-discoursed" in rhetoric (3). Chapter 1 presents an overview of Hebrews in terms of events, characters, and settings. Chapter 2 investigates the problem of humanity—namely, sin—and the solution offered in Christ's blameless sacrifice that atoned for the "sons of Abraham" (39). Chapter 3 focuses on the rhetoric of Heb 1. Here the author emphasizes the relevance of the catena and states that the early Christians saw the enthronement "as the point at which Jesus received the titles of 'Lord,' 'Christ,' and 'Son of God,' all of which are royal in nature"(55). Chapter 4 discusses the various characters of the plot, some of whom are worthy of emulation. Above all, the audience is to look to Jesus as the example *par excellence* and imitate his faithfulness. In chapter 5, Schenck sets forth the superiority of

Christ when compared to the Levitical order and to the OT sacrifices. The last chapter analyzes the situation of the audience. The book concludes with a glossary, bibliography, and three indices ("Scripture and Ancient Sources," "Subjects," and "Scholar Index"). The advantage of dealing thematically with Hebrews is that it gives the author some flexibility in developing his argument. The disadvantage is that several ideas reoccur frequently in the book, e.g., the categorization of Hebrews as a sermon, the mediation of the law through angels, and the inability of the blood of bulls to take away sin. Further, some parts of Hebrews receive in-depth treatment (Heb 1–2), while others (e.g., Heb 3:7–4:13) are dealt with only peripherally.

Overall, the book is persuasive and proves the points the author wants to establish. However, some of the points are rather weak. For example, Schenck attempts to demonstrate that the passage from Ps 102:25-27, quoted in Heb 1:10-12, "is not on Christ's role as creator, but on the fact that he remains enthroned forever, unlike God's angel servants whose role is passing away" (53). Here, Schenck aligns himself more closely with the position of G. B. Caird than with the text in his presupposition that Heb 1–2 is not concerned with a preexisting figure who becomes human, but rather with a human being who is raised to an exalted status. Because Schenck embraces adoptionism, he gives more weight to the cryptic meaning of the text, which focuses on the *eternal* aspect of Christ in contrast to the *transitory* role of angels (52). These aspects alone are enough for Schenck to "vindicate Caird's interpretation" (53). What Schenck seems to overlook in Heb 1:10-12 is, first, that κατ' ἀρχάς ("in the beginning") is an echo of Gen 1:1, much like John 1:1. Second, θεμελίοω ("to found") is, here, a poetic equivalent of ποιέω ("to make, to do") in Gen 1:1. Third, the position of κύριε suggests that the author of Hebrews understands it to be synonymous with, or complementary to, ὁ θεὸς (Heb 1:8).

Another weakness of Schenck's book is his statement that "Esau *wanted* to find a place of repentance, but could not find one" (63, emphasis original). He understands this position in the context of apostasy from faith and the chance of "a second repentance." None of the explanations that Schenck offers really soften the import of this passage. Hebrews 12:17 reads: "When he [Esau] wanted to inherit the blessing [τὴν εὐλογίαν], he was rejected, for he found no opportunity for repentance, even though he sought it [αὐτήν] with tears." The problem can be solved by pointing to the fact that the expression in Heb 12:17, μετανοίας τόπον εὗρεν, is an idiom meaning "to find a possibility (or opportunity) for repentance." The antecedent for the feminine pronoun αὐτήν ("it") is not then μετανοίας ("repentance"), which is, according to Schenck, the dependence of αὐτήν upon the anarthrous masculine noun τόπος (place, opportunity), but rather the independent articular noun τὴν εὐλογίαν ("the blessing"). This analysis is in agreement with the narrative of Gen 27:34, 38. What Esau sought with tears was the blessing, not the opportunity for repentance (cf. W. L. Lane, *Hebrews 9–13*, WBC, 47B [Dallas: Word, 1991], 440).

The strengths of this book are the informative sidebars in which Schenck not only provides definitions of technical terms for his targeted audience of college and seminary students, but in which he also presents summaries of the comparisons between Hebrews and Philo of Alexandria (30), Hebrews and the Book of Wisdom (31), and Hebrews and the Pauline writings (90). What is rather user-unfriendly, in my opinion, is the small font size used in the book and the use of endnotes rather than footnotes.

Berrien Springs, Michigan ERHARD GALLOS

Stackhouse, John G., Jr., ed., *Evangelical Ecclesiology: Reality or Illusion?* Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003. 232 pp. Paper, $19.99.

Evangelical Ecclesiology documents the presentations of some North American theologians at the Regent College Theological Conference of 2002. The impressive credentials of the contributors are outlined on pp. 7 and 8 of the book. The editor, John Stackhouse, known for his previous writings on the church, argues that "we need ecclesiology so that we can be who and whose we truly are" (9). Unfortunately, evangelicals have traditionally neglected to articulate reflections on ecclesial realities. This book attempts to change this status quo. The book is divided into four parts, with the fourth part presenting responses by Paul Zahl and Richard Beaton to the chapters in the first three parts.

Part 1, "Inspiration from our Heritage," includes two chapters. In the first, Bruce Hindmarsh answers affirmatively the question, "Is Evangelical Ecclesiology an Oxymoron?" The oxymoron is that, while celebrating the spiritual union of the regenerate, evangelicalism is dogged by separatism. Traditionally, Christians believed in one true, visible church in spite of schisms, and radical dissent was dealt with by excommunication. Later, the Reformed, Lutheran, and Anglican Churches constituted a serious challenge to visible unity. However, they continued to define themselves as the church in a specific territory and state. In contrast, the Anabaptists manifested a cellular church structure. However, evangelicalism—as a transdenominational, interdenominational, visible, and public movement—provided an unprecedented challenge to unity. Visible church order was subordinated to a piety that recognized a mystical church among the divided visible churches (cf. Snyder, 89, and Humphrey, 147, 149).

In the second chapter, Kerry Dearborn recommends "Recovering a Trinitarian and Sacramental Ecclesiology" from the ancient Celtic Christians, who derived identity, sacramental vision, liturgical rhythm, and mission from the wonder of the triune God, whose presence illuminates the miracle of life. Jinkins praises Dearborn's article as "eloquent" and "promising" (180). In contrast, Zahl argues that the essay is an abstraction from an unreal world, because no one really knows anything absolutely verifiable about Celtic spirituality (216). Nevertheless, it seems to me that Dearborn's trinitarian recommendation is relevant to evangelicalism's focus on the Word and Spirit of God (cf. Snyder, 82; Hunsberber, 105-106).

"Pragmatic Proposals" are presented in part 2. In chapter 3, Howard Snyder explores "The Marks of Evangelical Ecclesiology," hidden in a liturgical ambiguity of Anglo-Catholic, revivalist, Pentecostal-Charismatic, and rock concert styles. Evangelicalism's primary sources are Anglo-Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran, Catholic, Radical Reformation, Free Church, Revivalist, Democratic, and Entrepreneurship traditions (cf. Hunsberger, 106-109, 131-132). "Strikingly, Scripture is a distinctly remote source in much evangelical ecclesiology" (96). For example, "nowhere does the New Testament use the visible/invisible distinction [common in evangelicalism] as a way of explaining or justifying the frequent unfaithfulness or imperfection of the earthly visible church" (89; cf. Hindmarsh, 17, 18, 33). Snyder's thesis is that the classical marks of the Nicean Creed (unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity) need to be supplemented with other biblical marks (the church is also diverse, charismatic, local, and prophetic) (81-88).

According to Zahl, Snyder is not faithful to the marks of the church in the Anglican Thirty-nine Articles—preaching the Word and administering the sacraments. Neither is he faithful to the marks of church discipline in the Reformed churches. However, I am encouraged by the fact that Snyder does point toward a holistic biblical definition of the church. According to Jinkins: "The word of God manifests an

astonishing ability to resist even our best efforts at reductionism" (202). Snyder's passing mention of marks of word and spirit (82) also deserve the greater attention they receive in the next chapter (cf. Hunsberger, 105-106).

Special attention is due to chapter 4, in which George Hunsberger calls for "Evangelical Conversion toward a Missional Ecclesiology." "Central accents in the ethos of evangelicalism *may* be useful for an ecclesiology . . . *if* they are reformed and transformed by the Word and the Spirit—converted in other words!" (105). In the past, the church was the chaplain, moral glue, and guardian of civility and duty in an assumed Christian society. Today, often the church does not see itself as sent by God into its own social arena. Rather, it is often a "vendor" in a "religious economy," vying for religious consumers in order to sustain organizational goals. Evangelicals emphasize an individual's relationship with God and often find it difficult to understand the church in communal terms. As missiologists have been suggesting, the church must be "converted" into a people sent on a mission to represent the reign of God.

Personal conversion—the essential goal of evangelical missions—needs to be converted in order to renew ecclesiology. First, conversion has been viewed too often as momentary, individual, and oriented to beliefs and morals, and too little as conversion of society. When converted to a dynamic, corporate, and lived conversion, evangelicalism can contribute more to the struggle of the church to become a converting community. Second, we must include examination of our own culture with our usual stress on transmission of the gospel to others. The cultures of both the recipient and the messenger are implicated by the gospel. The message bearer is as much a discoverer of the gospel as the one hearing it. Both cultures are called to conversion.

Hunsberger does not succumb to relativism when he argues that cross-cultural missionary experience should have prepared evangelicalism for enlightenment and postmodern critiques. His call for conversion is compatible with biblical authority as a counter to relativism. Unfortunately, evangelicals are divided over biblical authority as textbook (Bruce Nichols), casebook (Charles Kraft), or storybook (Newbigin). A renewed engagement of biblical narrative renders the meaning of God and of personal truth in Jesus, and stresses lived truth over objective truth. This can cultivate the church as a gospeled, cross-shaped, and resurrection-voiced community residing in the Bible story (127-130). On the debate over Scripture as casebook and/or codebook, see Frank Holbrook & Leo Van Dolson, eds., *Issues in Revelation and Inspiration* (Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society Publications, 1992).

Many evangelicals will be uncomfortable with Hunsberger's qualification of "the pure gospel" as calling us to go beyond traditional emphases on substitutionary atonement, eternal security, forgiven sins, release from guilt, assurance of divine love, and a transformed life. However, I agree with his critique of a one-sided emphasis on the "What's in it for me?" question, which plays to consumer instincts. We need to also emphasize that with God's reign at hand, we are to repent and believe the good news, to receive and enter this divine reign as those caught up into the mission of God in the world, and to understand that "the gospel of God is intended to be embodied in actual communities" (132).

In part 3, "The Best Ecclesiology?" Edith Humphrey writes chapter 5 on "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic: Awaiting the Redemption of Our Body." In response to the present pluralism, Humphrey argues that the marks of the church are intertwined so that the "one church" is defined as holy, catholic, and apostolic. Also, we must extend our view beyond the present to the past and future in order to see the church as one. Oneness requires mutual deference, as well as a hierarchical order, such as is

manifest in the Trinity. The church is holy because it has been called out of Babylon. In addition, the church cooperates with God, who makes her catholic, and is in historical continuity with the apostolic community that Christ founded. Therefore, the church is sacramental in Christ according to the baptismal formula and according to our partaking in the bread and wine.

Humphrey seems to link apostolic and episcopal governance too closely in her effort to overcome the restriction of the meaning of "apostolic." There is also a subtle tension between her reference to liturgy as a dramatization of the God-man who assumed our time and space reality, and as a creation of "God's ever present moment, stretching across the *chronos* of human history, intersecting (or perhaps merging) with the *kairos* of the cross and resurrection. . . . We enter that eternal present, that 'time-full' moment, in which everything is fulfilled and has meaning" (152-153). The concept of an ecclesiological eternal present is also in tension with the truth that the church "is also in a process of becoming—it has an eschatological dimension," which includes "the redemption, or liberation of 'our body'" (155). Zahl comments: "Humphrey writes with high hopes, which I admire" (216). However, "a closer look . . . discloses not consistent catholicism but rather liberal catholicism. . . . Liberal catholicism cannot stand. Liberal views of authority and Scripture and cultural rapprochement do not finally cohere with a historic, catholic view of the church" (215-216).

In chapter 6, Roger Olson presents "Free Church Ecclesiology and Evangelical Spirituality: A Unique Compatibility." Free church and evangelical are presented as "centered-set" categories related to their centers, rather than "bounded set" categories with clear and precise boundaries (163-164). Therefore, Donald Dayton's paradigms are both "correct in pointing to evangelicalism's roots and incorrect in portraying one set of roots as normative for evangelicalism. . . . The bi-polar center of the evangelical category, then, is doctrinal and experiential" (165). It is a trans- and multidenominational opposition to liberal theology, destructive biblical criticism, and radically sectarian fundamentalism. It is also committed to *orthodoxy* (right belief), *orthopathy* (experience), and *orthopraxy* (right living). Evangelical emphasis on personal conversion "cannot be absolutely confined to the final authorities of creed, clergy, or state." Thus, conversion "falls into tension with human spiritual authority that quenches 'new light breaking forth from God's Word.' . . . Secular and sacral hierarchies tend to quench such reforming light" (167).

Olson suggests that free-church ecclesiology—defined over against Roman Catholic, Anglican, state, national, territorial, and mainline Protestant churches—is most compatible with evangelicalism. This definition is similar to Ernst Troeltsch's "sect-type" designation. However, since 1832, when the United States abolished all formal church-state relations, all denominations have been, in a sense, "free churches." In this context, the free-church heritage involves opposition to formal ecclesiastical hierarchies, sacerdotalism, and creedalism, as evident among Waldensians, Anabaptists, Puritans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Pentecostals, Mennonites, Brethren, Churches of Christ, Evangelical Free, and Evangelical Covenant churches.

Some may object that free-church ecclesiology cannot protect orthodox faith against fanaticism and liberalism. However, church hierarchies and episcopacies are no longer doctrinally sound. Bishops and priests call for "taking leave of God" and for radical revision of basic Christian beliefs. Neither clerical hierarchy nor creeds prevent heresy and apostasy. "The ironic situation is that in spite of their non-creedalism, the vast majority of free churches . . . managed to maintain basic Christian orthodoxy better than most of the magisterial, mainline Protestant denominations. . . . Apparently, requiring clergy to swear

allegiance to creeds is no guarantee that their preaching and teaching will remain orthodox" (177). For Olson, the only alternative would be state support. "A hierarchical denomination seems unable to enforce orthodoxy . . . any better than a free church association . . . without government help" (176). Must we choose between "the risk of doctrinal chaos and anarchy" and "the risk of government or even quasi-government interference in religious liberty"? (ibid.). Zahl argues: "Evangelical Christianity is by nature low-church. . . . Our approach to a listener cannot be ecclesiological. . . . [W]e are not addressed collectively by the gospel" (214). "We have a high Christology and a high soteriology but a *low* ecclesiology" (215). However, the complexity of the issue is evident in Jinkins's comment: "Olson's argument that there is an essential compatibility or affinity between evangelical Protestantism and free church ecclesiology is particularly interesting and, at many points, very persuasive, though this affinity is also, at times, problematic for both evangelical theology and various free church traditions" (180). Jinkins seeks to explore this problem in his chapter.

In chapter 7, Jinkins explores "The Gift of the Church: *Ecclesia Crucis, Peccatrix Maxima*, and the *Missio Dei*." I am persuaded by his claim that "[a] doctrine of the church that hopes to be true to the gospel of Jesus Christ is grounded in the *missio Dei* revealed in his life, death, and resurrection[,] . . . *ecclesia crucis*, 'the community of the cross.' No such doctrine of the church is complete without recognition of the sinfulness of the church, indeed recognizing the church to be *peccatrix maximus*, 'the greatest of sinners,' in its failure to live up to its calling" (180). The promise and peril of evangelical ecclesiology is a two-edged sword—the "seed of the evangelical liveliness" and "a hint of the alienation of persons, the dissension and spirit of schism, as well as the impulse to exclusion" (183).

I question Jinkins's replacement of the believer's baptism with infant baptism as a better representation of grace. However, the issues he raises are real. How does the church represent the Triune God, disciple members, avoid schisms, and recognize the diversity of God's creation and callings? He argues that an ecclesiology based on individual choice to follow God, individual sharing in similar faith (*orthodoxy*), faithful behavior (*orthopraxy*), or faith experiences (*orthopathy*), is built upon the shifting sand of human frailty and variability. Rather, the character of the God of grace is the life and pattern of Christocentric community in the world. This means that "the church . . . stretching through time and into eternity, cannot be encapsulated and contained in a single ecclesial movement or institution. Nor does the church of Jesus Christ depend on our faithfulness for its faithfulness. We rest on the assurance that Jesus Christ is Lord of the church and that the church's past, present, and future are in God's hands" (196).

Jinkins proposes that the cross is significant for the church's vocation in two ways. First, the church stands guilty under the cross because of the huge gap between espoused faith and practiced faith. "If we are a sacramental presence among the nations, it is because the world can see among us the living parable of the God whose grace is greater than our sin. . . . The church's message is not 'Behold our goodness!' It is 'Behold God's grace!'" (203). Second, cross-shaped ministry is the church's polygraph, its infallible lie-detecting test. This cross is powerful. We are not called to renounce, but "to renovate power—divine power, creative power, resurrected power" (citing Alan Lewis, 199). Thus "the church does not merely survive. The church lives, suffers, and dies . . . . The church bears its cross for the sake of Christ and his gospel over and over again in history. And God raises the church from the dead to new life in Christ repeatedly" (208-209). In his response to Jinkins, Beaton unites both emphases in Marshal McLuhan's famous dictum "the medium is the message." Beaton concludes: "If the church is the *medium* through which God seeks in part to reveal

himself to the world, the effects of the gospel on and within the church become part of the *message*" (222).

Part 4 of *Evangelical Ecclesiology* presents responses to the previous three parts. In chapter 8, Paul F. M. Zahl responds to the previous chapters with the slogan "Low-Church and Proud" (213-216). Various aspects of his response have been mentioned above in my review of other chapters. In addition, Zahl writes: "I cannot be Protestant *and* Catholic. I cannot be evangelical *and* ecclesiologically 'high'" (214). "The point is, too much ecclesiology always turns to Christology-lite, soteriology-lite, gospel-lite. I wish to resist that" (216).

Richard Beaton, also mentioned above, responds in chapter 9 with a call for "Reimaging the Church: Evangelical Christology." "Evangelicalism is in the throes of an identity crisis. . . . It seems far from clear that a well-considered ecclesiology does indeed lie at the center of the movement and, even if it does, that this ecclesiology is robust enough to withstand the global forces that challenge it today" (217). Evangelicalism's legitimate emphasis on personal responsibility, when combined with the individualistic influences of modernity and postmodernity, threaten to push it away from historic Christianity. Beaton holds that "there is something odd about a discussion of ecclesiology from within what is very much a subset of broader Christendom" (222). Study of essential elements of ecclesiology should precede reflection on the various commitments of evangelicalism. Current models of core identity not only describe, but also shape, the identity of the church. Therefore, we would do well to reconsider primary metaphors used in the NT to describe the church. After listing several of the biblical metaphors, Beaton provides a useful overview of the historically grounded metaphor of the church as the people of God. Such a model fits with the narrative approach (Hunsberger); an eschatological framework for past, present, and future (Humphrey); and a response to postmodernism. I agree that "if the church is to reimagine what an ecclesiology might look like in the twenty-first century, it seems that part of that exercise will require a return to the biblical metaphors" (223).

Evangelical Ecclesiology is a useful introduction to its subject and can serve well as supplementary reading for a course in ecclesiology. The book goes beyond the important task of describing evangelical ecclesiology and provides prescriptions for its ongoing reformation, development, and even conversion. The indices of subjects and scriptural texts add to the value of the book. I recommend it to professors, students, and lay persons who are interested in understanding the unique and multifaceted evangelical perspective on the church, which is the body of Christ.

Andrews University MARTIN HANNA

Vance, Donald R. *A Hebrew Reader for Ruth*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003. x + 85 pp. Paper, $12.95.

Donald Vance's *A Hebrew Reader for Ruth* provides the intermediate-level student of Biblical Hebrew with a basic grammar and a verse-by-verse syntactical analysis of the biblical text. Each verse is followed by Vance's translation of the original text, which is taken from the *Biblia Hebraica Leningradensia*. There follows a word-by-word analysis, covering morphology, lexicography, syntax, and a discussion that includes citations from standard grammars. The format is simple and immediately understandable. Vance's *Reader* helps students to make the transition from grammatical exercises in a textbook to reading the biblical text itself. His format also provides the student with additional verses for practice outside of class.

For the intermediate Biblical Hebrew student, the book of Ruth, with its standard grammar, engaging and dramatic story line, and frequent usage of feminine verb forms, is an excellent choice for a student's text. The author has maintained a high level of accuracy. There are few, and only minor, omissions. However, it would have been helpful to also indicate where a given form is pausal. A more specific omission is on p. 35, where a verb is said to be from the Št* stem. There is no entry in the abbreviations to tell the student that "Št*" stands for the Hištaphel* stem of the verb.

Computer programs, such as BibleWorks, Logos, and Accordance, provide instant details at a number of different levels. Vance's contribution is to provide a concise presentation of both the instant details and selected discussions of grammarians that captures the details found in computer software, but in a useful format designed specifically for the student to work independently. Worksheets that correlate with the book may be found online at www.hendrickson.com/academic.

Having listened to my students' praise of Vance's book, and having been duly impressed myself, I have found that while the book achieves the purpose for which it was intended, it cannot replace the intense word-by-word analysis that is done in a classroom setting. Vance often gives only a minimum of meanings for a word, which may lead students to believe that these are the only possible interpretations. In reality, the richness of a word's meaning may be understood fully only by comparison with similar usage elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.

There is no substitute for searching through the various grammars oneself, comparing one analysis with another, and coming across related words and concepts. While computers and books, such as the one under discussion, are helpful, I fear that students will tend to use these tools to produce superficial research and fail to probe the deeper, more subtle nuances of the text.

If Vance's book is used as a supplement—and not as the sole source for understanding the biblical text—the student is free to function at the deeper level of scholarship, while cultivating a sense of progress and security. Unfortunately, I know that many busy students go first to the reader and then do any additional work with whatever little (or nonexistent) time is left. "Crutches" and 'training wheels" are useful, but students who never practice "walking" or "riding" on their own, will cripple their development. Controlling student study habits is an ongoing pedagogical dilemma for the teacher.

Pedagogical tensions and struggles do not devalue Vance's work. His book remains an excellent resource for the teacher and student, especially the independent student.

Andrews University CONSTANCE CLARK GANE

Water, Mark, ed., comp. *The Encyclopedia of Prayer and Praise.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004. xvi + 1184 pp. Hardcover, $39.95.

Mark Water is a prolific writer on a variety of biblical and religious topics "made easy" for the public at large. In the last four years, he has edited several encyclopedias, including *The New Encyclopedia of Christian Martyrs* (Baker, 2001) and *The New Encyclopedia of Christian Quotations* (Baker, 2001).

The *Encyclopedia of Prayer and Praise* is a reference work, featuring prayers and writings about prayer. The author's aim is to bring together a collection of "edifying" prayers; he specifically confines himself to Christian prayer, which he defines as a prayer addressed "to one of the Trinity" (xiii). His emphasis is on the rich heritage of classic Christian prayers throughout the history of the church, from the first to the nineteenth century.

The *Encyclopedia* is organized into two parts. Part 1 is similar in scope to, e.g., *The Complete Book of Christian Prayer* (1998, Continuum). Prayers are presented by topics pertaining to the life of the church, human experience, and the various moods and experiences of Christian life. The prayers were written by men and women from all over the world and from many walks of life. A number of meditations inspired by *lectio divina*, a profoundly biblical practice, brings part 1 to a close. The various sections in this part are cross-referenced to source writings presented in the next part of the book.

The value of the *Encyclopedia of Prayer and Praise* as a historical document resides foremost in the second part, which complements the prayers themselves with rich classic literature about prayer. Approximately 540 pages are devoted to extracts from classic Christian teaching on prayer from the last 1,900 years. A number of theologians and spiritual leaders are featured, beginning with the earliest times of the church. Part 2 also includes a number of entire prayer collections and introduces in its last pages stories about prayer, spanning various prayer experiences, and quotations from simple individuals to great religious personalities. To conclude from here, however, that this is "the largest collection published in the 21st century" (xvi) amounts to an overstatement, considering that we are just at the beginning of the century.

Parts 1 and 2 are separated by an index of authors and sources and an index of subjects. An appendix of biographical information provides dates and brief information on the various writers. Unfortunately, these tools are not very practical, as they are located between parts 1 and 2 rather than at the end of the book. Equally regrettable is the inconsistency of the biographical index, which was not compiled in a rigorous manner. At least 40 percent of the authors included in the book are missing from the list, which makes consultation difficult. The prayers and texts are written in clear and accessible modern English, which is particularly valuable when one considers the great number of texts translated from ancient languages. Sources used include the great classics of the sacred Christian texts, as well as devotional and secular literature. Again, the lack of a systematic listing of all the sources used and their publication information places the *Encyclopedia* at the margin of scholarly use and qualifies it rather for use by the general public.

In a work of such comprehensive scope, it is surprising that there are not many prayers from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The "many hundreds of contemporary prayers" claimed by the author represent only a handful of writers. Actually, 365 prayers come from a single collection by Donna L. Hammond. The author justifies this limited inclusion by arguing that the *Encyclopedia* is meant to be a collection of "classic" Christian prayers. In that perspective, the time frame chosen (namely, up to the end of the nineteenth century) seems arbitrary and unconvincing. Also, the author's argument that "over the past 50 years we have been very well served with books of contemporary prayers" and that he wants to avoid duplication (xiii), falls short of one's expectation when opening the *Encyclopedia*. The value of this book lies precisely in the fact that it presents a sampling of the entire Christian prayer tradition in a single volume. To omit the inclusion of prayers that translate into today's language the unique needs of a century marked by its own political and social situation, is a major drawback. The addition of twentieth- and twenty-first-century prayers, and especially teachings about prayer, would have made this *Encyclopedia* a more complete, more practical, and more relevant reference work.

In spite of its shortcomings, Water's *Encyclopedia of Prayer and Praise* is a valuable tool for ministers, church historians, and researchers in Christian liturgy and spirituality. It is a treasure-trove for liturgists, who are searching for fresh or traditional material. Musicians seeking for new liturgical texts to be set to music will find it equally helpful.

Reaching back through time and space, the *Encyclopedia* becomes an illustration of the continuity and unity of Christian spirituality throughout the ages, reminding us how much today's church can find inspiration in the old and traditional expressions of liturgy. The *Encyclopedia* also becomes an inspiring devotional book: by offering its prayers, reflections, and meditations like cameos of past prayer life and experience, it brings enrichment to present-day personal spirituality and prayer practice. In a time when more and more congregations are looking for a solid framework for their liturgy, when many individuals long for a better structuring of their personal prayer life, this book provides abundant material for both purposes.

Andrews University LILIANNE DOUKHAN

Witherington, Ben, III. *The New Testament Story.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. x + 283 pp. Paper, $18.00.

In this book, Ben Witherington III, Professor of New Testament Studies, Asbury Theological Seminary, in a sense complements his *New Testament History: A Narrative Account* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001). Intending to provide an "introduction in miniature" (ix) to the NT, Witherington consistently avoids the traditional schemes and critical jargons common to more technical introductions. The book focuses on the story of the NT and the stories within the NT in their relation to the life of Jesus.

Part 1 traces the development of the NT story in the scriptural canon. The first chapter discusses the oral culture in which the NT originated and suggests that an oral NT preceded the written one (4). During this oral period the first sacred traditions (e.g., hymns, creedal fragments, prayers, and sermon summaries) began to take shape (17-20). The extant fragments of such traditions in the NT documents demonstrate, among other things, the inadequacy of theories of a Christology that evolved from primitive to more sophisticated forms as Christianity moved away from its Jewish Palestinian roots (20-21). At an early period, apparently for worship and teaching purposes, the sacred traditions were written down in what can be called pre-NT narratives (chap. 2), which were basically collections of Jesus' sayings and stories (e.g., Q, M, L, miracle stories, and passion narratives). As the church began to spread to foreign territories and the eyewitness generation began to die, such narratives were then used to produce the NT as we know it (chaps. 3 and 4). Witherington begins by discussing Paul's letters, which were the first NT documents to be written. The transmission of early traditions by teaching and preaching is what secures the continuity between Jesus and Paul, who is not to be understood as the founder of Christianity (48). This section includes helpful discussions on the dating, authorship, and literary genre of the Epistles and Gospels, as well as their main literary and theological traits. Part 1 ends with a summary of the historical process through which the NT documents were collected into the canon (chap. 5). Witherington's view is that the canon was not imposed, but recognized, though "orthodoxy preceded the canon, and helped the process of discerning what the canon should look like" (103).

Part 2 studies the stories that are alluded to or told in the NT. The discussion follows a narratological approach and the stories are presented in a roughly chronological order. The purpose is to investigate the NT narratives in order to discover "the story" they are trying to tell (109, n. 1). Again Witherington begins with Paul (chap. 6) and how he uses the stories of OT characters, such as God, Adam, and Abraham, to tell the story of Jesus. After Paul, the discussion moves to other parts of the NT; and then to Paul's own story, as told first by himself and then by Luke in

Acts, is examined (chap. 7). Witherington offers a basic sketch of Paul's life in a way that combines exegesis with a more homiletical style. Other stories that receive attention include the "holy family" (Joseph, Mary, and James) (chap. 8) and Jesus, as related outside the Gospels (chap. 9) and within the Gospels (chap. 10). The book ends with a poem (271), two chronological tables, a chart with units of weight and measure, and maps.

The book contains helpful information for the beginner who wants to explore the NT more deeply, yet more demanding readers may also benefit from discussions on academic issues, such as the Synoptic problem, the character of NT Christology, and Paul's role in earliest Christianity. Witherington's vast learning is evident throughout the book, and footnote references to his earlier works indicate where more detailed discussions can be found. What is surprising is that references to his own work total almost 50 percent of the footnotes and bibliography.

Witherington's approach is basically conservative, but conservative readers may not feel comfortable, for example, with the idea that Peter was not the author of 2 Peter (67, 94) or that the Beloved Disciple, who was the author but not the editor of the Fourth Gospel, was not John the son of Zebedee (82-84). In the main, however, Witherington's positions are not polemical and will be accepted by most readers irrespective of their theological orientation. Exceptions to this are a few exegetical statements that are not well justified; references to fuller discussions by the author elsewhere may give the impression that the issue is settled, when it is not. For example, Witherington insists that Jesus is especially presented in John's Gospel as Wisdom incarnate (37-39, 82, 254; cf. his *John's Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995]). Though it is true that some aspects of the Johannine Logos can be explained in light of a wisdom motif, precise correspondence between the two is lacking. With respect to the incarnation, no parallel whatsoever to this concept can be demonstrated in any part of the Jewish sapiential literature or, for that matter, in the wide spectrum of pre-Christian Jewish thought.

Two important omissions are rather disturbing. The first is a discussion on the text of the NT in Part 1. No story that is based on the text of the NT itself can possibly be traced unless it can be shown with enough confidence that this text was handed down without essential loss throughout the centuries. The second is the story of John the Baptist, whose intimate association with the NT story has been recognized since the time of early Christian preaching (Acts 1:21-22; 10:37; 13:24-25).

Overall, this study will certainly find a ready audience among university-level readers and laypersons seeking to understand where the NT came from and what it is about.

São Paulo Adventist University College WILSON PAROSCHI
São Paulo, Brazil

Yarchin, William. *History of Biblical Interpretation: A Reader.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004. xxx + 444 pp. Hardcover, $34.95.

If it ever was, it is no longer enough to interpret Scripture without consideration of how it has been interpreted in the past. Many of the assumptions about the obvious meanings of texts reflect millennia-long experience with the text by a surprisingly diverse cadre of interpreters. It is to make available an introduction to this wealth of interpretive experience that William Yarchin addresses a serious lacuna in scholarly reference by presenting, in a single volume, a host of Jewish and Christian interpreters covering twenty-two centuries.

Yarchin begins with a preface (vii-ix), which announces his aim to include prime examples of interpretation, and his reflections on the history of interpretation, proceeding chronologically from the second century B.C.E. to the end of the twentieth century. He makes the necessary caveat that a single volume must, by necessity, leave out more than it can include, but he gives an astute bibliography of twenty-two recent (1988-2002) and more specific books that each deal with a segment of what he is attempting more generally.

In the Introduction, Yarchin gives general information about the worldviews and interpretive needs of each age, dividing history into traditional chunks. In Part 1, the period 150 B.C.E. to 100 C.E., Yarchin stresses the attitude of respect for ancient texts during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, pointing out the similarities between the allegorization of Homer (chap. 1) and the philosophic interpretation of Moses by Philo of Alexandria and Pseudo-Aristeas (chap. 2). He also introduces the interpretation of the mysteries by the Essenes of Qumran (chap. 3). Each chapter includes more specific introductory material for the individual or group of interpreters discussed, along with annotated selections from their interpretations. In Parts 2 and 3, Yarchin examines early Christian (100-600 C.E.) and then Jewish interpretation (150-1500 C.E.).

Included on the Christian side are chapters on Justin Martyr, Origen, Tyconius, Augustine, Theodore of Mopsuestia with Theodoret of Cyprus, Gregory the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and Nicholas of Lyra with the *Glossa ordinaria* on Ps 23. Each chapter begins with a well-researched introduction, which includes a short bibliography of the latest and best works on each interpreter. Then Yarchin includes annotated passages, sampling the interpretation styles and, where available, passages which specifically discuss the hermeneutics being used. These include excerpts from expected passages, such as Origen's *De principiis* book 4, Tyconius's *Liber regularum*, and Augustine's *de doctrina Christiana*. One cannot fault any of the interpreters included, but it is always hard to let go of those left out, such as Irenaeus and Alcuin. Irenaeus's conception of one single, correct reading of the text would have made a nice contrast to Origen's and Augustine's multivalent views of the text. Yarchin does reference Irenaeus in the Introduction, quoting a hermeneutical section of *Adversus haereses* book 4 (xviii). However, the lack of Alcuin or any of the Carolingians leaves a hiatus from Gregory the Great until Thomas Aquinas.

The section on Rabbinic interpretation from 150-1500 C.E. is squeezed even smaller than the Christian section, but it is refreshing to have both the Christian and Jewish interpreters side by side in a single book. Many readers will no doubt benefit from Yarchin's introductory chapter on Rabbinic interpretation, where he gives good definitions to many of the terms needed to understand this Jewish interpretive tradition, such as *halakah, haggadah, midrash, darshan, Tannaim*, and *Amoraim*. He also briefly introduces, or at least mentions, the main lines of Rabbinic literature: Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmud, and the midrashic book-by-book commentaries *Mekilta, Sifre*, and *Sifra*; but for some reason books such as *Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah*, and *Song of Songs Rabbah* are mentioned only in a footnote (114, n. 6). Yarchin's systematic introductions focus on the interpreters themselves more than on their works. For instance, he ends this introductory chapter with a series of paragraphs on each of the major rabbinic authorities most involved with scriptural interpretation, beginning with Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha and Rabbi Akiva early in the Tannaitic period, to Rabbi Issi ben Akiva and Rabbi Abbaye late in the Amoraitic period. This makes an excellent survey of the major Jewish interpreters and hermeneutical theorists as far as it goes, but it breaks off at the end of the Amoraitic period, leaving no introduction to the Jewish interpreters from the

fifth through the thirteenth centuries, except for those few who are included in the following three chapters. Once again, there is no fault to be found with the few selections that are included in these three chapters: sections from *Mekilta*, Rashi, Ramban; a selection from Tractate *Yoma* from the Palestinian Talmud; some selections from the comments on Ps 23 in the *Yalqut Shim'oni* (for comparison with the *Glossa ordinaria* selections in the preceding Christian section); and a chapter on the exegesis of Sa'adia ben Joseph.

The last two sections of the book, "Modern Interpretation (1500-Present)" and "Late Modern Interpretation (1970-Present)," primarily treat the rise, dominance of, and reactions to historical criticism applied to the Bible. Yarchin begins by examining the roots of "a more historical mind-set" (171) by sorting through parts of the comments on Ps 23 found in six commentators in the *Critici Sacri*: Sebastian Münster, François Vatable, Isidore Clarius, Johannes Drusius, Sixtinus Amama, and Hugo Grotius. He then moves to the concern for authorial intent as portrayed in the exegesis of John Calvin. In this way, he uses the Renaissance and Reformation to set the agenda for the modern search for historical understanding of the Scriptures. From there, he examines Baruch Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn, and David Friedrich Strauss in order to explain the development of modern historical understanding of the ancient world in general and ancient Judaism in particular. Also included are Hermann Gunkel and the distinctions between literary genre, Rudolph Bultmann and the distinction between the textual and historical Jesus, and William F. Albright and the addition of physical archaeological evidence to the historical picture of the biblical world.

Yarchin's chapter on Langdon Gilkey presents a reaction to the previous chapters that is simultaneously appreciative and critical of historical-biblical studies. He uses Gilkey's position in the Biblical Theology movement to show how the disconnect between the ancient and modern worldviews requires a historical interpretation of the Bible, but how, at the same time, faith and God's continued acting and speaking require a current application to our lives in our present situation. Yarchin uses George Ernst Wright heavily in this chapter to bolster Gilkey's biblical theology and its attempt to reach back in history for understanding, while reaching to the present and immediate future to apply that understanding.

The final chapter of the "Modern" section is devoted to Christian Hartlich, who is better known for his work on the philosophy of history than in the field of biblical interpretation. Yarchin includes large excerpts of Hartlich's 1978 essay "Historisch-kritische Methode in ihrer Anwendung auf Geschehnisaussagen der Hl. Schrift" ("Historical-Critical Method in Its Application to Statements Concerning Events in the Holy Scriptures," trans. D. Doughty, 1995) as part of his "reader." Hartlich reduces historical-critical methodology into eight theses, each with a rationale and supporting arguments. He argues that a distinction must be made between what can be represented as historical fact (being completely verifiable) and a conceivable event (which may or may not have great evidence). He ascertains that simply because an event, such as the resurrection of Jesus, is not a verifiable fact does not preclude it from having historically happened. However, his clarified terminology does not allow for a unique event to be named a factual, historical reality. Yarchin did well in including Hartlich as both a critique of and support for historical methodology.

Part 5, on late modern interpretation, includes various interpretive methodologies that go beyond, critique, or ignore historical criticism. Yarchin devotes chapters to the canonical approach of Brevard Childs, the retro-interpretation of David Steinmetz, the theological interpretation of Jon Levenson, the critiques of objectivity by Walter Wink

and Edgar McKnight, the rhetorical approaches of Phyllis Trible and Dale Patrick, the ideological critique of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, and the postmodern multivalence of Fernando Segovia.

As is often the case, the book's greatest strength—bringing the history of interpretation to the present—is also its greatest weakness. By spending nearly 50 percent of its content on the twentieth century, it has pruned too much from earlier times. However, that does not take away from Yarchin's achievement of putting together a readable and usable history of biblical interpretation that is excellently suited to college and divinity-school classrooms, as well as a quick reference of who's who in biblical interpretation.

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS AND REVIEWERS

"Guidelines for Authors and Reviewers" and frequently used abbreviations may be found on our website at www.auss.info, or in *AUSS* 40 (Autumn 2002): 303-306 and back covers, or copies may be requested from the *AUSS* office.

For general English style, see Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed., rev. John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

For exhaustive abbreviation lists, see Patrick H. Alexander and others, eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 68-152, 176-233. For capitalization and spelling examples, see ibid., 153-164.

Articles may be submitted by email, attached document. Queries to the editors in advance of writing are encouraged. See "Guidelines for Authors and Reviewers" for further details.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	=	ʾ	ה	=	h	ט	=	ṭ	מ	=	m	פ	=	p	שׁ	=	š
ב	=	b	ו	=	w	י	=	y	נ	=	n	צ	=	ṣ	שׂ	=	ś
ג	=	g	ז	=	z	כ	=	k	ס	=	s	ק	=	q	ת	=	t
ד	=	d	ח	=	ḥ	ל	=	l	ע	=	ʿ	ר	=	r			

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	=	a			ֶ	=	e		ֵי	=	ê		ֹ	=	ō	ו	=	ô
ָ	=	ā			ֵ	=	ē		ִ	=	i		ֺ	=	o	ו	=	û
ַ	=	a	ְ	(vocal shewa)	=	e			ִי	=	î		ֻ	=	o		ֻ	=	u

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

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