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THREE VERIFICATIONS OF THIELE'S DATE FOR THE BEGINNING OF THE DIVIDED KINGDOM

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I. *Overview of the Work of Thiele*

Edwin Thiele's work on the chronology of the divided kingdom was first published in a 1944 article that was an abridgement of his doctoral dissertation.[1] His research later appeared in various journals and in his book *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, which went through three editions before Thiele's death in 1986.[2] No other chronological study dealing with the divided monarchies has found such wide acceptance among historians of the ancient Near East. The present study will show why this respect among historians is justified, particularly as regarding Thiele's dates for the northern kingdom, while touching somewhat on the reasons that later scholars had to modify Thiele's chronology for the southern kingdom. The breakthrough for Thiele's chronology was that it matched various fixed dates in Assyrian history, and also helped resolve the controversy regarding other Assyrian dates, while at the same time it was consistent with all the biblical data that Thiele used to construct the chronology of the northern kingdom—but with the caveat that this was not entirely the case in his treatment of texts for the Judean kings. Of interest for the present discussion is the observation that Thiele's dates for the northern kingdom had no substantial changes between the time of his 1944 article and the 1986 publication of the final edition of *Mysterious Numbers*.[3]

The initial skepticism that greeted Thiele's findings has been replaced, in many quarters, by the realization that his means of establishing the dates of these kings shows a fundamental understanding of the historical issues involved, whether regarding Assyrian or Babylonian records or the traditions of the Hebrews. Rather than trying to cover all the dates and historical data that have brought many scholars to this judgment, I shall focus on just one date that

[1]Edwin R. Thiele, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *JNES* 3 (1944): 137-186.

[2]Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 1st ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1951); 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965); 3d ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan/Kregel, 1983). Unless noted otherwise, page numbers in the present article refer to the third edition.

[3]In the third edition of *Mysterious Numbers*, Thiele moved the beginning date for Jehu down six months from the first half of the year beginning in Nisan of 841 B.C. to the second half of that year. In terms of the sum of years for Israel this makes no difference, because Jehu's accession was still in the same Nisan-based year. This change was made to accommodate his down-dating of the reigns of the Judean kings Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah by one year in the third edition as compared to the second edition. The reason for this down-dating will be discussed below, in Section II.3.

is the result of Thiele's methodology, namely that of the beginning of the divided monarchies at the death of Solomon. This date is verified by three lines of evidence. These lines will be shown to be fundamentally independent of each other, and they all confirm that the monarchy split into two kingdoms at some time in the year that began in Nisan of 931 B.C. The three lines of evidence are the internal and external consistency of Thiele's chronology that was used to arrive at this date, the Sabbatical and Jubilee cycles, and the Tyrian king list.

II. *First Verification: Internal and External Consistency of Thiele's Chronology*

1. Consistency with Ancient Practices

Thiele's chronology is consistent with ancient practices regarding the measurement of a king's reign. The first such practice to be considered is how the partial year in which the king came to the throne was reckoned; whether it was his "accession" or "zero" year (accession counting), or whether it was to be considered the first year of reign (nonaccession counting). Both methods were used in the ancient Near East. Thiele's approach was to see if the textual data, as given by the ancient authors, were sufficient to provide the clues as to which method these authors were using for a particular king. In the case of the early northern kings, we read that Nadab of Israel began in year two of Asa of Judah and reigned two years, ending in year three of Asa. He was followed by Baasha, whose twenty-four-year reign began in Asa's year three and ended in Asa's twenty-sixth (not twenty-seventh) year. The evidence then points to nonaccession reckoning for the first northern kings. Continuing this kind of investigation, a comparison can be made between the first kings of the divided kingdom and the time when Ahaziah of Israel died in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat of Judah (2 Kgs 3:1). The sum of reign lengths for this time for the seven kings of Israel (ignoring Zimri's seven days) exceeds by seven years the sum for Judah, immediately suggesting that Judah, contrary to the practice of Israel, was using accession years for its kings. Thiele illustrated this with a diagram in *Mysterious Numbers*, and then wrote in explanation, "During this period Israel's totals increased by one year for every reign over the totals of Judah. This is positive evidence of the use of the accession-year system in Judah and the nonaccession-year system in Israel. When the lengths of reign of the Israelite rulers are expressed in actual [accession] rather than official [nonaccession] years, the totals of the two kingdoms are the same."[4]

    Another area where Thiele's method is consistent with ancient practices is in the principle that whether a given king used accession or nonaccession reckoning was essentially an arbitrary matter. In most cases, which system to use was probably decided by the king himself. Thus the chronological data of the Scriptures show that during the time of rapprochement between the two kingdoms in the middle of the ninth century B.C., Judah adopted Israel's

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[4]Ibid., 49.

nonaccession method of counting, whereas at a later time a comparison of the starting and ending years of Menahem and Pekahiah of Israel with the regnal years of Uzziah of Judah shows that Israel eventually went to accession reckoning. Thiele has been much criticized because of these changes in the method of reckoning. But Thiele is not the source of the changes and their apparent arbitrariness. The real source of the changes was the ancient kings and recorders who decided how things were to be done in their day. If someone is to be criticized for arbitrariness, it should be these ancient personalities, not Thiele. The unfairness of the criticism of Thiele's chronology because kings changed between accession and nonaccession methods can be demonstrated by an example from Assyria. The general rule in the inscriptions of Assyrian kings was to use accession reckoning. Tiglath-Pileser III, however, went against this rule and used nonaccession reckoning for his reign.[5] Thus Assyrian inscriptions show that a change was made in the mode of reckoning for Assyria, just as the biblical texts show that changes were made in the mode of reckoning during the time of the divided kingdoms. Thiele's inferences in the matter of when accession and nonaccession counting were used were not driven by his own presuppositions (as is the case with many who write in this field), and his conclusion that changes could be made is consistent with ancient practice, as demonstrated by the example of Tiglath-Pileser III.

Another parameter that must be considered when attempting to reconstruct the chronology of the divided kingdoms is the question of coregencies. As with the accession/nonaccession question, Thiele again followed the inductive method of first determining the practices of ancient kings and their scribes, rather than starting with presuppositions of what the ancients "should have" done. In this regard, the customs of Egypt's pharaohs have been the object of considerable study. There are examples of coregencies in the Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, and later, even down to Roman times. Egyptologists consider it essential that coregencies be taken into account when reconstructing the chronology of the various dynasties from the records of the pharaohs. The pharaohs usually measured their years from the start of a coregency, although according to at least one scholar this was not an invariable rule.[6] In contrast, rabbinic scholars (the *Seder 'Olam* and the Talmud) considered that a king's years were always measured from the start of his sole reign. In Egypt, the fact of the coregency is sometimes quite clearly expressed in the official records, and sometimes it must be inferred by comparing other chronological data with the year of reign given in the pharaoh's inscriptions.[7] The same practice must be followed when dealing with

[5]Hayim Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, King of Assyria* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 232, n. 3.

[6]William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1977), 76, 82, 83, regarding the coregency of Seti I and Ramesses II.

[7]E.g., the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II is not supported by any monuments that give corresponding dates for both monarchs, but their coregency "is strongly supported by chronological evidence from their reigns" (ibid., 44).

the records from the royal courts of Judah and Israel. The coregency of Solomon with David is plainly stated in 1 Kgs 1:32-35 and 1 Chron 23:1. Second Kings 15:5 tells us that Jotham became the effective ruler when his father was stricken with leprosy. For other instances of coregencies in the Scriptures, we must infer the coregency by comparing the king's reign with other data, just as is necessary for the pharaohs of Egypt. A comparison of 2 Kgs 1:17 with 2 Kgs 3:1 suggests that Jehoram of Judah became coregent in the seventeenth year of his father Jehoshaphat. Other coregencies must sometimes be inferred by a more careful cross-checking of the data than afforded by these simple and fairly explicit references.[8]

In the past, various interpreters have either ruled out coregencies altogether in determining the chronology of the divided kingdom, or they have accepted coregencies but insisted that regnal years must always be measured in only one way, either from the start of the coregency or from the start of the sole reign. Unlike those who started with such *a priori* presuppositions, Thiele realized that the data must be allowed to tell us if a coregency was involved, and, if so, whether a given synchronism or length of reign was measured from the start of the coregency or from the start of the sole reign. It is of some interest that if this procedure is followed, there is enough information in the biblical texts to allow the construction of a coherent chronology for the

[8] The same is true of the two periods of rival reign in the Scriptures: Omri with Tibni and Pekah with Menahem and Pekahiah. The chronology of the first of these is fairly straightforward, the second less so. The rivalry between Omri and Tibni began in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (1 Kgs 16:15, 21) and ended with Omri as sole ruler in Asa's thirty-first year (1 Kgs 16:23). The rivalry of Pekah with Menahem and Pekahiah is not so obvious, but once it is accepted as a possibility, the regnal data for the kings of Israel and Judah fall into place with an exactness that extends even to the month for Jeroboam II, Zechariah, Shallum, and Menahem. See the second edition of *Mysterious Numbers*, pp. 87-88, for the meticulous and watertight logic that allows this precision, a precision that Thiele unfortunately omitted in the third edition in his desire to simplify things. It would be very difficult to explain this precision unless the associated data were all in accord with history. A late-date editor could not have made up all these interlocking figures, because although the ancients were good at making up riddles, logic puzzles are a modern invention. Thiele's defense of Pekah's rivalry is well explained (*Mysterious Numbers*, 129-130 of 3rd ed.), but to that defense can be added the observation that the Hebrew (and LXX) text of Hos 5:5 must be read as "Both Israel and Ephraim . . .", adding to the evidence cited by Thiele that there were two rival kingdoms in the north at just this time. There is thus a dual evidence that Pekah had set up a rival kingdom: the various texts, including Hos 5:5, that imply two kingdoms in the north during the time of Menahem, and the harmony of all texts for six kings of Israel and three of Judah once it is accepted that Pekah's twenty-year reign was reckoned from the start of a rivalry with Menahem. There is no consensus of dates for this time among scholars who reject the possibility of a rivalry, and it might be asked if they would apply the same criteria and reject the inferences that Egyptologists make to demonstrate that rival pharaohs were ruling from rival capitals at various times in the history of Egypt. See my further discussion in "When Was Samaria Captured? The Need for Precision in Biblical Chronologies," *JETS* 47 (2004): 581-582, n. 11.

kingdom period. The alternative approach (ruling out coregencies, or assuming that we know beforehand when the counting of years started) invariably produces chronologies that are in contradiction with the biblical texts at some point or other. But Thiele's method of starting with observed ancient practices, and not making arbitrary decisions, allowed the construction of a chronology for the northern kingdom that is consistent not only with ancient practices, but with all the biblical texts involved.[9]

The same cannot be said for Thiele's chronology of the southern kingdom, where Thiele rejected a coregency of Ahaz and Hezekiah that explains the chronological synchronisms in 2 Kgs 18. But using the same principles that Thiele used elsewhere, scholars who built on his work, such as Siegfried Horn, T. C. Mitchell, Kenneth Kitchen, and Leslie McFall, were able to resolve the problems that Thiele had with the kingdom of Judah in the eighth century B.C.[10]

One other variable in determining the chronology of the divided kingdom that must be touched on briefly is the question of when the regnal year began. Here there are two viable candidates that can be gleaned from the Scriptures, rabbinic writing, and the practice of surrounding nations: either the first of Nisan in the spring or the first of Tishri in the fall. Moses was commanded to count Nisan as the first month (Exod 12:2), and it is always considered the "first month," even by those who, like the modern Jewish people, celebrate New Year's Day in Tishri, the seventh month. Also, the calendar year began in Nisan in Assyria and Babylonia. But a Tishri-based year has an equally good pedigree, besides the fact that it is observed at the present day. Josephus, the *Seder 'Olam*, and the Talmud[11] all refer to a Tishri-based year that was observed before the time of Moses. The Gezer Calendar (tenth century B.C.) begins with Tishri. If we are not to force our own presuppositions on ancient society, then we must consider both these options for the start of the year when investigating the chronological methods of the books of Kings and Chronicles. In this case again, Thiele let the data determine which methods were used. Thus

[9]Regarding coregencies, the evidence for their existence was quite compelling to Nadav Na'aman, a scholar who disagrees with Thiele's approach in other matters. Na'aman writes, "When we compare the list of the co-regencies of the kings of Judah and Israel, it becomes evident that the appointment of the heir to the throne as co-regent was only sporadically practised in the Northern Kingdom ... In the kingdom of Judah, on the other hand, the nomination of a co-regent was the common procedure, beginning from David who, before his death, elevated his son Solomon to the throne. ... When taking into account the permanent nature of the co-regency in Judah from the time of Joash, one may dare to conclude that dating the co-regencies accurately is indeed the key for solving the problems of biblical chronology in the eighth century B.C." ("Historical and Chronological Notes on the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the Eighth Century B.C.," *VT* 36 [1986]: 91).

[10]Siegfried Horn, "The Chronology of King Hezekiah's Reign," *AUSS* 2 (1964): 48-49; T. C. Mitchell and Kenneth Kitchen, *NBD* 217; Leslie McFall, "A Translation Guide to the Chronological Data in Kings and Chronicles," *BSac* 148 (1991): 33-34.

[11]*Ant.* I. iii.3/80, *Seder 'Olam* 4; *b. Rosh Hashanah* 11b.

the data for the construction of the Temple (*Mysterious Numbers* 51-52) and the chronological data for the cleansing of the Temple in the days of Josiah (2 Chron 34:8-35:1) show that the years of these Judean kings could not have been reckoned according to a Nisan calendar, and so they must have considered the king's year to start in Tishri. The synchronisms of Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah with Uzziah show that Israel's calendar was not the same as Judah's. When the assumption is made that Israel was using Nisan years, then the reign lengths and synchronisms all fall into place with an exactitude that is seen only when a precise notation is used to express the chronological data. This exactitude for all these kings has never been realized by scholars who start with presuppositions that do not let the scriptural data reveal the methods of the ancient scribes, and one of the ways their inaccuracies and disagreements with the data are hidden is by the use of an inexact notation.

2. Consistency with the Scriptural Texts
for the Northern Kingdom

In all these matters, Thiele's knowledge of ancient practices and his reasoning and research were clear and convincing enough that his date for the beginning of the divided monarchy has found wide acceptance by many influential scholars. Among these are T. C. Mitchell in *CAH*,[12] Jack Finegan in his *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*,[13] and Kenneth Kitchen in his various writings.[14] Even scholars such as Gershon Galil, who do not agree with some of Thiele's other dates, nevertheless accept 931 B.C. as the date for the division of the kingdom.[15] This date was determined by working back from the fixed dates of Ahab's presence at the Battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C. and Jehu's tribute to Shalmaneser III in 841 B.C. By using Israel's nonaccession counting and Nisan-based calendar, the total of years from the division of the kingdom to the Battle of Qarqar was shown to be seventy-eight years. Adding these to the 853 B.C. date of the Battle of Qarqar placed the first year of the divided monarchy as the year beginning on Nisan 1 of 931 B.C. That Thiele's method in this was based on sound principles is shown by the fact that, unknown to Thiele when he first determined these matters, V. Coucke of the Grande Seminaire de Bruges had independently, some years before, also determined that the first kings of Judah used accession years starting in Tishri, while their counterparts in Israel used nonaccession years starting in Nisan.[16] The observation that these two scholars

[12]"Israel and Judah until the Revolt of Jehu (931-841 B.C.)," *CAH* 3, Part 1, 445-446.

[13]Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, rev. ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998), 249.

[14]E.g., *NBD* 219; *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 83.

[15]Gershon Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 14.

[16]V. Coucke, "Chronique biblique" in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Louis

discovered these principles independently attests to the high probability that these were the methods actually used by the ancient court recorders. Thiele further demonstrated that the chronology built on these principles was consistent with Assyrian data other than just the Battle of Qarqar, such as the records of the campaigns of Shalmaneser V. Thiele's chronology of the northern kingdom is therefore internally consistent and consistent with the scriptural texts involved, and it is externally consistent with the principles of ancient dating methods and with various synchronisms to Israel from the records of Assyria. There is still some disagreement among scholars about the closing years of the northern kingdom, particularly among those who do not recognize a rival reign for Pekah before he assassinated Pekahiah,[17] but no alternative to Thiele's dates for the beginning years of the northern kingdom has found any consensus of scholarly support. Thiele's careful and reasonable scholarship in this regard (previewed, as it were, by Coucke) should be recognized as the first and most important verification for the soundness of his date for the division of the kingdom.

3. Adjustments Needed for the Southern Kingdom

But there was a fly in the ointment in the matter of Thiele's dates for the first rulers of the southern kingdom. As was mentioned above, Thiele's discovery of the methods of recording regnal years in the books of Kings and Chronicles led to the conclusion that the division of the kingdom occurred in the year that followed the first of Nisan, 931 B.C. The problem arose when Thiele, for some reason he never explained, assumed that the division of the kingdom occurred not just at sometime in that year, but in the latter half of the year. With this

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Pirot ed., vol. 1 (1928), cited in Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers*, 59, n. 17.

[17]Another area of contention for those who disagree with Thiele's dates for the end of the northern kingdom is the tribute given by Menahem to Tiglath-Pileser III (2 Kgs 15:19-20, where Pul = Tiglath-Pileser), which Tadmor (*Inscriptions*, 268) dated to 738 B.C., about three and one-half years later than the death of Menahem according to Thiele's chronology. The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser at Calah listed the tribute of Menahem and other kings before describing events pertaining to 737 B.C., and this is the basis for Tadmor's dating the tribute to 738. Thiele expected that the publication of Tiglath-Pileser's "Iran Stele" would show that the tribute list from Calah was a summary list, such as Tiglath-Pileser used elsewhere (*Mysterious Numbers*, 162). Summary lists combine names of those who gave tribute in various years, and if the Calah list were a summary list, it would imply that Menahem's tribute could have been given at any time between 745 B.C. (the first year of Tiglath-Pileser) and 738. Thiele died in 1986 and Tadmor did not publish in full the extant portions of the Iran Stele until his book on Tiglath-Pileser appeared in 1994. In that publication, it was shown that the tribute list of the Iran Stele was unequivocally a summary list (Tadmor, 263). Therefore the Calah list does not necessarily imply the 738 B.C. date for Menahem's tribute. There is a fuller discussion of the significance of the Iran Stele for the date of Menahem's tribute at the end of my article "Inductive and Deductive Methods As Applied to OT Chronology," *TMSJ* 18 (2007), 113-115.

assumption, the first year of Rehoboam, according to the Judean regnal year that began in Tishri, was the year that began in Tishri of 931 B.C. But if the division of the kingdom had occurred some time between Nisan 1 and Tishri 1 of 931, then Rehoboam's official accession year would have started in Tishri of 932, not Tishri of 931. In terms of the Nisan/Tishri notation that can be used for exactness here, the two possibilities for Rehoboam's accession year are 932t and 931t, where the "t" stands for a year beginning in Tishri of the B.C. year indicated. Jeroboam's accession year, which began in Nisan according to the practice of all the northern kings, can be written as 931n.[18] If Thiele had used an exact notation like this instead of the ambiguous convention of 931/30, then perhaps he would have seen the fly in the ointment earlier than he did. Sometime after the publication of the second edition of *Mysterious Numbers*, either Thiele discovered the problem or it was pointed out to him. His attempt to fix it resulted in the changes of his chronology that appeared in the third edition. Since this is a small matter of only one year, and since the problem was obscured by Thiele's lack of a precise notation, Thiele's dates will be translated into the Nisan/Tishri notation in order to demonstrate the disparity.

In all three editions of *Mysterious Numbers*, Thiele gave the beginning year for Asa as 911t. This was based on a chronology of Judah that worked down from Rehoboam's assumed accession in 931t (i.e., starting in the latter half of 931n), followed by Rehoboam's seventeen-year reign and Abijah's three-year reign. The coregency of Asa with his son Jehoshaphat was assumed to begin in Asa's thirty-ninth year, in keeping with the illness that Asa contracted in that year (2 Chron 16:12). By Judah's accession reckoning, Asa's thirty-ninth year would be 911t − 39 = 872t. Thiele, however, had calculated the beginning of Jehoshaphat's twenty-five years by reckoning upwards from the time of Ahaziah of Judah and Jehu of Israel. The latter's accession year was fixed by the tribute to Shalmaneser in 841 B.C., and the calculations working from this date indicated that Jehoshaphat began his coregency in 873t, not the 872t derived when working down from Rehoboam. The disparity was perhaps obscured by Thiele's notation (in the second edition) that the Asa/Jehoshaphat coregency began in 873/72, which the casual reader might think meant "some time in 873 or some time in 872," and so pass over what was really a one-year inconsistency. The court recorders of Israel and Judah were keeping a strict calendar, as can be shown by all the other synchronisms that work out exactly, and so it would be inconsistent if there were a one-year inaccuracy here and nowhere else.

    [18]Leslie McFall introduced a similar exact notation in which his 931Apr is equivalent to 931n and 931Sep (931Oct would have been better) is equivalent to 931t ("Translation Guide," 3-45). It is regrettable that Thiele never adopted a more precise notation such as this. It is even more regrettable that it is still not adopted by many who write in this field. When an author writes that Jeroboam began to reign in 931/30, does this mean in the year starting on Nisan 1 of 931 B.C., or the year starting on Tishri 1 of 931? Or does it mean at some time in either 931 or 930 B.C. and the author doesn't know which year?

Thiele later became aware that his beginning year for Jehoshaphat was one year too early, as compared with the thirty-ninth year of Asa. Whenever it was that Thiele realized that there was a problem, he would have been faced with three options: (1) move the beginning of the Asa/Jehoshaphat coregency down one year to 872t, which would necessarily also place the following kings of Judah one year later; (2) abandon the idea that the coregency necessarily started in the same year as Asa's illness began;[19] or (3) preserve the coincidence of the year of illness with the beginning of the coregency by moving the start of Asa's reign one year earlier, to 912t, so that his thirty-ninth year would match the beginning of Jehoshaphat's coregency as given in the first and second editions (i.e., 873t). This last option, if carried out thoroughly, would have resulted in the adjusted chronology supported in my paper on the date of Solomon's death,[20] which places that event in 932t, implying with it corresponding adjustments for all these first kings of Judah. It would also have meant that the court recorders of Judah and Israel recognized fully the way that regnal years were recorded in the other kingdom. In Thiele's (and McFall's) system, the court recorders recognized when the other kingdom's calendar year began, but they imposed their own choice in the accession vs. nonaccession question on the data for the other kingdom. Option (3) also would have preserved the agreement between the onset of Asa's illness and the installation of Jehoshaphat as coregent. For these reasons, Thiele would have done better to choose option (3) and move the regnal years of Asa and his predecessors back one year, rather than moving Jehoshaphat and those who followed him down one year (the first option). As it is, his solution of moving them down one year led to a conflict at the point where he stopped moving the years forward, in the reigns of Ahaziah and Athaliah. In Thiele's third edition, he wrote that Athaliah's reign ended "at some time between Nisan and Tishri of 835. . . . That gave Athaliah a reign of seven years, nonaccession-year reckoning, or six actual years."[21] Writing this in a precise notation means that her ending year was 836t, so that her starting year was 842t. This is in conflict with Thiele's ending date of 841t for her predecessor, Ahaziah. Thiele's solution of moving the starting dates of Jehoshaphat through Athaliah one year later is therefore not acceptable. Section III below will provide another reason why the proper solution to Thiele's one-year inaccuracy for the first kings of Judah would have been to move Asa and his predecessors, including Solomon, one year earlier.

In order to accommodate his revised dates for Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah in Judah, Thiele's third edition moved the date of the beginning of Jehu's reign six months later, thus making it consistent with his new dates for Ahaziah of Judah, who was killed by Jehu at the start of Jehu's

[19]This option was taken by McFall ("Translation Guide," 17-19). McFall thereby avoided Thiele's error, and his chronology for the first kings of Judah is internally consistent, unlike Thiele's attempted resolution.

[20]Rodger C. Young, "When Did Solomon Die?" *JETS* 46 (2003): 589-603.

[21]Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers*, 104.

reign. This move, from the first half of the year starting in Nisan of 841 B.C. to the second half of that year, did not change the sum of reign lengths of the northern kingdom, because for calculation purposes Jehu still began in the same Nisan-based year. This minor change is the only modification in the years of the northern kings that Thiele made from his first publication in 1944 through the rest of his writings until his death in 1986. There are two other very minor adjustments to the dates of the northern kingdom that need to be made: the first is that if we accept the Hezekiah/Hoshea synchronisms of 2 Kgs 18 that Thiele rejected, then the synchronism of 2 Kgs 18:10 can be used to restrict the death of Hoshea to the first half of 723n rather than allowing for the full year as Thiele did.[22] The second minor adjustment, already mentioned, is that Thiele was not justified in assuming that Jeroboam I began to reign in the second half of the year 931n; his reign could have begun at any time in this year. However, because of the time lapse between Solomon's death and the division of the kingdom, Thiele's date of 931n for the beginning of the divided monarchy should still be maintained.[23]

It follows that Thiele's date of 931n for the start of the divided monarchy was fully justified, and it is only his placing of Solomon's death after Tishri of that year that needs to be rejected. It could even be said that the date for Jehu's accession in Thiele's first and second editions of *Mysterious Numbers* is more probable than the six-month adjustment in that date that appeared in the third edition, and hence it can be argued that there has been no reason to change any of these dates for the northern kingdom since they first appeared in Thiele's introductory article in 1944,[24] except for the slight refinement for the death of Hoshea to the first half of 723n and the slight "anti-refinement" for the start of Jeroboam to 931n rather than restricting it to the latter half of that year. With these very minor adjustments, the dates for the northern kings are internally consistent with themselves and with the synchronisms given to the southern kingdom. It has already been shown that Thiele's chronology is built on principles that can be demonstrated to have been operative in the ancient Near East. The work of Coucke and Thiele in applying these principles to the understanding of the biblical texts has earned the respect of many in the scholarly world, and it may safely be said that the Thiele (or Thiele/McFall) chronology of the divided kingdom has won wider acceptance than any alternative chronology for the time. The chief criticisms of Thiele's method have come from those who built their chronologies on preconceived theories, rather than on the demonstrated practices of the ancient scribes. But there is no general agreement on a chronology of the divided kingdom among those who follow this path of starting with

[22]This adjustment is shown in McFall, 35.

[23]Although Solomon died before Tishri of 931, it was a few weeks or months before Jeroboam returned from Egypt and the division of the kingdom occurred. We do not know whether this time crossed the Tishri 1 boundary. Consequently, we cannot determine in which half of 931n Jeroboam became king of the breakaway tribes.

[24]Thiele, "Chronology," 184.

presuppositions, nor will any ever be achieved. The diverse presuppositions offered by these scholars necessarily produce diverse results.[25]

III. Second Verification: The Jubilee and Sabbatical Cycles

1. The Dates of the Jubilees

A good portion of my own work has focused on the Sabbatical and Jubilee cycles. There are several facets to this. One facet was establishing that the Hebrew text of Ezek 40:1 implies that a Jubilee was scheduled to begin at the time Ezekiel saw the vision that occupies the last nine chapters of his book. This was the subject of my previous article in *AUSS*.[26] Another article, in *WTJ*, examined rabbinic traditions (*Seder 'Olam* and the Talmuds) regarding this Jubilee in the days of Ezekiel.[27] These traditions stated that Ezekiel's Jubilee was the seventeenth Jubilee, and they placed another Jubilee forty-nine years earlier, in the eighteenth year of Josiah. It was shown that rabbinic traditions could not have invented this date by back-calculating from Ezekiel's Jubilee because the known calculation methods of the early rabbis were incapable of correctly calculating the years from Josiah to the vision of Ezek 40–48. Both the *WTJ* article and the *AUSS* article gave extensive documentation on why the Jubilee cycle was forty-nine years, citing the second-century B.C. *Book of Jubilees* and literature from Qumran, and also establishing the forty-nine year cycle by arguments based on practical and textual matters related to the Jubilee.

The two papers determined the date of the last two Jubilees according to the Julian calendar, and then gave evidence that the times of the Jubilees were known to Israel's priests ever since the entry into Canaan. Since the Jubilee was identical to the seventh Sabbatical year, the establishment of the date of Ezekiel's vision as occurring on the tenth of Tishri[28] (November 2[29]), 574 B.C.,

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[25]For a critique of the deductive method used by the majority of Thiele's critics—a method that unfortunately dominates much of biblical interpretation—see my "Inductive and Deductive" article.

[26]Rodger C. Young, "Ezekiel 40:1 As a Corrective for Seven Wrong Ideas in Biblical Interpretation," *AUSS* 44 (2006): 265-283.

[27]Rodger C. Young, "The Talmud's Two Jubilees and Their Relevance to the Date of the Exodus," *WTJ* 68 (2006): 71-83.

[28]Jubilee and Sabbatical years began in the month of Tishri (*b. Rosh HaShanah* 1a). Ordinary Sabbatical years began on the first day of the month, but in a Jubilee year the New Year's Day (Rosh HaShanah) was on the tenth of the month (Lev 25:9-10). Ezekiel's vision was on Rosh HaShanah and also the tenth of the month (Ezek 40:1, Heb.).

[29]My "Ezekiel 40:1 As a Corrective" paper, 271, n. 12, incorrectly adjusted this date by one day from the date that would be derived from the tables of Richard Parker and Walter Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75* (Providence: Brown University, 1956), 28. I have since learned from an astronomer that the time between the technical new moon and the first visibility of crescent is longer than I had been assuming, and so the NASA tables of new moons are basically in agreement with the

allows a complete calendar of pre-exilic Sabbatical and Jubilee cycles to be constructed. Projecting this calendar backward in time shows that the first year of the first Jubilee (and Sabbatical) cycle was the year beginning in Nisan of 1406 B.C. According to Lev 25:1-10, counting for the Jubilee cycles was to start when Israel entered Canaan, and so the Jubilee cycles establish Nisan of 1406 as the date of crossing the Jordan. The exodus, forty years earlier, was in 1446 B.C. The chronological note of 1 Kgs 6:1 states that Temple construction began 479 years after this, in the second month of the 480th year of the exodus era, which would be in the spring of 967 B.C. The same verse says that this was the fourth year of Solomon. Since Judean regnal years began in the fall, Solomon's fourth year was therefore 968t, and his fortieth and last year was 932t. This overlaps the first six months of the year 931n that Thiele established for the beginning of the divided kingdom, thereby providing another demonstration that Thiele's assumption that Solomon died in the latter half of this year, not in the first half, was not justified. As mentioned earlier, that assumption led Thiele into problems that he never resolved. It is this date, 931n, that is in exact agreement with the dates for Solomon derived from the Jubilee cycles, as long as we do not try to put Solomon's death on or after Tishri 1 of that year.

The date of the death of Solomon, as calculated from the Jubilee cycles, is thus in agreement with Thiele's determination that the year beginning in Nisan of 931 B.C. was the first year of the divided monarchy. The two methods of deriving these dates agree.

Are they independent? The method of Jubilees does not rely on any reign length, synchronism, or date as given in the Scriptures except the single date that can be derived for Ezekiel's vision, along with the associated data that help us to fix that date. Once that vision is established as occurring on the Day of Atonement, 574 B.C., the calendar of Jubilee cycles establishes that Nisan of 1406 B.C. began a Jubilee cycle. Alternately, by the reign-length method, the reign-length data of the MT that establish Solomon's fourth year as beginning in Tishri of 968, when combined with the chronological notice of 1 Kgs 6:1, give 1406 as the year of entrance into Canaan. Based on the Jubilee cycle length of forty-nine years, there is only one chance in forty-nine that 1406 B.C. would begin a Jubilee cycle, as Ezek 40:1 leads us to expect. The tradition of the Talmud and the *Seder 'Olam* that Ezekiel's Jubilee was the seventeenth Jubilee would make 1406 not just the beginning of a Jubilee cycle, but the beginning of the very first cycle, thereby providing additional evidence that counting for the Jubilee and Sabbatical years began at that time. The dates of Solomon, along with the dates of the exodus, are thus confirmed by both the method of reign lengths and the method of Jubilees. The Jubilees method does not use reign lengths, and the reign-lengths method does not use Jubilees, in establishing these dates. The two methods are independent, and they agree.

tables of Parker and Dubberstein. The same correction would apply to the date given in n. 8 of p. 269 of the article.

2. The Dates of Pre-exilic Sabbatical Years

During the same year when the two papers on the Jubilees were published, my two-part article on pre-exilic Sabbatical years appeared in the *Jewish Bible Quarterly*.[30] This dealt with the well-documented rabbinic tradition that the burning of the First Temple by the Babylonians and the burning of the Second by the Romans both happened in the "latter part" (*motsae*) of a Sabbatical year.[31] This would imply that a Sabbatical year began in Tishri of 588, nine months before Jerusalem fell in the summer of 587 B.C. In order to determine if the tradition that 588t was a Sabbatical year is correct, this date was correlated with the mention in Scripture of activities that would normally be associated with a Sabbatical year. The first of these was the release of slaves by Zedekiah during the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem (Jer 34:8-10), for which I built on the work of William Whiston, Cyrus Gordon, and Nahum Sarna.[32] Sarna's work used the chronological note of Ezek 30:20-21 and other texts to date the emancipation to Tishri of 588, which agrees with the tradition that Jerusalem fell in a Sabbatical year when we correctly place the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. The second activity associated with a Sabbatical year was the reading of the Law to the people in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 Kgs 23:1-2), an activity that was commanded for a Sabbatical year in Deut 31:10-11. The eighteenth year of Josiah was 623t, which was thirty-five years, or five Sabbatical cycles, before the Sabbatical year 588t, so 623t was also a Sabbatical year.

Second Chronicles 17:7-9 relates another instance of the public reading of the Law. Jehoshaphat, in the third year of his reign, commissioned various officers, Levites, and priests to read the Torah in all the towns of Judah. The only two synchronisms given to Jehoshaphat's reign, in 1 Kgs 22:51 and 2 Kgs

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[30]Rodger C. Young, "*Seder Olam* and the Sabbaticals Associated with the Two Destructions of Jerusalem," *JBQ* 34 (2006); Part I: 173-179; Part II: 252-259. In order to keep the discussion simple, no attempt was made in this two-part article to relate the Sabbatical years to the Jubilee. The timing of the pre-exilic Sabbatical years can be determined independently of their timing based on the Jubilees, but the two methods agree on the timing of the Sabbatical years.

[31]*Seder 'Olam* 30; *t. Ta 'anit* 3:9; *y. Ta 'anit* 4:5; *b. 'Arakin* 11b; *b. 'Arakin* 12a; *b. Ta 'anit* 29a. As discussed in my "*Seder Olam* and the Sabbaticals" article, Part I, some translations of these passages into English mistranslate the passage to say that the burning of the Temples occurred in the year after a Sabbatical year.

[32]William Whiston, "Dissertation V, Upon the Chronology of Josephus," *Josephus: Complete Works*, trans. Wm. Whiston (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1964), 703; Cyrus Gordon, "Sabbatical Cycle or Seasonal Pattern?" *Or* 22 (1953): 81; Nahum Sarna, "Zedekiah's Emancipation of Slaves and the Sabbatical Year," *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Harry Hoffner Jr. (Neukirchen: Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1973), 144-145. Although the original intention of the law for the release of slaves was that it was to be done after six years of service as measured from when the service started (Deut 15:12), in later years it became customary to associate the release with a Sabbatical year, a custom that Sarna, 148, demonstrates by citing the *Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan*.

3:1, measure the years from the start of his sole reign, and so his third year in 2 Chron 17:7-9 should probably be measured in the same way, rather than from the start of his coregency with Asa. In keeping with the regnal years for Jehoshaphat,[33] Jehoshaphat's sole reign began in 871t and his third year was 868t. According to the calendar of pre-exilic Jubilee and Sabbatical years, this was not only a Sabbatical year; it was also the eleventh Jubilee.[34] Jehoshaphat's action is in keeping with one of the purposes of the Sabbatical year. Field work was forbidden (the ground was to lie fallow), but other kinds of work and activity were allowed, unlike the weekly Sabbath, when no laborious work was to be done. Freed from labor in the fields, the Israelite who was obeying the Law could have devoted his time to improving his home, developing some art or craft, or study, and here the study of the Law of God would surely take preeminence, even as came to be the case for the Sabbath day. Consistent with this, Deut 31:10-13 ordains that at the very onset of a Sabbatical year, in the Feast of Tabernacles, the Law was to be read to everyone, thereby giving an example of one of the activities that the people could profitably undertake during the year when they were freed from ordinary agricultural pursuits. Determining that Jehoshaphat's third year was a Sabbatical year therefore helps us to understand the motivation behind the king's commissioning of teaching teams for the cities of Judah. It shows that the command in the book of Deuteronomy to expound the Law in a Sabbatical year was known and respected as the Word of God in the time of Jehoshaphat.[35] It also suggests that the timing of the Sabbatical years, when this teaching was to be done, was known. Further, this offers another demonstration in support of 871t as the beginning of Jehoshaphat's sole reign, instead of the chronology of Thiele and McFall that places Jehoshaphat's reign one year later, which was ruled out above on other grounds. Finally and most importantly, the fact that this year fits the calendar of Sabbatical and Jubilee years that can be constructed from the start of counting in 1406 B.C. is one more evidence that Israel really did enter the land in that year, with the book of Leviticus in its possession. Although various individual activities that were part of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years (such as the forgiving of a debt or the release of a slave) are

[33]Advocated in Section II.3 above, and in Young, "Solomon."

[34]Interestingly, Ferdinand Hitzig maintained that the year that Jehoshaphat sent forth the teachers of the Law would have been a Jubilee year (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel* [Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1869], 1:9 and 198-199). Hitzig's opinion is cited approvingly by Otto Zöchler in Lange's *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960), commentary on 2 Chron 17:7.

[35]Similar references to events that presuppose Israel's possession of the Mosaic legislation are found in all the historical books of the OT, as far back as the book of Joshua. In Josh 8:34, the book of the Torah is named explicitly, as in the present passage (2 Chron 17:9). Marvelous indeed are the convolutions of those whose presuppositions rule out the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and who therefore must find some way to assign these passages to the cleverness of a late-date deuteronomist or his ephemeral daughters (dtr1, dtr2, . . .).

known in the ancient Near East, it is only in the book of Leviticus that we find any credible candidate for the legislation that instituted these activities on a nationwide and repeating basis.

Although either of these two activities (the release of slaves or the reading of the Law) could have come about, due to special circumstances, in a non-Sabbatical year, yet the fourth instance of activities associated with a Sabbatical year, that of Isa 37:30 and its parallel passage in 2 Kgs 19:29, refers to an activity that would never have been performed except in a Sabbatical year. That activity was the voluntary foregoing of sowing and reaping for a full year. In Isaiah's prophecy, the Assyrians had destroyed the crops of the first year, and the defeat and departure of the Assyrian army came too late in the year for planting. Nevertheless, the people were enjoined not to plant in the next year, which would have no explanation unless that year were a scheduled Sabbatical year. Although the reference here is more definitely to a Sabbatical year than in the other three cases, yet the year involved is more difficult to determine, largely because of the perennial problem of whether there were one or two invasions of Sennacherib. By the one-invasion theory, the Assyrians would have invaded in early 701 B.C., and the siege would have lasted until after planting time in 701 B.C., i.e., into 701t by Judah's calendar. This would imply that 700t, the second year of Isaiah's prophecy, would be a Sabbatical year, and indeed this was the case, since 700t is sixteen Sabbatical cycles before the Sabbatical associated with the fall of Jerusalem in 588t. Most theories advocating a second invasion allow that the second invasion could have been in either 688 or 687 B.C. Since 686t was a Sabbatical year, this favors putting the second invasion in the spring of 687, with the defeat of the Assyrians occurring sometime after the fall planting of that (Julian) year. It is unfortunate that the Sabbatical years do not allow us to make a clear choice between the one-invasion and two-invasion theories, but they do indicate that 687, not 688, should be the preferred year for those who hold to a second invasion.

3. Agreement of the Calendars of Jubilees and Sabbatical Years

This discussion of pre-exilic Sabbatical years was necessary to show that in those instances in which scholars have identified activities that would have been carried out in a Sabbatical year, in each case the year involved is compatible with the year of Ezekiel's Jubilee. Since every Jubilee year was also a Sabbatical year (the Jubilee being identical to the seventh Sabbatical year), a calendar of pre-exilic Sabbatical years can be constructed from Ezekiel's Jubilee and Josiah's Jubilee without any reference to the scriptural allusions to Sabbatical years in the times of Isaiah, Josiah, or Zedekiah, and also without any reference to the tradition that Jerusalem fell in a Sabbatical year. Similarly, the time of the Sabbatical years can be established from the tradition that Jerusalem fell in a Sabbatical year and from the scriptural allusions to Sabbatical years, without any reference to the Jubilees. But the two methods agree: Ezekiel's Jubilee and

Sabbatical year was fourteen years after the Sabbatical year that started in the fall of 588 B.C., during which (in the summer of 587) Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians. The most firm, and best attested, of all these evidences for pre-exilic Sabbatical and Jubilee years is the Jubilee established by the Hebrew text of Ezek 40:1. Nevertheless, the rest of the evidences for their observance add their cumulative weight to the thesis that Israel's priests knew the times of the Jubilee and Sabbatical cycles, and they kept track of them all the time that Israel was in its land. In addition, the counting of these cycles must have started when Israel entered the land, as was commanded in Lev 25:1-10.[36] This is the only satisfactory explanation that has emerged to date of how the priests knew the times that the Jubilees and Sabbatical years were to be observed during the monarchic period, and how all the dates that can be ascertained for these events are in harmony with the start of counting in 1406 B.C., the date that the people of Israel entered the land of Canaan and began counting the years, as commanded in the book of Leviticus.

The calculation of the timing of the Jubilee and Sabbatical cycles is independent of the chronology of the kingdom period established by Thiele and other scholars who refined his dates, such as Siegfried Horn and Leslie McFall. Thiele, Horn, and McFall accepted 586 B.C. as the date of the fall of Jerusalem. This date is not compatible with any of the chronological data of Ezekiel related to Jerusalem's last days, a point that I have stressed at some length elsewhere because of its importance in showing that Jerusalem fell in 587

[36]Rabbinic tradition, as embodied in the Talmud (*b. 'Arakin* 12b, 13a; *b. Kiddushin* 40b) is that counting of the Jubilee cycles and Sabbatical cycles was deferred until fourteen years after the entry into Canaan. This tradition was derived from *Seder 'Olam*, chap. 11. The *Seder 'Olam* is the acknowledged source of the chronological methods of the Talmud, and most of its chronological ideas were uncritically accepted as authoritative by the compilers of the Talmud. The reason for the fourteen-year delay in *Seder 'Olam*, chap. 11, is that Rabbi Yose (primary author of the *Seder 'Olam*) had the *idée fixe* that the total time that Israel spent in its land must come out to an exact number of Jubilee cycles. If that had been the case, then we should have expected that 587 B.C., when the exile began, would have been at the end of a Jubilee period. However, Rabbi Yose cited Ezek 40:1 as designating the time of the seventeenth Jubilee, and since he knew this was fourteen years after the city fell, he presumed that counting had been delayed for fourteen years so that he could account for the fourteen years between the fall of the city and the observance of the seventeenth Jubilee. He also mentioned the previous Jubilee, in the time of Josiah. As much as he would have liked to put these last two Jubilees fourteen years earlier in order to be consistent with his *idée fixe*, Rabbi Yose could not do it because he knew these were historical dates, not dates that came from his own calculation. Rabbi Yose's reasoning in this is altogether confused, starting as it does from a wrong presupposition. An adequate analysis of his treatment of pre-exilic Jubilee and Sabbatical years, and the difficulties that the genuine Jubilees in the days of Josiah and Ezekiel presented to him, has never been published. This is in spite of the fact that the chronological methods of the *Seder 'Olam* are the basis not only of the chronological systems of the Talmud, but also of the present *Anno Mundi* reckoning of the Jewish people.

B.C., not 586.[37] Therefore, the starting point for the calculation of Solomon's years, as determined from the Jubilee and Sabbatical cycles, is not in agreement with Thiele's date for the fall of Jerusalem. Neither Thiele's chronology nor the reign lengths of the MT were used in deriving Solomon's regnal years from the Jubilee cycles and Ezek 40:1, but the result reached agrees with both Thiele's chronology (for the northern kingdom, not the southern) and with the reign lengths upon which that chronology was built. The two methods are independent.[38]

IV. *Third Verification: The Tyrian King List*

1. Overview of the Tyrian King List

Josephus, quoting a certain Menander of Ephesus,[39] gives a list of the kings of Tyre from the time of Hiram, contemporary of David and Solomon, down to Pygmalion, who is known from classical authors to have begun his reign in the latter part of the ninth century B.C. The anchor point at the bottom of the list is the seventh year of Pygmalion, the year in which Pygmalion's sister Dido left Tyre, after which she founded the city of Carthage. The events involving Pygmalion and Dido and the founding of Carthage are described by classical authors, and their narrations tie these events to the Roman calendar and the Greek Olympiads.

The problem of determining the original names and reign lengths of these kings has been a matter of considerable scholarly study. As would be expected from the difficulties of transmitting such a list of kings and regnal years over the centuries from the original writing until modern times, there is some variation in the names and individual reign lengths in the various copies of Josephus and those who quote Josephus (Eusebius, Syncellus, and Theophilus of Antioch). A thorough examination of the efforts made by scholars to interpret the reigns of the Tyrian kings was made by William H. Barnes, and it is his work that forms the basis for the present comments on the relevance of these Tyrian kings to the date of the beginning of the divided kingdom.[40]

One of the names in the Tyrian king list has been verified from an Assyrian

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[37]See my detailed analysis of this issue in "When Did Jerusalem Fall?" *JETS* 47 (2004): 21-38, and "Ezekiel 40:1 As a Corrective," 267-270.

[38]Of course, they are dependent in the sense that they are both built on the correct chronology of the time. This is the only adequate explanation yet offered for why the two methods agree.

[39]*Against Apion* I.xvii-xviii/117-126.

[40]William H. Barnes, *Studies in the Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991). Barnes cites and gives credit to many scholars who preceded him in the analysis of the Tyrian king list. He particularly relies on the study of J. Liver, "The Chronology of Tyre at the Beginning of the First Millennium B.C.," *IEJ* 3 (1953): 113-120; and the article of his thesis advisor, Frank M. Cross Jr., "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," *BASOR* 208 (1972): 17, n. 11. The dates of Cross and Barnes for Solomon's reign and the start of construction of the Temple are identical to Liver's.

inscription that records various kings who gave tribute to Shalmaneser III in that monarch's eighteenth year, 841 B.C. According to the work of J. Liver, E. Lipiński, Frank Cross, and Barnes,[41] the name of the Tyrian king in Shalmaneser's list, *Ba'li-manzer*, is to be identified with *Balezeros* in the list of Menander/Josephus, a name separated by one other king (Mattenos) from Pygmalion, the last king listed by Menander/Josephus. Measuring back from the time of Pygmalion across the reign of Mattenos showed that Balezeros would have been on the throne in 841 B.C., the time of Shalmaneser's eighteenth year. Therefore the Tyrian king list is independently verified, for this late period at least, by an inscription from Assyria. The synchronism to Assyria also demonstrates that Josephus, following the Roman author Pompeius Trogus (first century B.C.), was summing the years so that they ended with the departure of Dido from Tyre in the seventh year of the reign of Pygmalion, 825 B.C., rather than ending them with the 814 date derived from other classical authors for the founding of Carthage. If Pygmalion's seventh year had been in 814 instead of 825, then Balezeros could not have reigned as early as 841. Consequently 825 must represent the date of Dido's departure from Tyre, and not, strictly speaking, the year when she founded Carthage. This much seems indicated in the expression that Menander/Josephus used, saying that "It was in the seventh year of [Pygmalion's] reign that his sister took flight, and built the city of Carthage in Libya." [42]

2. Redundancy of the Account

Not all scholars, however, have been willing to accept the chronology given by the Tyrian king list. Those who hesitate to accept it can point out that the sum of the reigns of the kings from Hiram through Pygmalion varies somewhat among the various copies of Josephus, and in no case does it add up to the 155 years that Josephus gives for the total from the accession of Hiram, contemporary of David and Solomon, until the seventh year of Pygmalion. The various spellings of the names and the slightly varying reign lengths of the individual kings, as found in the extant MSS of Josephus (and also in Eusebius, Syncellus, and Theophilus), are all to be expected. These are discussed by Barnes, but this is not the relevant issue as far as the larger chronological issue

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[41]Liver, 119; E. Lipiński, "Ba 'li-Ma'zer II and the Chronology of Tyre," *Rivista degli studi orientali* (RSO) 45 (1970): 59-65, cited in Barnes, 46; Cross, 17, n. 11; Barnes, 46-48.

[42]*Against Apion* I.xviii/125 (Thackeray, LCL). Barnes, 51-52, clarifies that the seventh year of Pygmalion should be understood as referring specifically to the year of Dido's departure from Tyre. He writes that the text of Menander that Josephus was following "probably stated only that Elissa (also known as Dido) fled Tyre in the seventh year of Pygmalion's reign, not that she founded Carthage in that year. Nevertheless, Josephus himself, probably relying on Pompeius Trogus, did specifically date the founding of Carthage to the same year as Elissa's departure from Tyre, i.e. the seventh year of Pygmalion, or 825 B.C.E." Barnes is following here J. M. Peñuela, "La Inscripción Asiria IM 55644 y la Cronología de los reyes de Tiro," *Sefarad* 14 (1954): 28-29 and nn. 164-167. Pompeius Trogus dated the founding of Carthage or Dido's flight to seventy-two years before the founding of Rome (753 B.C.).

is concerned. The important issue is the overall number of years. In this, Barnes expresses some surprise that virtually all MSS agree:

> It should be emphasized that this exact figure of "155 years and 8 months" from the accession of Hiram (*Eirōmos*) to the founding of Carthage is attested in virtually all of the textual witnesses (in Syn[cellus] it is not explicit, but see below; Eus ex gr alone reads "155 years and 18 months,"[43] cf. above, note i). This textual unanimity is all the more striking when one considers that none of the regnal figures as now extant in the various texts add up to this figure (all except Eus Arm fall short.)[44]

The unanimity of these sources regarding the total years from Hiram to Dido's flight is a natural consequence of the redundancy in Josephus's account. Redundancy is used by information engineers (and authors!) to guarantee the correct transmission of a text or of any other information. When there is only one datum to be transmitted for a given item, then the presence of "noise" during the transmission can cause that datum to be lost or distorted. But if a piece of information is sent multiple times, and especially if it is expressed in more than one way, then the likelihood of correct transmission is greatly enhanced. In the case of transmission of ancient texts, "noise" can arise from the errors or deliberate changes of copyists, as well as from a poorly preserved text from which the copy was made.

The text of Josephus for the Tyrian kings has redundancy, and this is what has preserved the all-important totality of years from the corruption of copyists' errors. In the following quotes from the *Against Apion* passage; I have italicized the redundant words:

> For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations. It is there recorded that the Temple at Jerusalem was built by King Solomon *143 years and eight months before the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians.*

After this citation from the Tyrian records, Josephus introduces Menander of Ephesus, and cites the list of kings derived from him. He quotes Menander as follows: "It was in the seventh year of [Pygmalion's] reign that his sister took flight, and built the city of Carthage in Libya." After this quotation, Josephus continues in his own words:

> The whole period from the accession of Hirom to the foundation of Carthage thus amounts to *155 years and eight months*; and since the temple at Jerusalem was built *in the twelfth year of King Hirom's reign, 143 years and eight months elapsed between the erection of the temple and the foundation of Carthage.*[45]

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[43]This cannot be original. If this were the correct total, it would have been written as 156 years and six months. The original reading must have been 155 years and eight months, consistent with all other manuscripts.

[44]Barnes, 44.

[45]Josephus, *Against Apion* I:xvii-xviii/107-126 (Thackeray, LCL). "Hirom" transliterates the form of Hiram's name that appears in the Greek text of Josephus.

The redundancy in these passages is what prevented the corruption of the total years during the transmission of these texts over the centuries. The redundancy extends to more than just the repetition of the figure of 143 years and eight months for the time from the start of construction of Solomon's Temple until Dido left Tyre. The 143 years is in agreement with the 155 years assigned for this time from Hiram's accession until Dido's departure, minus the twelve years from Hiram's accession until the building of the Temple. Not only is there repetition of the 143 years, but the other two numbers express the same total by their difference. The whole passage in Josephus must be viewed in light of this fortuitous multiple redundancy. If it had not been constructed this way and we had only one number for the time between the construction of the Temple and the seventh year of Pygmalion, then we would have as much uncertainty about this figure as we do for some of the individual lengths of reign.

It could be argued that although the redundancy in Josephus's writing has preserved correctly the total years for the Tyrian kings, this redundancy applies only to what is preserved in the writings of Josephus, not to what he received from Menander or the Tyrian court records. According to Christine Tetley, whose chronology is contradicted by the Tyrian King List, the list was corrupted between the time it was recorded by Menander or the official Tyrian record-keepers and the time it was cited by Josephus some hundreds of years later.[46] If this were true, then the redundancy that has preserved correctly the total of years from Hiram to Pygmalion would only be a redundancy that preserved the figures that Josephus had before him, but these figures were corrupted (according to Tetley) before they got to Josephus.

This is not likely. Redundancy, thus guaranteeing accuracy, must also be attributed to the figures that Josephus used when he wrote *Against Apion*. The redundancy here is of a slightly different sort, but in its way it is fully as effective as the various cross-checks—the 155 years, the twelve years, and the 143 years—that have been preserved in Josephus's writings. Josephus (*Against Apion* I.xvii/108) cited the records of the Tyrians as showing that 143 years and eight months passed between the start of construction of Solomon's Temple and the founding of Carthage (i.e., Dido's flight). According to Josephus, such records were still extant when he wrote. After this citation of the Tyrian records, Josephus went on to cite Menander, giving the reign lengths of the various Tyrian kings for this span of time. Menander's lengths of reign must have added up to the total given in the Tyrian records when Josephus copied them, although these individual numbers, as mentioned above, were prone to later corruption in the copies of Josephus that have come down to us. But when Josephus had his copy of Menander before him, there must have been agreement, and redundancy, between the individual reign lengths given by Menander and the overall sum that was given in the Tyrian records, and

[46]M. Christine Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology of the Divided Kingdom* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 171. See my review of Tetley's work on 278ff. of this issue of *AUSS*.

probably also between Menander's individual reign lengths and his sum of years. Redundancy therefore preserved the correct totals until Josephus could examine them. After Josephus transcribed these numbers, his multiple ways of specifying the total number of years provided a second framework of redundancy, one which preserved this total down to our time.

3. Other Criticisms of the Tyrian King List

One reviewer of Barnes's treatment of the Tyrian king list comments that "[t]he chronological calculations for the founding date of the temple in relation to the founding of Carthage come from Josephus, who lived in the first century C.E. and who used the Bible as a reliable source for ancient Judahite chronology, taking its statements at face value."[47] The reviewer goes on to further express her disdain for both Josephus and the Scripture as sources for historical information, but the only substantive criticisms of the Tyrian king list are her comments that there were two dates given by classical authors for the founding of Carthage, and that the list would necessarily have developed copyists' errors through transmission over time. Both these concerns were dealt with at length in the preceding section. Such negative comments about the Bible and Josephus, however, do remind us to check our sources and consider whether there might have been any reason to doubt the veracity of these accounts. For the scriptural account, the only bits of information used in constructing a chronology from the Tyrian king list are that the Temple was built in Solomon's fourth year, and that Solomon ruled forty years. Although minimalists may challenge whether the First Temple ever existed or whether there was a king named Solomon, this is hardly the approach of rational scholarship. Neither does there seem to be any cogent reason for disbelieving the Bible's statements that Solomon reigned forty years and Temple construction began in his fourth year of reign. Turning to the credibility of the information from Josephus, we can ask if there was any reason for Josephus to falsify the Tyrian data. Was there a historian named Menander, and did he write about the Tyrian kings? If not, Josephus would have been making a claim that would be seen as false by any learned person in his day, and this was just the audience for whom he was writing. Granted then that the writings of Menander were known, would Josephus have quoted them wrongly? Again, he would have lost his credibility by so doing, and what possible motive could he have for it? Would he claim that the Tyrian records were in existence in his own day for anyone to examine if that were not so? It is not enough to just express disbelief in these matters; the proper method of criticism must be to explain how Josephus (and the Bible) could have falsified the relevant data, and give the motives for their doing so.[48]

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[47]Diana Edelman, review of Barnes in *JNES* 54 (1995): 158.

[48]A contrast to the above-mentioned reviewer's skepticism of Josephus's citations of Menander and Dius (another Hellenistic historian) regarding the Tyrian kings is given in H. Jacob Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem: Goldberg's Press, 1973) 79-80.

One scholar who usually does not start with the unproven presuppositions of radical scholarship, but instead builds his historical interpretations on the sound findings of archaeology, is Kenneth Kitchen. In his field of specialty (Egyptology) there are few scholars who have such an in-depth knowledge of ancient customs and practices. We then might expect a fair criticism of the Tyrian king list from this outstanding scholar. In his review of Barnes's book, Kitchen wrote the following regarding the Tyrian king list:

> It is worth pointing out here that the Tyrian list is known only in imperfect copies via Josephus almost a millennium after its span (c. 980-800 BC globally), in Greek, in an indifferent textual tradition and subject to two rival dates for the founding of Carthage (814 or 825 BC). This is a very poor starting-point to presume to adjust the far more detailed, far longer, better-connected, and basically more reliable chronological schema in Kings, transmitted in its own language. Barnes (largely relying on Cross as mentor) opts for 825 BC for Carthage's founding—which has at least a 50% chance of being correct, and may be.[49]

The concern about "imperfect copies" that came to Josephus "almost a millennium after its span" was considered in the preceding section, where it was shown that these concerns were irrelevant because what is important is the redundancy that guaranteed that the correct overall length of time would be preserved. Josephus's redundancy, in turn, explains the otherwise amazing fact that virtually all extant copies of Josephus, Eusebius, Syncellus, and Theophilus agree on the number of years from Hiram and Solomon to the flight of Dido. It is also not important that Josephus and Menander wrote in Greek, therefore raising questions about the form of the names of the individual kings; all that is important for the overall span of time is that the famous names of Solomon, Hiram, Pygmalion, and Dido can be recognized. Regarding the "50% chance" for which date to use for the founding of Carthage, Barnes, as quoted above, showed quite convincingly that it was the earlier date, the date of Dido's departure from Tyre, that was intended by Menander, and this has been confirmed by the tribute of Balezeros to Shalmaneser III. In vindication of Liver, Cross, Barnes, and the other scholars who worked with the data of the Tyrian king list, it must be said that all of Kitchen's concerns have been fairly met, and that neither Kitchen nor any other reviewer has provided an adequate reason to reject the usefulness of this list for determining the date of the

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Katzenstein writes, "Dius calls Solomon 'the sovereign of Jerusalem' (ὁ τύραννος Ἱεροσολύμων) while Menander refers to him as 'the king of Jerusalem' (ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς). This appellation is clear proof of the Tyrian source of these passages, for the kings of the Phoenician coast, who ruled principally over one city, looked upon Solomon as a monarch of a city, like themselves; nor did Josephus correct this 'flaw', even in an account where he endeavors to exalt the greatness of Solomon. Great weight must be attached to the testimony of Dius and Menander as cited by Josephus, for these are the only mentions of Solomon's name in a foreign source—perhaps a Tyrian source that stems from the time of Solomon himself."

[49]Kenneth Kitchen, review in EvQ 65 (1993): 249.

founding of Solomon's Temple. It is curious that Kitchen is so half-hearted in support of the Tyrian king list when its chronology agrees with the dates that he accepts for Solomon (*NBD* 219; *On the Reliability*, 83).

4. Chronology of the Tyrian King List

Dating Dido's flight in 825 B.C., Barnes adds the 143 years (and eight months?[50]) and derives 968 for the beginning of Solomon's Temple. He concludes:

> Some adjustment of the regnal totals (or, less likely, of the names) of the Tyrian kings may be required as further evidence comes to light (especially from Mesopotamia), but for the present we may conclude quite confidently that the Tyrian king list of Menander as preserved in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*, 1:117-26, coupled with the dated reference in Shalmaneser's annals to the Tyrian king *Ba'li-manzer* and the date of Pompeius Trogus for the founding of Carthage, provide a firm external synchronism for biblical chronology, and particularly for the dating of the founding of Solomon's temple in 968 (the twelfth year of Hiram of Tyre), as well as the dating of Solomon's accession to 971. A variation of a year or two is possible, of course, especially in the light of our ignorance of Phoenician dating practices,[51] but I seriously doubt that an error of more than two years either way is likely. Reckoning the date of the disruption of the United Monarchy is more problematic: Solomon's biblical 40 year reign is probably a round number (although unlikely to be far off from the exact figure); therefore the

[50]The odd eight months represent the short reign of Phelles, who was four kings before Pygmalion. Josephus (and perhaps Menander) exhibits a certain ineptitude in handling these eight months. When doing the summation, they should either be reckoned as a whole year, or they should not enter into the total. When we are told that Zimri reigned over Israel for seven days, and Zechariah and Shallum for six months and one month respectively, that does not mean that the total of years for all kings of Israel was so many years plus seven months and seven days. The Tyrian king list is constructed in the same way that is seen in the lengths of reign of the kings of Judah and Israel, in that the king is given a full year when his reign crossed a new-year boundary. The only cases where a finer division of time is given is when the king ruled less than one year. Liver, 118, n. 16, is of the opinion that the eight months of Phelles "are included in the last year of his predecessor and the first year of his successor, and we do not need to count them again in the total."

[51]For the Phoenicians, we would face the same chronological questions that Coucke and Thiele had to face when constructing the chronology of the kings of Israel, such as when they started the regnal year. This by itself, if we knew the answer for Tyre, could make a difference of one year when trying to be more exact in tying Tyrian chronology to the reign of Solomon. It is also not certain which calendar Pompeius Trogus was using in dating Dido's flight to seventy-two years prior to the founding of Rome. A final slight uncertainty of one year is the statement in *Ant.* VIII.iii.1/62 that Temple construction began in the eleventh year of Hiram, not twelfth as in *Against Apion*. The figure in *Against Apion* is probably to be preferred, because this was written later than the passage in *Antiquities*, and it has the advantage of the redundancy (the difference of 155 years and 143 years).

date of 932 (assuming ante-dating practice) should be reasonably accurate, . . . At this juncture, it is sufficient to emphasize the following fact: extant extra-biblical sources point with a high degree of precision to the year 968 as the date of the founding of the Solomonic temple, and any future reconstruction of the biblical chronology of the Divided Monarchy must reckon seriously with this datum.[52]

Barnes is using B.C. years here, and he is deliberately not entering into a discussion of the month in which the regnal year started, either for Solomon or for Hiram. With these necessary inexactitudes in mind, he believes that the Tyrian data allow 932 B.C. to be specified for the start of the divided monarchies, within a possible error of only one or two years. My own research on the date of Solomon's death arrived at the Judean year beginning in Tishri of 932 B.C.[53] The biblical data, whether or not someone wants to accept them, allow this degree of precision. Their agreement with the Tyrian data can only strengthen the case for the accuracy of both sets of data—the years of Hebrew kings as interpreted by Thiele, and the years of Tyrian kings as given by Menander and Josephus.[54]

Are these two traditions independent? Throughout the writings of Josephus, he shows that his chronological information and methods were not capable of determining the correct span of time over a period as long as this unless he had some independent and reliable source such as the Tyrian king list. He certainly could not have figured out the years from Pygmalion to Solomon by adding the years of the Judean kings or the Israelite kings. Josephus did not relate the flight of Dido to the reign of a Hebrew king, and so the Tyrian king list is not tied to Hebrew chronology at its lower end; instead, it is tied to Roman and Greek calendars by the classical authors. There is no correlation of this list with the chronological data of the Scriptures except the connection to Solomon at the upper end. The Tyrian data are therefore an independent witness to the dates of Solomon, and scholars such as Liver, Peñuela, Cross,

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[52]Barnes, 54-55. Barnes's dates for the founding of the Temple and for Solomon's regnal years follow Liver, 120, and Cross, 17, n. 11.

[53]Young, "Solomon," 589-603. I was not aware of the evidence from the Tyrian king list when I wrote this article.

[54]It apparently has not been noticed that the Tyrian king list, as transmitted by Josephus, demonstrates that the court records of Tyre measured the reigns of kings in an accession sense, the same as was the practice for the first kings of Judah. If the years had been by nonaccession reckoning, then Menander/Josephus would have made a subtraction of one year from the sum of reign lengths for each king in the list. Since a simple sum was assumed, with no allowance for such a subtraction, accession years must have been used in the Tyrian records. All chronologists should take into account this additional evidence in favor of accession years for the first kings of Judah, just as they should take into account the data for the reigns of Nadab and Baasha, mentioned earlier, that show that Israel at this time was using nonaccession reckoning. If we are too enamored of our own theories we will miss valuable clues like this that indicate how the ancient scribes kept their records.

and Barnes have given credence to the trustworthiness of Solomon's dates that can be derived from Thiele's date for the division of the kingdom. None of these scholars had set out to verify Thiele's date for the beginning of the divided monarchy; Barnes has his own chronology in which he makes various assumptions that conflict both with the biblical data and with Thiele's interpretation of those data. Even though Barnes does not wholeheartedly endorse Thiele's methodology, Barnes's study of the Tyrian king list is a vindication of Thiele's work, especially with regard to Thiele's establishing the date of the beginning of the divided monarchy as the year beginning in Nisan of 931 B.C.

V. *Strengths and Weaknesses of the Three Methods*

The strengths and weaknesses of the three ways of arriving at the date of the division of the kingdom may be summarized as follows, working in reverse order from the above presentation.

- The strong point of the Tyrian king list is the redundancy that guaranteed the preservation of the 155 years from Hiram's accession and the 143 years from his twelfth year to the time of Dido's flight. One weakness, as mentioned above, is the uncertainty of when the calendar year started for the kings of Tyre or how that matched the calendar (probably Roman) that Pompeius Trogus used in measuring seventy-two years between Dido's flight and the founding of Rome. The date of the founding of Rome is itself somewhat uncertain, but it seems probable that Pompeius Trogus was using the date given by Varro (116-27 B.C.), which was April 21, 753 B.C. Finegan writes: "From the middle of the first century B.C. onward, the era based on Varro's date (and hence known as the Varronian era) was the most widely accepted reckoning and that used by the chief Roman writers."[55] Because of the uncertainties mentioned, the chronology of the Tyrian king list is less precise than the other two ways of determining the date of the division of the monarchy. Nevertheless, the interpretation of Liver, Cross, Barnes, and the writers cited by them seems to be the most reasonable interpretation of the relevant data, and the list of Tyrian kings is a credible means of establishing Solomon's dates and hence the date for the division of the kingdom.

- The strong point of the method of Jubilees and Sabbatical cycles in determining the date of the division of the kingdom is the redundancy of all the information that allows the construction of the calendar of pre-exilic Sabbatical and Jubilee years. One part of this redundancy is the exegesis of the pertinent scriptural texts (including Ezek 40:1 that establishes the time of the last Jubilee) and their general agreement on the evidence of pre-exilic Sabbatical and Jubilee years. A second part of the redundancy is the consistency of the traditions related to Ezekiel's Jubilee, Josiah's Jubilee, and the fall of Jerusalem in a Sabbatical year. Binding these together like cement

[55]Finegan, 99.

is the agreement of both tradition and exegesis of scriptural texts with the rhythmic repetition of the Sabbatical years, a rhythm that late-date editors could not have invented. The methods of calculation from after the exile could not even correctly calculate the forty-nine years back from Ezekiel's Jubilee to the Jubilee in Josiah's eighteenth year, much less project these cycles accurately back to the Sabbatical year in Isaiah's day or to the entry of the people into Canaan that started the counting for the cycles. The other strong point for this method is its precision: it allows the final year of Solomon to be precisely dated to 932t, as discussed above. The weak points might be listed as (1) it depends on the authenticity of the 480-year figure of 1 Kgs 6:1, which many scholars have rejected for one or another unjustified reason, and (2) it relies somewhat, although not entirely, on the tradition that Ezekiel's Jubilee was the seventeenth Jubilee, whereas the number of this Jubilee is not given in Scripture. Regarding item (1), the fact that accepting the 480 years of 1 Kgs 6:1 as authentic gives agreement with the other two methods of calculating the time of the division of the kingdom should be sufficient for impartial scholars to accept that the 480 years are historically correct. Scholars who do not think it is authentic need to explain how the date of entry into Canaan that can be deduced from it just happens to be an exact number of Jubilee cycles before Ezekiel's Jubilee. Regarding item (2), the argument was given in my previous writing that if the priests in Ezekiel's day knew which year it was in a Sabbatical cycle, and which Sabbatical cycle it was in a Jubilee cycle (both of which they manifestly did know), then they likely would also have known which Jubilee it was, since the Jubilee and Sabbatical cycles were used in ancient times, and even down to the medieval period, as a long-term calendar.[56] These two "weaknesses" are therefore entirely reasonable assumptions. They are in harmony with the other evidences that the timing of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years was known all the time that Israel was in its land. The various data regarding the Jubilee and Sabbatical years agree with the calendar of such years that can be constructed simply from giving the proper date of Ezekiel's vision in Ezek 40:1. How this agreement has come about has not yet been adequately explained except by the thesis that the priests were counting the cycles ever since the entry into the land in 1406 B.C., as they were commanded to do in Lev 25:1-10.

- The strong points of Thiele's method of arriving at 931n for the start of the divided monarchies have been discussed at length in Section II above. These are (1) the agreement of the methods of reckoning years assumed by Thiele with ancient practice, and (2) the fact that Thiele's method of arriving at this date makes sense of all the biblical texts involved, with no need of emendations or the major unwarranted assumptions (such as no coregencies) used by Thiele's critics. The only weaknesses of Thiele's approach were pointed out as his (minor) unwarranted assumption that Rehoboam began to reign in the latter half of 931n, and his lack of a precise notation.

[56]Young, "Talmud's Two Jubilees," 78-80.

The three methods agree: the first year of the divided monarchy was the year that began in Nisan of 931 B.C., i.e., 931n in the Nisan/Tishri notation. The demonstrated fact that these three methods are fundamentally independent, yet agree with such precision, means that all three methods are basically sound. The work of Edwin Thiele in establishing this date (in point of time the first method published) must then be recognized as one of the most significant contributions ever made in understanding and explaining a difficult biblical topic. The corroboration of this date, as derived from the regnal data of Kings and Chronicles, by two other independent methods has repercussions in the fields of redaction history, historical accuracy of biblical dates, the question of LXX or MT priority in the books of Kings, and questions regarding the date of the exodus. If a revolution in thinking is needed in some of these areas because of this manifest success of Thiele in interpreting the chronological texts of Scripture, then so be it.

NEW VARIANT READING OF JOHN 1:34

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The Greek text of John 1:34 has long puzzled scholars because of a difficult textual variant. Did the original text read so that Jesus is called "the Son of God" (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)[1] or that he is called "the Chosen One of God" (ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ).[2] Textual witnesses have supported both variants, with the former reading having the support of the vast majority of witnesses. A recent discovery regarding the well-known papyrus 𝔓[75] changes this picture.

Marie-Luise Lakmann[3] notes that the scribe of 𝔓[75] originally wrote ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός,[4] then erased ὁ ἐκλεκτός and wrote τοῦ θεοῦ instead. The letters τος are still visible and there are traces of the erased letters despite some lacunae. The textual variants with their supporting witnesses for John 1:34 can now be written follows:[5]

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[1] E.g., Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 172.

[2] E.g., Gordon D. Fee, "Textual Criticism of the New Testament," in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, SD 45 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 3-16.

[3] Marie-Luise Lakmann, private conversations with author, January 18 and 26, 2005. Lakmann works at the Institute für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, Münster, Germany.

[4] See "New Testament Transcripts Prototype" for 𝔓[75] of John 1:34 at <http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de>. Lakmann is also of the opinion that the scribe did not intend to write ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, because there is lacuna before the next words. The lacuna serves as a paragraph marker. In her estimate, such feature would be strange if the scribe intended to write reading (4). She concludes that it is more likely that the scribe stopped after writing ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός τῇ ἐπαύριον, then erased ὁ ἐκλεκτός, wrote τοῦ θεοῦ instead, and continued the next sentence after τῇ ἐπαύριον.

[5] 𝔓[5] is not considered here because it contains lacunae; it has only the final ς visible and consequently this witness is debated. Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, eds., exhibit the reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός (*The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts: New and Complete Transcriptions with Photographs* [Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 2001], 75). They are supported by Metzger, 172. On the other hand, J. K. Elliott opts for ὁ υἱός ("Five New Papyri of the New Testament," *NovT* 41 [1999]: 209-213). Reuben J. Swanson, ed., refrains from making a choice and lists a blank. (New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus, vol. 4, *John* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995], 13). NA27 (8th reprint) does not list 𝔓[5] as supporting ὁ ἐκλεκτός, as was done earlier. It is probably safe not to assume 𝔓[5] as a witness for either reading.

(1) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ	$\mathfrak{P}$[66, 75c] $\aleph$[c2] A B C L W[sup] $\mathfrak{M}$ it[aur, c, f, l, g] vg syr[pal-mss] *al*
(2) ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ	$\mathfrak{P}$[106] $\aleph$* it[b, e, ff2*] syr[c, s]
(3) ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός	$\mathfrak{P}$[75]
(4) ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ	it[a, ff2c], vg[mss] syr[pal-mss] cop[sa]

Which of these possibilities, if any, is the most likely reading of the autograph? I would like to suggest that the uncorrected $\mathfrak{P}$[75] reading may be the original one and may explain other witnesses. Consequently, John 1:34 should read "the Chosen Son." This is an intriguing reading, as it seems to combine Isaiah's motif of the chosen servant (Isa 42:1) and the Psalmist's motif of the messianic Son (Ps 2). These concepts fit nicely with the "Word became flesh" theology of the Gospel of John.

Granted, the $\mathfrak{P}$[75] variant is a singular reading, but it has roots deep in the second-century, especially if $\mathfrak{P}$[75] is a late second century witness.[6] Bart D. Ehrman has shown that orthodox scribes occasionally altered the text to defend the orthodox theology and what they thought the text meant, because some readings were prone to be misunderstood and used by the heretics.[7] If early controversies over Adoptionism compelled the scribes to suppress the reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός, it is possible that the alteration was made so early in the second century that the original reading was eventually limited to a relatively small number of witnesses. Since John does not use ὁ ἐκλεκτός anywhere else, it is difficult to explain why a scribe would change ὁ υἱός το ὁ ἐκλεκτός, but theological reasons such as the above can explain the opposite. For this reason reading (1) should be abandoned, even though it is printed as original in NA[27] / UBS[4]. Reading (4) is probably a conflation of readings (1) and (2). This would support the assertion that the original text had ὁ ἐκλεκτός.

It is difficult to decide between readings (2) and (3), but the abruptness of reading (3) compels this researcher to consider it a more likely choice. It lacks τοῦ θεοῦ, which serves as an explanation about whose chosen son/one is in view. For this reason, I consider readings (2) and (4) secondary. The abruptness of the reading (3) may explain why the scribe of $\mathfrak{P}$[75] corrected the reading to a more familiar ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, especially if he was also worried about Adoptionist misconstructions.

I propose the following hypothesis. Reading (3) is the original from which reading (4) derives by a scribal explanatory addition of τοῦ θεοῦ. Reading (1) in all probability altered ὁ ἐκλεκτός based on theological reasons. It also became the dominant reading because of its clear orthodoxy. Reading (2) has

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[6]See Comfort with Barrett, 501.

[7]Bart D. Ehrman *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

an omission of ὁ υἱός for textual brevity.[8] If this scenario is permitted, reading (3) stands as original. See the diagram below. In my view, this important textual variant needs to be included in critical apparatuses and the text of John 1:34 be reconsidered.[9]


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                      ┌─────────────────────────┐
                      │      READING (3)        │
                      │   ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός     │
                      │       (original)        │
                      └─────────────────────────┘
```

```
┌─────────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────────┐
│      READING (1)        │   │      READING (4)        │
│    ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ      │   │ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ │
│  (theological alteration) │   │  (explanatory addition) │
└─────────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────────┘
```

```
                      ┌─────────────────────────┐
                      │      READING (2)        │
                      │   ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ    │
                      │ (omission for textual brevity) │
                      └─────────────────────────┘
```
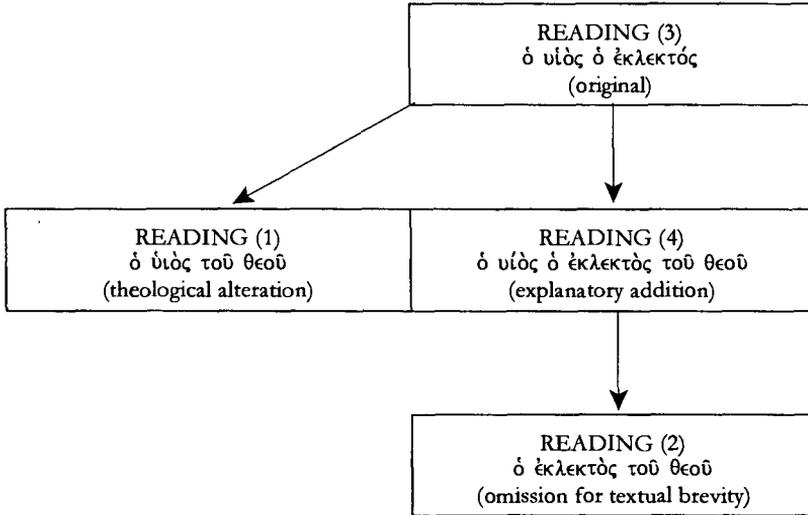
[8]See, e.g., James R. Royse, "Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, SD 46 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 239-252.

[9]For a comprehensive examination of this new variant and its impact on John 1:34, see Timo Flink, "Son and Chosen: A Text-Critical Study of John 1:34," *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 18 (2005): 87-111.

THE REVELATION AND INSPIRATION OF SCRIPTURE IN ADVENTIST THEOLOGY, PART 1

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In their statement of Fundamental Beliefs, Adventists claim to build their teachings and practices on the *sola Scriptura* principle.[1] The *sola Scriptura* principle assumes an understanding of the revelation-inspiration[2] of the Bible. Consequently, the application of the *sola Scriptura* principle in the thinking and life of the church depends on the way members and theologians understand the revelation-inspiration of Scripture. One would expect Adventist theologians to be of one mind on this grounding theological issue. However, Adventist historians report that throughout the twentieth century conflicting views on revelation-inspiration have found their way into the scholarly Adventist community.[3] During the last decade of the twentieth century, the debate became explicit,[4] and recent publications indicate that it has not subsided.[5]

Because the existence of conflicting views on revelation-inspiration inevitably leads to the weakening of the *sola Scriptura* principle and disunity in the thinking and mission of the church, Adventists need to consider the issue of revelation and inspiration in greater analytical and theological depth. In this context, the purpose of this article is to understand the various models of interpreting revelation-inspiration presently operating within Adventist theological circles in order to

[1]General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-Adventists Believe: A Biblical Exposition of Fundamental Doctrines* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1988).

[2]I hyphenate the words "revelation-inspiration" to indicate they are inseparable aspects of the same process.

[3]Alberto Timm presents a good introductory historical survey in "A History of Seventh-day Adventist Views on Biblical and Prophetic Inspiration (1844-2000)," *JATS* 10/1-2 (1999): 542. George Knight underlines the use of the verbal-inspiration theory as a tool to counter modernism in *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 128-138.

[4]Conflicting views about revelation and inspiration became explicit when Alden Thompson published *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1991). Frank Holbrook and Leo Van Dolson responded by editing *Issues in Revelation and Inspiration*, Adventist Theological Society Occasional Papers (Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society, 1992).

[5]Consider, e.g., Raymond F. Cottrell, "Inspiration and Authority of the Bible in Relation to Phenomena of the Natural World," in *Creation Reconsidered: Scientific, Biblical, and Theological Perspectives*, ed. James L. Hayward (Roseville, CA: Association of Adventist Forums, 2000); and Graeme S. Bradford, *More than a Prophet: How We Lost and Found Again the Real Ellen White* (Berrien Springs: Biblical Perspectives, 2006).

discover how they relate to the *sola Scriptura* principle that serves as the cognitive foundation of Adventist theology, and to determine whether a new model that is reflective of Adventist theology is needed.

To understand and evaluate the various ways of thinking about the revelation-inspiration of Scripture, more than an accurate description of what each view maintains is needed. Perspectives from which to analyze, understand, and evaluate current models of revelation-inspiration are also needed. Consequently, this article will explore the nature of the issue, the basic biblical evidence on the inspiration of Scripture, the basic methodology involved in understanding the process of revelation-inspiration, and the two basic models of revelation-inspiration generally found in Christian thinking. Finally, with these backgrounds in mind, an analysis will be made of the three main ways of understanding the revelation-inspiration of the Bible presently operating in Adventist thinking.

The Nature of the Issue

Divine Revelation and the Origin of Theological Knowledge

God is known to humanity only by way of revelation. Theologians speak of a general revelation through nature and a special revelation in Scripture, but on what basis do they understand this revelation? How do they know that there are two kinds of revelation, or that God reveals himself at all? Theologians work either from their own imaginations and speculations or from a publicly accessible revelation of God's thoughts and will.

Christians generally recognize Scripture as the public and specific revelation of divine thought and will to humanity. There is in nature no divinely originated information about the existence of general or special revelation. Whatever is derived from the interpretation of nature is the result of private thought processes. Thus humanity only knows of the existence of general and special revelation because God has revealed it in Scripture (Ps 19). However, a significant number of modern and postmodern Christians believe that the existence of a special cognitive revelation from God is impossible. They assume human beings wrote the Bible. Scripture and theology, then, are the result of ever-changing human imagination. Thus these theologians directly oppose Peter's conviction (2 Pet 1:16) that we do not find myths but truths in Scripture. Not surprisingly, such approaches interpret Scripture as a book of human history.

Author and Interpretation

Whenever we read a text, we correctly assume that someone has written it. Knowing the author of a written piece helps the reader to understand it. However, it is not always necessary to know the author of a text in order to understand its meaning. For instance, if I find a note in my office saying, "Come home immediately," I cannot miss its intended meaning. If I

additionally know that my wife has written the message, I will understand it as a command and I will rush home. Conversely, if I know that there is no one at home because I live alone, I will understand it to be a prank from some of my fellow workers. Similarly, when interpreting complex literary or scientific pieces, knowing the author will also help us to understand not only the face-value meaning of a text, but also its deeper meanings. Conversely, if I want to know a person, reading his or her writings is of primary importance to my undertaking. Thus ascertaining authorship is essential to the study of Scripture.

If the reader is convinced that God is the author of Scripture, then his or her theological understanding of Scripture will differ considerably from that of a reader who is persuaded that Scripture was written by well-intentioned religious persons describing their own personal experiences. Since Scripture is a complex literary piece, our conviction about who the author or authors were will greatly impinge on our theological interpretations of its multifarious contents. Thus understanding who the author or authors of Scripture were becomes a pivotal presupposition from which believers and theologians approach their interpretation of Scripture, formulate Christian teachings, and experience the transforming power of Scripture in everyday life. In short, understanding the process of revelation-inspiration becomes a necessary assumption of a hermeneutics of Scripture and its theology.

Biblical Evidence

Obviously, there is an author of Scripture. By what means is the author's identity known? In answering this question, we must begin by paying close attention to what the biblical authors say about the origination of Scripture. There is extensive OT and NT evidence that the biblical authors considered God to be the author of Scripture.[6] The *loci classici* of the biblical doctrine of Scripture are 2 Tim 3:15-17 and 2 Pet 1:20-21.

Paul's θεόπνευστος

Paul's statement about the origin of Scripture is brief and general: "All Scripture is inspired by God (πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος)" (2 Tim 3:16, NAB). Paul used the word θεόπνευστος, which means literally "God-breathed," to convey the notion of divine inspiration. It is not known what a "divine breathing" could mean when literally applied to the generation of Scripture. However, we may attempt to understand it metaphorically. Thus understood, the word means that God is directly involved in the origin of Scripture (i.e., the words of Scripture). While Paul categorically affirms that God is the author of Scripture, he does not explain the mode of divine operation. Paul is not concerned with questions such as how God originated the Scriptures, what was involved in the divine breathing, or how God related to the human agents.

6Gerhard F. Hasel, "Divine Inspiration and the Canon of the Bible," *JATS* 5/1 (1994): 76-89.

Peter's φερόμενοι

Peter's remarks on the origin of Scripture are more nuanced and specific than Paul's. Whereas Paul unambiguously states God's causal involvement in the generation of Scripture as writing (γραφή), Peter brings to view a structure always implicit in the divine acts of revelation-inspiration of Scripture: "men spoke from God being led (φερόμενοι) by the Holy Spirit" (2 Pet 1:21).[7] Peter thus explicitly underlines the nearly obvious fact that human beings have written Scripture. In the origination of Scripture, then, human agencies acted under the leading of the Holy Spirit. In short, both God and human beings were involved in the generation of Scripture.

Peter, however, carefully and forcefully qualifies the intervention of human agents: "Knowing this first: every prophecy of Scripture does not come into being (γίνεται) from [one's] own interpretation (ἐπιλύσεως)" (2 Pet 1:20). The Greek word ἐπίλυσις means literally "a release or liberation"; figuratively, it bears the notions of "explanation," "exposition," or "interpretation." Because the text is speaking of the coming into being or origination of Scripture, it is unlikely that ἐπίλυις refers to the reader. Peter may be arguing that even when human beings were involved in writing Scripture, they did not originate the explanations, expositions, or interpretations of the various subject matters presented in Scripture.

If the human writers were not the ones who created the views and teachings of Scripture, then where do they come from? In a follow-up sentence, Peter explains that "not by the will of man was ever a prophecy brought about (ἠνέχθη, from φέρω), but men spoke from God being led (φερόμενοι) by the Holy Spirit" (2 Pet 1:21).[8] Peter once again denies the human authorship of Scripture. He further clarifies the issue by noting that the will of human beings was not involved in the creation of Scripture. What roles did human beings carry out? They spoke (ἐλάλησαν), proclaimed, and communicated the explanations, expositions, and interpretations that originated in God as the author. Speech and writing are expressions of thought. Thus God's direction accompanied the writers of Scripture not only when they wrote, but also when they spoke. What they said, however, was not the manifestation of their own reasoning, imagination, or creation. It was the manifestation of God's thoughts and actions.

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[7]It can also be translated "being moved."

[8]As with θεόπνευστος, the word Paul used to talk about the origination of Scripture, φερόμενοι appears only once in the Bible. φερόμενοι is a verbal form of φέρω. Various inflections of the verb φέρω appear more than sixty times in the NT in a variety of nuances, including "to bear, carry, carry along, carry forward, bring along, move, drive, and lead." Peter used φέρω in the passive voice as a participle modifying the word "men." Thus "men were led or carried along by the Holy Spirit." The Holy Spirit performs the action and it is received by men. At the origin of Scripture, then, we find the activity of the Holy Spirit in the writers of Scripture.

The Problem behind Revelation-Inspiration

Notably, Peter agrees with Paul by unequivocally affirming God's direct involvement in the generation of Scripture. However, neither Peter nor Paul explains the concrete ways in which the divine and human agencies interfaced, nor their specific *modus operandi*. In fact, the concrete way(s) in which the divine-human agencies operated are not completely explained anywhere in Scripture.

From our contemporary intellectual perspective, Paul's and Peter's statements sound more like a claim than a theological explanation. Moreover, their affirmation appears problematic. How should the simultaneous operation of God and human agencies as the writers of Scripture be understood? Scripture nowhere addresses this problem. As we attempt to provide answers of our own, we embark on the task of theology. Theology searches for understanding. Thus Paul's and Peter's statements provide not only a problem to solve, but also an important fact that no doctrine of revelation-inspiration should ignore. They teach that God is the author of all Scripture (2 Tim 3:16; 2 Pet 1:20-21).[9] Theologians should find a way to understand how this took place and, at the same time, account for the human side that factors into the way Scripture was conceived and written.

The biblical doctrine of Scripture sets up the problem behind the doctrine of revelation-inspiration. Throughout history, theologians have understood the biblical claim to its divine-human origin in different ways. Their various answers to this question have become leading hermeneutical presuppositions that have decidedly influenced the entire task of exegetical and theological research, even to the point of dividing Christianity into two distinctive schools of thought across denominational lines. That the doctrine of revelation-inspiration should have such a momentous, paradigmatic influence on theological thinking should not be surprising. After all, it deals with the origin and nature of theological knowledge.

Methodological Detour

Before briefly considering leading models of revelation-inspiration, it is necessary to make a methodological detour by first precisely ascertaining the technical meaning of revelation-inspiration, by reflecting on the types of evidence upon which theologians build their understanding of revelation-inspiration, and by discovering the hermeneutical presuppositions from which they develop their views. In other words, it is necessary to clarify the object, data, and hermeneutical presuppositions involved in the conception and formulation of the doctrine of revelation-inspiration. This brief detour will help to clarify what others have said on this issue and what should be borne in mind in interpretations of it.

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[9]Hasel's study, 86, clarifies that both the OT and the NT are included within the universal range of Paul's "all Scripture is inspired by God."

The Working Definition of Revelation-Inspiration

When theologians describe the doctrine of revelation-inspiration, they use the words "revelation" and "inspiration" in a technical sense. "Revelation" broadly refers to the process through which the content of Scripture emerged in the mind of the prophets and apostles. "Inspiration," broadly speaking, refers to the process through which the content in the mind of the prophets and apostles was communicated in oral or written forms. Thus revelation is a cognitive process, while inspiration is primarily a linguistic one.[10]

The biblical writers did not use the word "inspiration," which comes from the Latin translation of θεόπνευστος (2 Tim 3:16) and φερόμενοι (2 Pet 1:21). Moreover, the biblical authors did not use the notions of "revelation" and "inspiration" in the technical, analytical sense used in this article; rather they used them interchangeably.[11] According to the context, these words may refer to the origin of the thoughts of the prophets and apostles, to the process of communicating them in a written format, or to a combination of both. Not surprisingly, a large number of Adventist and evangelical theologians do the

[10]See, e.g., Raoul Dederen, "Toward a Seventh-day Adventist Theology of Revelation-Inspiration," in *North American Bible Conference* (North American Division: unpublished paper, 1974), 7-8.

[11]Though Ellen White does not use the words "revelation" and "inspiration" in the technical meaning I am employing in this chapter, neither does she warn against making such distinctions as some seems to suggest (see P. G. Damsteegt, "The Inspiration of Scripture in the Writings of Ellen G. White," *JATS* 5/1 [1994]: 174). She is supposed to have warned against making a distinction between revelation and inspiration when she wrote: "Do not let any living man come to you and begin to dissect God's Word, telling *what is revelation, what is inspiration and what is not*, without a rebuke. Tell all such they simply do not know. They simply are not able to comprehend the things of the mystery of God" (*Sermons and Talks*, 2 vols. [Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990, 1994], 1:73, emphasis supplied). However, this sentence does not warn against making the technical distinction between revelation and inspiration, but between what is and is not revelation-inspiration. That becomes clear when one goes on to read the last two sentences of the same paragraph: "What we want is to inspire faith. We want no one to say, 'This I will reject, and this will I receive,' but we want to have implicit faith in the Bible as a whole and as it is" (ibid.). This fits her clear opposition to any view of inspiration that may lead the reader to pick and choose what is and is not authoritative in Scripture. E.g., she wrote that "there are some that may think they are fully capable with their finite judgment to take the Word of God, and to state what are the words of inspiration and what are not the words of inspiration. I want to warn you off that ground, my brethren in the ministry. 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.' There is no finite man that lives, I care not who he is or whatever is his position, that God has authorized to pick and choose in His Word" (ibid., 1: 64). Moreover, the way that I will use the words "revelation" and "inspiration" in this article seems compatible with Damsteegt's analysis, 175, of White's view on inspiration. He concludes that she "saw inspiration as a process in which divine light was communicated to the human recipient [revelation] and imparted to the people in a trustworthy manner [inspiration]."

same. A proper understanding of the origination of Scripture, however, requires a careful analysis of the cognitive and literary processes involved.

The Evidence

On what evidence do theologians build their understandings of the doctrine of revelation-inspiration? Since the divine-human interactions that originated Scripture are not available for direct inspection, theologians work from the direct results of Scripture. Theologians have come to recognize two types of evidence in Scripture: the doctrine of Scripture and the phenomena of Scripture. Since I have already dealt with the biblical doctrine of Scripture, in this section, I will briefly introduce what is meant by the phenomena of Scripture.

When theologians talk about the phenomena of Scripture, they are not usually referring to biblical teachings about Scripture, but to the characteristics of Scripture as a written work and to its entire content.[12] Consequently, while access to the biblical doctrine of Scripture involves theological analysis, access to the phenomena of Scripture takes place through historical and literary analysis. The first line of evidence underlines the role of the divine agency in the process of revelation-inspiration, while the second reveals the role of human agencies. Failure to integrate both lines of evidence has led to both conservative and liberal interpretations of revelation-inspiration in Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Adventist theologies.

To overcome the conservative-liberal impasse currently facing Christian theology in general and Adventist theology in particular, it is first necessary to listen to and integrate the entire range of available evidence.[13] Consequently, Ekkehardt Mueller correctly concludes that "in formulating a doctrine of inspiration, one cannot disregard the textual phenomena, and one should not discard the self-testimony of Scripture. The Bible must be allowed to speak for itself."[14]

Hermeneutics and Revelation-Inspiration

Scripture does not answer the epistemological question about the origin of theological knowledge pressing upon modern and postmodern Western theologians. After concisely reviewing the historical development of Adventist thought on revelation-inspiration, Timm arrives at the unavoidable conclusion

[12]For Ekkehardt Mueller, the phenomena of Scripture include, e.g., differences and discrepancies between various biblical passages ("The Revelation, Inspiration, and Authority of Scripture," *Ministry*, April 2000, 22). Under the phenomena-of-Scripture label, liberal authors include contradictions and theological and factual errors.

[13]On this point, Knight, 193, underlines that "one of the great needs of Adventism is a body of literature on the subject of biblical inspiration that develops inductively from the inside of Scripture. It should seek to discover how the Bible sees itself, what claims it makes for itself, what types of data it states went into its development, and how it treats various categories of information."

[14]Ibid., 22-24.

that "the time has come for Seventh-day Adventists to move beyond apologetic concerns into the task of developing a more constructive *theology* of inspiration."[15] Nevertheless, how do we engage in constructive theology? How do we develop an understanding of a subject matter that Scripture does not speak about directly, but indirectly implies? The short answer to this challenge is by doing systematic theology. How do we do systematic theology, and how does it relate to biblical and exegetical theologies? These questions reveal that the time for Adventist pioneers has not yet ended. There are still unentered territories not only in Adventist missions, but also in Adventist theology.

For the limited purposes of this article, let us say that the constructive task of theology consists in understanding a specific theological issue. In our case, the issue is the process of revelation-inspiration, as technically defined above. Since there is no understanding or interpretation without presuppositions, it is helpful to recognize that any constructive study of the doctrine of revelation-inspiration builds upon presuppositions. We should use this insight as an analytical tool to understand the way in which various interpretations of revelation-inspiration have been conceived and formulated. If properly used, this insight may help Adventism to formulate its own understanding.

Since the doctrine of revelation-inspiration is a foundational presupposition directly influencing the entire task of Christian theology, some might suggest that we are involved in circular reasoning. We seem to be saying that the doctrine of revelation-inspiration is the presupposition for hermeneutics, and that hermeneutics is the presupposition for the doctrine of revelation-inspiration. There is no circular reasoning here, however, because I apply the notion of hermeneutics in two clearly different levels.

Traditionally, Adventist theologians have associated hermeneutics with biblical interpretation.[16] However, recent studies have broadened our notion of hermeneutics by linking it to the functioning of reason.[17] In a few words, hermeneutics applies to the way in which human reason works.[18] To know is

[15]Timm, 542.

[16]See, e.g., Gerhard F. Hasel, *Biblical Interpretation Today* (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1985); and Richard M. Davidson, "Biblical Interpretation," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen, Commentary Reference Series (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 58-104. See also the following evangelical theologians: David S. Dockery, *Biblical Interpretation Then and Now: Contemporary Hermeneutics in the Light of the Early Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992); Gerhard Maier, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, trans. Robert W. Yarbrough (Wheaton: Crossway, 1994); Henry Al Virkler, *Hermeneutics: Principles and Processes of Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981); Grant R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1991); and Walter C. Kaiser and Moises Silva, *An Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics: The Search for Meaning* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994).

[17]For an introduction to the development of philosophical hermeneutics, see Raúl Kerbs, "Sobre el desarrollo de la hermenéutica," *Analogía Filosófica* 13/2 (1999): 3-33.

[18]Hans-Georg Gadamer, however, has underlined the universality of hermeneutics

to interpret.[19] Consequently, interpretation or hermeneutics takes place whenever human beings begin thinking about an object, text, or issue. Thus the different types of hermeneutics can be identified and classified according to the object they address. In Christian theology, hermeneutics works on three levels: the text, the theological issues, and the philosophical principles. Because of their relative broadness and influence, we can speak of macro, meso, and micro hermeneutics, respectively.[20] While micro hermeneutics refers to textual interpretation and meso hermeneutics to issue or doctrinal interpretation, macro hermeneutics deals with the first principles from within which doctrinal and textual hermeneutics operate.[21]

When we affirm that the doctrine of revelation-inspiration assumes hermeneutics and, at the same time, that hermeneutics assumes a doctrine of revelation-inspiration, we do not engage in circular reasoning because we are speaking of different levels of hermeneutics. The doctrine of revelation-inspiration conditions the interpretation of biblical texts (i.e., micro hermeneutics) and theological issues (i.e., meso hermeneutics). At the same time, when we search for the meaning of the doctrine of revelation-inspiration, we assume some broad, far-reaching notions (i.e., macro-hermeneutical principles).

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as present in all human understanding. Hermeneutics, in this general sense, considers the way in which human beings think ("The Universality of the Hermeneutical Problem," in *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, ed. David E. Linge [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976], 1-17; and idem, *Truth and Method*, 2d rev. ed., trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall [New York: Continuum, 1989]).

[19]David Tracy, *Plurality and Ambiguity: Hermeneutics, Religion, Hope* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 9. For an introduction to hermeneutics as the general theory of interpretation, see Josef Bleicher, *Contemporary Hermeneutics: Hermeneutics as Method, Philosophy and Critique* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan, 1980); Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, trans. David E. Linge (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); F. D. E. Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutics:_The Handwritten Manuscripts*, ed. Heinz Kimmerle, trans. James Duke and Jack Forstman (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1977). From a theological perspective, see Anthony C. Thiselton, *The Two Horizons: New Testament Hermeneutics and Philosophical Description with Special Reference to Heidegger, Bultmann, Gadamer, and Wittgenstein* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); idem, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992); and idem, "Biblical Theology and Hermeneutics," in *The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. David F. Ford (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1997), 520-537.

[20]I am borrowing here the "macro, meso, and micro" categorization that Hans Küng uses to speak about the scientific paradigm in theology (*Theology for the Third Millennium: An Ecumenical View*, trans. Peter Heinegg [New York: Doubleday, 1988], 134).

[21]Macro hermeneutics is related to the study and clarification of philosophical issues directly or indirectly related to the criticism and formulation of concrete heuristic principles of interpretation. Meso hermeneutics deals with the interpretation of theological issues and, therefore, belongs properly to the area of systematic theology. Micro hermeneutics approaches the interpretation of texts and, consequently, proceeds within the realm of biblical exegesis.

What are the presuppositions involved in the understanding of revelation-inspiration? Who decides which presuppositions should be used? Let me start with the latter question. The presuppositions are not arbitrarily decided because they are necessarily required by the phenomenon of revelation-inspiration itself. Biblical evidence shows that the revelation-inspiration phenomenon always involves divine and human actions.[22] Consequently, theologians unavoidably bring their own conceptions of divine and human natures to play in their doctrines of revelation-inspiration. These are macro-hermeneutical principles, which are assumed as principles in meso and micro hermeneutics. God's nature and actions, as well as human nature and actions, have been variously interpreted by Christian theologians. Thus different views of God and human nature have produced different interpretations of revelation-inspiration. With these methodological clarifications in mind we turn to the history of interpretation of revelation-inspiration.

Models of Revelation-Inspiration in Christian Theologies

Theologians have interpreted the doctrine of revelation-inspiration in many ways,[23] with most explanations falling into two primary models of interpretation: the classical and the modern.[24] These models have influenced the development of Adventist understanding of the doctrine of revelation-inspiration.

Verbal Inspiration

During the first eighteen centuries following the death of Christ, the doctrine of revelation-inspiration was not disputed. Following Christ's example, his followers took the biblical teaching about its inspiration at face value. They had no reason to think otherwise. They assumed God, through human instrumentality, wrote the Bible.

While classical theologians maximized the role of divine activity in the process of revelation-inspiration, they minimized the role of human agencies. For them, there was no doubt that God, through his Holy Spirit, was the author and writer of Scripture. Prophets and apostles were only the instruments that God used to write the very words of Scripture. Because God is believed to have written the words of Scripture, this view has come to be known as the

[22]Raoul Dederen provides a summary of biblical evidence on the revelation-inspiration phenomenon in "The Revelation-Inspiration Phenomenon According to the Bible Writers," in *Issues in Revelation and Inspiration*, ed. Frank Holbrook and Leo Van Dolson, Adventist Theological Society Occasional Papers (Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society, 1991), 12-29.

[23]For a brief introduction to the history of the doctrine of revelation-inspiration, see Bruce Vawter, *Biblical Inspiration* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1972).

[24]See Fernando Canale, "Revelation and Inspiration: The Classical Model," *AUSS* 32 (1994): 7-28; idem, "Revelation and Inspiration: The Liberal Model," *AUSS* 32 (1994): 169-195.

"verbal" theory of inspiration. Not surprisingly, this notion has led to a high view of biblical authority, echoing the claim of the biblical authors themselves. The words of the Bible are the words of God. This assumption, however, did not prevent Christian theologians from misreading Scripture.

During this period, some authors giving thought to the process of revelation-inspiration placed the emphasis on inspiration. According to this view, revelation is the supernatural generation of thought (e.g., visions, dreams), which accounts for a few portions of Scripture. Conversely, inspiration is the divine, supernatural intervention in the writing of Scripture and therefore extends to the whole Bible. Alden Thompson comments that the definition of revelation-inspiration in this case implies that "inspiration becomes almost synonymous with revelation. Thus the inspiration process virtually becomes another form of revelation. The human recipient is viewed simply as the passive instrument through which the divine words flow."[25]

This view builds on an extrabiblical philosophical understanding of macro hermeneutics. Early in the history of Christianity, theologians began to define their macro-hermeneutical principles from Greek philosophical sources. Through a process that took centuries to reach its climax, the biblical notion of God was slowly replaced by the Greek idea of God. God was no longer a being who dwells among his people and acts directly within the flow of history, but a distant, timeless, nonhistorical being. The same process led to the replacement of the biblical notion of conditional immortality with the Greek idea of the immortality of the soul. This paradigmatic switch at the macro-hermeneutical level set the stage for the classical and modern schools of theology and their understandings of revelation-inspiration.

A further theological development that resulted from a change in paradigms was traditionally referred to as divine providence and, more recently, *Heilsgeschichte*. By the fifth century A.D., Augustine was already using this idea as a macro-hermeneutical presupposition in his exegetical studies and theological reflections. In so doing, he tied the notion of divine will and activity to the timeless nature of God.[26] The idea of divine, sovereign providence as an all-embracing causality encompassing the full extent of nature and history originates from this fateful combination.[27] Centuries later, this notion came to shape Martin Luther's[28] and John Calvin's[29] understandings of the gospel, as well as the understanding of the verbal inspiration of Scripture.

The verbal-inspiration model behind biblical inerrancy is not thus a mere

[25]Thompson, 50-51.

[26]Augustine, *Confessions*, 12.15.18.

[27]This notion was developed at length by John Calvin, *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God*, trans. J. K. Reid (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1977).

[28]Martin Luther, *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, ed. Philip S. Watson, trans. Erasmus Middleton (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1953), 21-28; 158-185.

[29]John Calvin, *Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God*, trans. and intro. J. K. S. Reid (Lousville, KY: Westminster, 1997), 56-58.

affirmation of biblical evidence, but an interpretation of the way in which the Bible came into existence. This theory was conceived from the perspective of the paradigmatic macro-hermeneutical shift described in the last two paragraphs. Thus the biblical affirmation that the Holy Spirit led the prophets' writing is understood on the assumption that God operated as a sovereign, irresistible cause that overruled any causality originating from human freedom. The macro-hermeneutical notion of God stemming from nonbiblical sources shaped the interpretation of the way in which God is supposed to have operated when inspiring Scripture. On this assumption, God is not only the author of Scripture, but also the writer.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, evangelical theologians used the verbal-inspiration theory, also known as plenary inspiration, to fight against modernism as expressed by the historical-critical method and encounter theory of inspiration, thereby challenging traditional Christian theology.[30] Working from the macro-hermeneutical perspective of divine, sovereign providence, Archibald A. Hodge (1823-1886) and Benjamin B. Warfield (1851-1921) spoke of inspiration as divine superintendence operating via concursive confluence with human agencies. They rejected the notion that God dictated Scripture to the biblical writers.[31] As *modus operandi* of inspiration,

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[30]This theory is also known as "plenary" inspiration. Some theologians consider "plenary" and "verbal" inspiration to be different theories of inspiration, while others consider them different labels to designate the same way of understanding inspiration. I. S. Rennie suggests they are different theories of inspiration ("Plenary Inspiration," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Walter A. Elwell [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1984], 860-861; idem, "Verbal Inspiration," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Walter A. Elwell [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1984], 1242-1244). Charles Hodge considered them to be synonyms for the same way of understanding revelation-inspiration (*Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970], 1: 165). When compared with the "encounter" and "thought" theories, it becomes clear that the "verbal" and "plenary" accounts of inspiration are variations of the same theory. In fact, the words "plenary" and "verbal" are not contradictory, but show complementary emphases. "Plenary" signals opposition to those that claim only some portions of Scripture are inspired (partial inspiration). "Verbal" indicates opposition to the notion that only the prophets' thoughts and not their words are inspired. Both consider inspiration to be divine assistance that renders the words of Scripture inerrant. Archibald Alexander clarifies that the "plenary" view of revelation-inspiration upholds the absolute inerrancy of Scripture (*Evidences of the Authenticity, Inspiration and Canonical Authority of the Holy Scriptures* [Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1836], 223, 230). The primary difference between "verbal" and "plenary" inspiration is thus one of emphasis. The "verbal" version emphasizes divine sovereignty, while the "plenary" version probes in more detail the way in which divine sovereignty interfaces with human instrumentality (ibid., 224-225).

[31]John Calvin's (*Commentary on 2 Timothy*, 3:16) and Ellen White's (*Review and Herald*, January 22, 1880, par. 1, and *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols. [Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948], 4: 9) statements referring to God's "dictating" Scripture should probably be taken in a figurative sense.

dictation was considered to be "mechanical" and did not correspond to the way God acted.[32] Instead they argued that a concursive confluence between divine and human agencies was a dynamic concept that better expressed what took place in inspiration. According to them, God and humans worked together freely and harmoniously, each producing according to his or her proper nature. Yet because the Holy Spirit works internally and therefore secretly, this explanation adds little to the understanding of inspiration. The basic nature of verbal inspiration centers not in the concursive-confluent mode, but in the sovereign, irresistible causality of divine providence.[33] As a result, biblical writings are considered not only to be fully inerrant, but also to possess "a divine quality unattainable by human powers alone."[34]

The sculptor-chisel-sculpture analogy helps to visualize the way in which the verbal theory of inspiration conceives the manner in which the divine and human agencies operate when generating the writings of the Bible. As the sculptor, and not the chisel, is the author of the work of art, so God, and not the human writer, is the author of Scripture. Human writers, as the chisel, play only an instrumental role.

The most noticeable hermeneutical effects of the verbal theory are recontextualization and inerrancy. Recontextualization recognizes that understanding always relates to contexts. In the interpretation of a text, the historical situation from which it originated plays a pivotal role. In claiming that a timeless God is the author and writer of Scripture, verbal inspiration places the origin of biblical thought in the nonhistorical realm of the supernatural. Historical contexts and contents are bypassed in favor of timeless, divine truths. This nonhistorical recontextualization has assumed various forms, ranging from the classical depreciation of the historical-literal meaning of the biblical text in favor of allegorical, spiritual meanings to the fundamentalist reading of Scripture. Fundamentalism assumes that each biblical statement is an objective communication of supernatural, absolute truth. Thus Scripture reveals truths that always mean the same to all readers throughout time.

[32]Dictation refers to the way in which the human and divine agencies operated. Most evangelical theologians reject the notion that God literally dictated the Scripture to human writers. They understand that Calvin used the term "dictation" metaphorically rather than literally. Dictation is considered "mechanical" because it does not make room for the human agency.

[33]Archibald A. Hodge and Benjamin B. Warfield defined inspiration as "the superintendence by God of the writers in the entire process of their writing, which accounts for nothing whatever but the absolute infallibility of the record in which the revelation, once generated, appears in the original autograph" (*Inspiration* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979], 60).

[34]Benjamin B. Warfield, *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1948), 58.

Encounter Revelation

Modernity generated a radically new understanding of revelation-inspiration. This interpretation did not come from accepting biblical statements at face value, but from complicated philosophical arguments. Friedrich Schleiermacher, the father of modern theology, drew the blueprint that later proponents of encounter revelation would follow. This theory does not revolve around inspiration, as does the verbal view, but around a radical reinterpretation of revelation.

Briefly put, according to encounter theory, revelation is a divine-human encounter without the impartation of knowledge. "Thus, the content of revelation is regarded no longer as knowledge *about* God, not even information *from* God, but God Himself."[35] Consequently, not one word or thought that is found in Scripture comes from God. Encounter revelation is thus the opposite of verbal inspiration. Rather, the context of Scripture originates from the historically conditioned response of human beings to the personal, noncognitive encounter with God. The Bible is a human book like any other book. The obvious disregard for the scriptural claim that God is the author of Scripture does not seem to bother supporters of this theory. The study of how the content of Scripture originated is left to historical investigation. Assuming that God did not contribute to the content of Scripture, historical critics see Scripture as the result of a long process of cultural evolution. Human imagination, community, and tradition are the grounds from which the human books of Scripture come. Not surprisingly, some exegetes believe that inspiration operates not on individuals, but on the entire community.[36] According to this view, inspiration did not reach to the personal level of prophetic thoughts or words directly, but influenced the social level of the community within which the authors of Scripture lived and wrote. Not surprisingly, Scripture's contents are human, not divine.

Modernity brought about a radical change in the philosophical understanding of human reason. The classical notion that reason is able to reach eternal timeless truth was considered impossible. Kant argued that reason can only operate within spatiotemporal limits.[37] Why did a change in philosophical teaching affect the understanding of revelation-inspiration? Since early in the history of Christian thinking, theologians have derived their understanding of macro-hermeneutical presuppositions from philosophy. Due to this methodological assumption, the modern change in the philosophical understanding of reason presented theologians with an alternative. Conservative theologians chose to build their theologies on the classical view of reason, while liberal thinkers built on the modern limited view of reason.

[35]Raoul Dederen, "The Revelation-Inspiration Phenomenon,"11.

[36]Paul J. Achtemeier, *Inspiration and Authority: Nature and Function of Christian Scripture* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).

[37]Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. J. M. D. Meiklejohn (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1990), see esp. "Transcendental Aesthetics,"30-43.

Modern theologians assume that God is timeless and that human reason cannot reach to the level of timeless objects. Within these parameters, there can be no cognitive communication between God and human beings. Christianity revolves around the notion that God relates to human beings. Encounter revelation suggests that the divine-human encounter takes place not at the cognitive, but at the "existential" or "personal" level.[38] Thus revelation is a divine-human encounter, real and objective, but which involves absolutely no communication from God.

The most noticeable hermeneutical effects of the verbal theory of inspiration can be summed up in two words, recontextualization and criticism. As the encounter theory of inspiration leads to recontextualization, so does the encounter theory of revelation. Both approach biblical texts and ideas from horizons alien to biblical thinking. While verbal inspiration assumes that Scripture reveals objective, timeless truths, encounter revelation assumes that Scripture is a pointer to an existential, noncognitive, divine-human encounter. Scripture then has no revelatory content, but a revelatory function as a pointer or witness to revelation. Second, since the content of Scripture originated (contrary to Paul's and Peter's views) from the impulse and wisdom of human beings, it must be subjected to scientific criticism and only used metaphorically for religious purposes. Due to the human origination of the biblical content, the interpreter assumes Scripture contains errors not only in historical details, but also in all that it expressly teaches, including teachings about God and salvation.

Models of Revelation-Inspiration in Adventism

It is difficult to assess how theories such as verbal inspiration and encounter revelation affect Adventism. Edward Heppenstall properly described the general way in which most Adventist writers approach the study of revelation-inspiration by saying that "this church has no clearly defined and developed doctrine of revelation and inspiration. We have aligned ourselves with the evangelical or traditional position."[39] In this section, I will attempt to describe only the main models of revelation-inspiration that Adventist theologians have adopted.[40]

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[38]I have placed "existential" and "personal" within quotations marks because the divine-human relation takes place within the shared timelessness provided by divine timelessness and the immortality of the human soul, which, according to classical thinking, shares, though in a lower and imperfect level, in the timeless level of reality.

[39]Edward Heppenstall, "Doctrine of Revelation and Inspiration (Part 1)," *Ministry*, 1970, 16.

[40]For a detailed introduction to Adventist reflection on revelation-inspiration, see Timm, 487-509. Timm, 490, notes: "That early Seventh-day Adventists regarded the Scriptures as infallible and inerrant is evident from the uncritical reprint in the *Review* of several portions from non-Adventist authors that fostered such a view. In 1859, for example, the *Review* reprinted a large paragraph from Louis Gaussen's [book,] *Theopneustia*, stating that not 'one single error' could ever be found in the more than 31,000 verses of the Bible." An overview of the same history can be found in

Verbal Inspiration

In the 1960s and early seventies when Heppenstall wrote his assessment of Adventist views regarding the doctrine of revelation-inspiration, most Adventists did not give much thought to the question and, consequently, embraced by default the theory of verbal revelation. According to Timm, early Adventist authors used the verbal theory of inspiration as an apologetical tool against Deism.[41] This trend intensified after the death of Ellen White when Adventism faced modernism.[42] It may still be the default explanation of revelation-inspiration implicitly held by most Adventists who have not yet considered the issue explicitly.[43]

In the context of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy shaping the American religious landscape during the first half of the twentieth century, several Adventist authors addressed the question of revelation-inspiration at some length. Among them, for instance, Carlyle B. Haynes addressed the issue in two chapters of his *God's Book*.[44] He demonstrates his adherence to the verbal theory of inspiration when he affirms that "revelation is *wholly supernatural,* and *altogether controlled* by God."[45] God exercises his supernatural control and superintendence over prophets and apostles when they write the revelations they have received: "Whether dealing either with revelation or with facts within his knowledge, the Bible writer required *inspiration* to produce a record preserved from all error and mistake."[46] Absolute inerrancy follows from the total control of the human agent by the Holy Spirit. God is totally in control of the process of writing, and the human agent is a passive instrument.

The parallel with the verbal theory of inspiration is unmistakable. Haynes connects his notion of inspiration, perhaps unknowingly, to the evangelical understanding of divine sovereignty. Verbal inspiration depends on the

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Thompson, 267-272.

[41]Timm, 487-509.

[42]Knight, 128-138.

[43]Samuel Koranteng-Pipim provides a recent explicit example of this trend (*Receiving the Word: How New Approaches to the Bible Impact Our Biblical Faith and Lifestyle* [Berrien Springs: Berean Books, 1996]). Pipim, 51, does not explicitly deal with the doctrine of revelation-inspiration, but assumes the evangelical verbal theory, as many Adventists have done in the past. His approach is apologetical against the inroads of modernism and the historical-critical method of exegesis in Adventist theology. He seems to distance himself from the evangelical verbal theory of inspiration when he emphasizes the "trustworthiness" of Scripture rather than its "inerrancy" (54-55). Yet he, 227, comes very close to inerrancy when explaining that, while "no distortions came from the hand of the original Bible writers, some alterations and minor distortions have crept into the Word during the process of transmission and translation."

[44]Carlyle B. Haynes, *God's Book* (Nashville: Southern Publishing, 1935), 129-131.

[45]Ibid., 144 (emphasis supplied).

[46]Ibid., 136.

understanding that God exercises absolute control on the biblical writers. As already explained, this conviction does not stand on biblical but on philosophical grounds. Unknowingly, then, the verbal-inspiration theory embraced by conservative Adventist theologians depends on the Augustinian-Calvinistic understanding of macro-hermeneutical presuppositions derived from a Neo-Platonic view of reality. Thus, although the verbal theory affirms a high view of Scripture, its precise expression "inerrant in the autographs" *de facto* denies its revelatory supremacy (i.e., *sola Scriptura* principle) in the task of doing Christian theology because the autographs of Scripture no longer exist. In Adventism, the adoption of verbal inspiration generates the same hermeneutical effects described above. These effects are especially counterproductive in Adventism because its theology has been built on the implicit assumption of a quite different understanding of the macro-hermeneutical realm.

Encounter Revelation

Since the encounter model of revelation is the alternative way to face the challenge of modernism and the historical-critical method, it is not surprising to find Adventist theologians adopting this line of thinking. It is uncertain how many Adventist theologians may have implicitly adopted this view or may adopt this view in the future, but at least one Adventist scholar has explicitly argued in favor of the encounter theory of revelation-inspiration.[47]

In an article by NT scholar Herold Weiss, the modern encounter view of revelation is recommended to the Adventist community. Weiss believes revelation takes place as a noncognitive, divine-human encounter: "I do not understand revelation to be essentially the communication of divine information given by the Spirit to the writers of the Bible; nor do I consider faith to be the acceptance of this information. Revelation, rather, is first of all, a divine disclosure that creates a community in which life expresses this revelation in symbols of action, imagination and thought under the guidance of prophets."[48]

He develops this view with even greater force and clarity, noting that

> In a more technical sense, however, revelation refers to the actual God-disclosure. It suggests the disclosing of that which was veiled. And the important thing to see is that when God reveals, He does not disclose *something:* things, words, a book. He unveils *Himself* by acting on behalf of people. People experience, or witness, His being or His action. For God to reveal Himself, no word need be spoken. Even in a prophetic vision the words of God are the words of the prophet; each prophet imposes his own style and his own vocabulary on the lips of God. God reveals Himself, then, by acting on selves; there is no book in between.[49]

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[47]Herold Weiss, "Revelation and the Bible: Beyond Verbal Inspiration," *Spectrum* 7/3 (1975): 49-54.

[48]Ibid., 52.

[49]Ibid., 53.

Thus, according to Weiss, the words and concepts of Scripture come not from God, but from the prophets and apostles who respond and testify to the so-called objective but noncognitive and wordless event of revelation described above. The process of thinking and writing is the human response to the encounter.[50]

This view produces a dichotomy between faith and belief. While belief belongs to the realm of history and is verifiable, faith belongs to the realm of the divine transcendence and is not verifiable.[51] Scripture, as a written work, represents the thoughts and words of the prophets, not of God. Scripture testifies about the acts of God in history. These "acts," however, are devoid of thought and words, taking place not within the realm of history (i.e., belief), but within the inner realm of nonhistorical, subjective human experience (i.e., faith).

The resulting interpretation of Scripture builds on this dichotomy. The historical-critical method is applied in all its force on the human side—there is no methodological modification because the divine, supernatural encounter, for all practical purposes, plays the same role of the Troeltschian naturalistic presuppositions.[52] The human side includes the entire content of Scripture. Exegetes deal with the historical content of Scripture, applying the historical-critical method. When theologians interpret Scripture, they do not do so in order to understand what the biblical authors directly spoke about, but to recover the indirect, noncognitive, objective cause *behind* the words. This side of "faith" uses biblical language as indirect metaphorical pointers to the prophet's encounter with God. The goal of this exercise is not to find truth, but to adumbrate the nonhistorical, noncognitive mystical experience with God in order to inspire personal life experiences.

Thought Inspiration

Ellen White strongly influenced Adventist thought on the doctrine of revelation-inspiration. By her example and teachings, she pointed away from both verbal

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[50]Weiss, 53, states: "Inspiration is the next step in the process. God's action needs to be interpreted, and inspiration is the working of God's Spirit with a personality so that the significance of God's action may not be lost. The inspired person—called a prophet—testifies that the action was not the result of just human or natural agencies, but that through them God was at work. He introduces words into the process. Grammar, style, cultural setting, needs of the audience, purpose for testifying, personal biases, human conditions—all of these factors enter into the formulation of what the prophet says under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Here the prophet's faith and reason are joined."

[51]Ibid., 54.

[52]Ernst Troeltsch, discusses the principles of the historical-critical method in *Religion in History*, trans. James Luther Adams and Walter F. Bense (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 11-32. See my evaluation and criticism of Troeltsch's principles of historical criticism in *The Cognitive Principle of Christian Theology: A Hermeneutical Study of the Revelation and Inspiration of the Bible* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Lithotech, 2005), 436-442.

inspiration and encounter revelation. By attempting to understand the doctrine of revelation-inspiration by taking clues from White's teachings and prophetic experience, many Adventists have adopted the idea of "thought inspiration." They seem convinced that this view properly reflects her views on inspiration.

One of the earliest expressions of thought inspiration in Adventism took place in 1883. It affirmed "the light given by God to his servants is by the enlightenment of the mind, thus imparting the thought, and not (except in rare cases) the very words in which the ideas should be expressed."[53] On the basis that inspiration acts on the biblical writers' thoughts and not on their words, this statement marks a clear departure from verbal inspiration. Eighty-seven years later, Heppenstall articulated this insight into a broad theoretical profile.

Heppenstall articulated the concept of thought inspiration as an alternative to encounter revelation and a departure from verbal inspiration. Correctly rejecting the noncognitive basis of encounter revelation, he proposed that the process of divine revelation took place at the level of the biblical writer's ideas, concepts, and teachings.[54] Revelation is conceptual, taking place in the mind of the writer. Unfortunately, he did not specify the means through which such conceptual revelation was formed. Likewise, inspiration also took place in the mind of the writer. He suggested that in inspiration the Holy Spirit controls the mind of the human writer in order to guarantee "the accuracy of that which is revealed."[55] He proposes that "Inspiration is co-extensive with the scope of what is revealed and assures us that the truths revealed correspond to what God had in mind."[56]

In both revelation and inspiration, God operates on the thought and not on the words. Through revelation God generates ideas in the mind of the prophet, while through inspiration he assures the accuracy of the revealed ideas in the mind of the prophet. However, on the basis that "one of the unknown factors in inspiration is the degree of the Holy Spirit's control over the minds of the Bible writers,"[57] Heppenstall's position implied that divine inspiration does not reach the words of Scripture. Consequently, he adheres to what we could call "thought inerrancy." Thus only the biblical thought, not the words, are inerrant. Conveniently, for the sake of an apologetics against the biblical and scientific criticisms of scriptural content, believers can argue that errors and inconsistencies are due to imperfect language, not to imperfect thought or truth.

In summary, according to thought inspiration, divine revelation-inspiration operates in the truth behind the words, but falls short of controlling the words. Hence, in Scripture, infallible truth is presented in fallible language. Scripture,

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[53]"General Conference Proceedings," *Review and Herald*, Nov. 27, 1883, 741-742.

[54]Heppenstall, 16.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Edward Heppenstall, "Doctrine of Revelation and Inspiration (Conclusion)," *Ministry*, August 1970, 29.

therefore, contains errors in matters of detail, which do not affect the revealed thought.

Exegetes are aware of the role of the human component of revelation-inspiration in a degree unknown to most theologians, historians, pastors, and believers. Moreover, exegetes move within a discipline that approaches Bible studies from macro presuppositions dictated by the limited parameters of contemporary factual sciences.

In 1991, from the perspective of biblical studies, Thompson's publication of *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* brought the issue of biblical inspiration to the forefront of Adventist discussion.[58] A year later, a group of Adventist theologians published a critical response to his proposal.[59] Thompson distinguishes between revelation and inspiration.[60] Revelation is the supernatural communication of thoughts and truth to prophets. Thus it is "some kind of special input from God, a message from Him to His creatures on earth."[61] Divine thought is communicated by means of supernatural interventions, such as visions, dreams, a voice from heaven, miracles, words written on stone, and Jesus Christ.[62] Inspiration, however, becomes a fuzzy, subjective "fire in their bones" that moved prophets and apostles to write and speak from the presence of the Holy Spirit.[63] Far from claiming that inspiration makes the words of the prophets become the words of God, Thompson thinks that "inspiration" means that "God stays close enough to the writers so that the point comes through clear enough."[64] Thus in the process of inspiration, God works neither on the prophet's thoughts nor on his or her words. Inspiration is a divine presence that the prophet feels in the bones, not in the mind.

For Thompson, while all of Scripture is inspired (i.e., the divine presence felt in the bones of the writer) only some portions are revealed (i.e., come from divine thought, propositions, and miraculous actions). Thompson argues this point by saying, incorrectly, that "*the Bible does not say that all Scripture was given by revelation.*"[65]

Raoul Dederen, reacting against this notion, concludes that "to hold that all is inspired but only part—i.e., a small part—is revealed and on that basis address and attempt to solve the apparently contradictory statements in

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[58]See n. 4 above.

[59]Frank Holbrook and Leo Van Dolson, eds., *Issues in Revelation and Inspiration*, Adventist Theological Society Occasional Papers (Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society, 1992).

[60]For a brief analysis of Thompson's view on revelation-inspiration, see Dederen, "On Inspiration and Biblical Authority," 93-95.

[61]Thompson, 47.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid., 53.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid., 48 (emphasis original).

Scripture remains unsatisfactory."[66] Because Scripture does not assume the technical distinction between revelation and inspiration when describing its origin, Paul can claim that the entire content of Scripture originates in God. Thus, according to Scripture, the entire Bible is both revealed and inspired.

Where do other unrevealed portions of Scripture come from according to Thompson? He correctly argues that many portions of Scripture originate from research and experience. However, these contents, being of human origin, can only hold authority based on inspiration. Yet if biblical writers experienced inspiration neither cognitively nor linguistically but subjectively as a fire in their bones, we are left with the unavoidable conclusion that large portions of Scripture present fallible human ideas.

Although Thompson avoids talking about exegetical methodology, his proposal shows in some detail how, for example, Jerry Gladson's proposal of a "modified" use of the historical-critical method would look if applied in Adventist theology. He argues, against Gerhard Hasel and Gordon Hyde, that Adventists can use a "modified" version of the historical-critical method. His proposal revolves around the notion that the historical-critical method can be used when one exchanges the Troeltschian naturalistic presuppositions with Christian supernatural ones. He introduces the supernatural *de facto* by affirming the thought inspiration of the biblical text. Consider, for instance, his conviction that "an Adventist need not feel uneasy when he or she realizes the text has been shaped by human activity. Behind it divine inspiration works both in the initial inception of the message and its preservation through whatever stages it may have required. This enables Adventists to avoid the pitfalls of a strict, naturalistic biblical criticism, while recognizing the legitimate fruits of the critical method in calling attention to the human factor.[67] In other words, Gladson's proposal demonstrates that one can use the historical-critical method without subscribing to the naturalistic presuppositions on which the historical-critical method has been built.[68]

Gladson also argues on the basis of the thought-inspiration paradigm. According to this view, Adventist scholars should feel free to apply the

[66]Dederen, "On Inspiration and Biblical Authority," 101.

[67]Jerry Gladson, "Taming Historical Criticism: Adventist Biblical Scholarship in the Land of the Giants," *Spectrum*, 18/4 (1988), 19-34. Note that inspiration is "behind" the text or human factor. The historical-critical method has not changed because the affirmation of supernatural inspiration abides by the naturalistic presupposition, which does not allow God to act historically within the flow of historical spatiotemporal causes. God and the supernatural are carefully placed out of the reach of historical criticism behind the closed historical continuum.

[68]Gladson, 28, argues that one can use historical criticism on the assumption of divine transcendence and thought inspiration. He draws from the verbal-revelation theory the notion of mysterious divine superintendence. This notion opens the door to historical criticism because it hides divine intervention behind the continuum of historical events. What Gladson seems to miss is that the use of divine transcendence as a macro-hermeneutical presupposition can be understood in different ways.

historical-critical methodology to the portions of Scripture that originate in human research and experience. The historical-critical method, however, is not "modified" by accepting thought inspiration (or revelation in Thompson's language), and by circumscribing the biblical materials that fall outside of thought inspiration. In order to apply the historical-critical method to the entire Bible, inspiration (or revelation in Thompson's language) must be replaced by encounter revelation.

<div align="center">The Advantages and Disadvantages
of Thought Inspiration</div>

Thought inspiration involves positive and negative points. On the positive side, for instance, it provides a midpoint between modernistic noncognitive encounter revelation and absolutely inerrant classical verbal inspiration. Thought inspiration also has the positive effect of directing the interpreter's attention to the weightier matters discussed in Scripture and away from the minutiae. Finally, this view of inspiration has the obvious advantage of accounting for biblical phenomena that do not fit within the verbal-inspiration theory.

However, thought inspiration also has disadvantages. The thought-words dichotomy, on which the theory builds, leads to the claim that inspiration does not reach to the words of Scripture. Unfortunately, this claim and the thought-words dichotomy on which it builds are not supported by Scripture, White, or philosophical analysis. Although thought inspiration accounts better for the phenomena of Scripture and White's experience in writing her books than verbal inspiration, it fails to account for the clear biblical claim that inspiration reaches to the words themselves (2 Tim 3:16). Moreover, a detailed study of White's thought on inspiration seems to suggest that, according to her, divine inspiration does reach the words and assures the "total trustworthiness of the biblical record."[69]

The classical Ellen White statement used by Adventist proponents of thought inspiration reads:

> It is not the words of the Bible that are inspired, but the men that were inspired. Inspiration acts not on the man's words or his expressions but on the man himself, who, under the influence of the Holy Ghost, is imbued with thoughts. Nevertheless, the words receive the impress of the individual mind. The divine mind is diffused. The divine mind and will is combined with the human mind and will; thus the utterances of the man are the word of God.[70]

Unfortunately, the last sentence of White's paragraph is often left out, in which White clearly states that divine inspiration—which includes the technical definition of revelation and inspiration—works not on the words (as the verbal theory affirms), but in the formation of the writer's thought. In this way, inspiration reaches to the words of the prophets, which "are the word of God."

[69]Damsteegt, 162.

[70]Ellen White, *Selected Messages*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1958, 1980), 1: 21.

In other places, White explains how God was present, guiding when she was writing.[71] It seems clear that White would not support "thought" inspiration as many understand it at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Consequently, it appears misleading to use one aspect of her complex view on inspiration to give authority to a theory she would not approve.[72]

Moreover, philosophical reflection suggests that "language and thinking about things are so bound together that it is an abstraction to conceive of the system of truths as a pregiven system of possibilities of being [thoughts] for which the signifying subject [biblical writer] selects corresponding signs [words]."[73] Thoughts and words belong together.[74] A thought with no word or words to communicate perishes in the mind of the thinker.

Another problem is that, for all practical purposes, thought inspiration reduces inspiration to revelation.[75] Technically, revelation deals with the formation of ideas in the mind of biblical writers, and inspiration with the process of communicating revelation in written or oral formats. When thought inspiration claims that divine assistance to the prophet does not reach the words, it is thereby limiting divine intervention to revelation. The practical problem with this view is that we have no access to prophetic thought, which died with the prophets, but only with their human fallible words.

Finally, the problems of thought inspiration considerably increase when the thought-word dichotomy hides the history-salvation dichotomy that finds its ground not in biblical but in Platonic thinking. Exegetes and theologians working from these dichotomies feel free to criticize the historical content of Scripture from a scientific viewpoint because they assume that the divine theological content of Scripture is both beyond the human words of the text and the history of salvation it reveals. Since theological content is not strictly

[71]See, e.g., a number of other places where she supports this position (*Mind Character and Personality*, 2 vols. [Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1977], 1: 318; *Selected Messages*, 1: 27, 36, 37; *Manuscript Releases* (Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1993), 2: 156-157; *Selected Messages*, 3: 36. Moreover, in numerous passages White refers to Scripture as "the inspired word" or "words" of God, (see, e.g., *Evangelism* [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1970], 269; *Selected Messages*, 1: 17; *Steps to Christ* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1956), 108; "How to Study the Bible," *Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald*, July, 19, 1887); and "words of inspiration" (see, e.g., *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1943), 198; *Testimonies for the Church*, 2 :605). It seems clear that White would not support "thought" inspiration as many understand it at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Consequently, it appears misleading to use one aspect of her complex view on inspiration to give authority to a theory she would not approve.

[72]See also Damsteegt, 160.

[73]Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 417. Gadamer seems to imply that Greek philosophy, based on a timeless notion of reality, drives an abstract wedge between thought and word (ibid., 417-418).

[74]Our thoughts are influenced by the language that shapes it.

[75]The same criticism that Thompson leveled against verbal inspiration; see above.

tied to the words of Scripture, exegetes and theologians use their imaginations and present the results as the theological content of the text. Not surprisingly, some Adventist theologians and scientists, trying to accommodate the biblical account of creation to evolutionary scientific teachings, use thought inspiration to justify their approach. They explicitly argue their case based on thought inspiration and the assumed disjunction between thoughts and words.[76]

The thought-word dichotomy assumed in thought inspiration derives from the same macro hermeneutics on which classical Christian theologians ground their soul-body dichotomy. Just as by observing the body we do not gain knowledge about the soul, so by reading the text of Scripture we are clueless as to the divine thought in the mind of the biblical writer. In short, if inspiration did not reach the words, how are we sure that we find any divinely originated thoughts in Scripture? If the separation between thought and words makes room for small errors, why should it not also make room for substantial errors in theological teachings?

Conclusion

Presently Adventist scholars work by implicitly or explicitly assuming three different interpretations of revelation-inspiration: verbal inspiration, encounter revelation, and thought inspiration.

These theories are by no means of minor theological importance. On the contrary, they reveal different theological schools or theological paradigms, which decidedly influence the entire task of exegetical and theological research, even to the point of dividing Adventism into distinctive schools of thought across the world. This conflict of interpretations should alert us to the importance of arriving at a proper understanding of revelation-inspiration.

Our research has not found any serious scholarly attempt by an Adventist theologian to deal with the cognitive origin of Scripture. Instead, Adventist scholars adopt and adapt the theoretical models of explanation produced by classical (verbal model) and modern (encounter model) theological traditions. These models build on human philosophical presuppositions about divine and human nature. In so doing, they violate the *sola Scriptura* principle and therefore go against the first fundamental belief of Adventist doctrines.

First, the encounter theory does not support a *sola Scriptura* theology because it teaches that the content of Scripture originates from human

[76]See, e.g., Cottrell, 195-221. See Cottrell's views on the basis of a literal exegesis of Genesis ("Literary Structure of Genesis 1:1–2:3: An Overview," in *Creation Reconsidered: Scientific, Biblical, and Theological Perspectives*, ed. James L. Hayward [Roseville, CA: Association of Adventist Forums, 2000], 239-248); on the assumption of thought revelation that the truth of the text is in the theological thought behind the text ("Prophets: Infallible or Authoritative?" in *Creation Reconsidered*, 223-233). See also Frederick E. J. Harder, who merges the doctrines of creation and Christology. In the process of so doing, the Great Controversy motif is reinterpreted along theistic evolutionary lines ("Theological Dimensions of the Doctrine of Creation," in *Creation Reconsidered*, 279-286).

knowledge. Second, while, at first glance, the verbal theory seems to support a *sola Scriptura* theology because it teaches that God is the "real" writer of Scripture, the teachings of Scripture do not support the understanding of divine actions that the verbal theory assumes. Although Scripture teaches that God is the author of Scripture, it does not claim that he is the writer. Moreover, the phenomena of Scripture do not support the notion that God is the writer of Scripture. In addition, by having the words of Scripture originate directly from God's timeless eternity, the verbal model disregards the content of biblical words that represent God's acting and speaking to the prophets from within the flow of human time and history. All these are examples that point to the conclusion that the verbal model of revelation cannot actually support a theology based only on Scripture. Finally, the hard wedge driven between thoughts and words makes it impossible for the Adventist "thought" inspiration to support the *sola Scriptura* principle.

If Adventist theology wants to remain faithful to the *sola Scriptura* principle, then it should search for a new model of revelation-inspiration. We will consider, in a second article, the possibility of building a biblical model of revelation-inspiration that may support the *sola Scriptura* principle and strengthen the unity and mission of the Adventist Church.

"IT WAS MARY THAT FIRST PREACHED A RISEN JESUS": EARLY SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST ANSWERS TO OBJECTIONS TO WOMEN AS PUBLIC SPIRITUAL LEADERS[1]

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In 1818, even as the North American Second Great Awakening was winding down to a close, New England farmer William Miller reached a conclusion that would revive flagging religious enthusiasm: according to his study of Scripture, Jesus would return in approximately twenty-five years.[2] Although Miller was content to share his findings in a piecemeal way with local church groups as he received invitations from interested parties who had heard of his interpretation of the prophecies, the limited and informal promulgation of his ideas changed abruptly after he met noted social-reform leader Joshua Himes in Boston late in 1839.[3] Himes organized a major campaign to publish the news broadly, and the "Millerite" movement was born. The interest of theologians, clergy, and lay people was piqued and hundreds of thousands embraced the doctrine of the "Advent Near" as the projected time drew close.[4] When Christ did not return on October 22, 1844, the date calculated by Advent lecturer Samuel Snow and accepted by prominent movement leaders, the crowds abandoned the movement.

In the months that followed, those who remained were fragmented and

[2]A number of excellent studies review the profile and career of William Miller and the millennial movement he started, beginning with Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller: Generally Known as a Lecturer on the Prophecies, and the Second Coming of Christ* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853). David L. Rowe provides a helpful bibliographic essay in his work, *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 165-176.

[3]George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 70-92.

[4]Estimates of numbers of people who participated in the movement vary widely. George R. Knight notes that "*The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* put the figure at 150,000 to 200,000" (*Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* [Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993], 213), while historian Whitney Cross estimated that in addition to those who left their churches or were counted as recognized Millerites, there were "a million or more of their fellows [who] were skeptically expectant" (*Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1820-60* [Ithaca: Cornell University, 1950], 287).

uncertain as to which parts of their Advent expectations and exegetical methodology they should retain. Splinter groups formed around various interpretations of where their reading of prophecy had failed.[5] During this period, respected Millerite leader Joseph Bates began to form a coalition of sabbatarian Adventists. Although most of the remaining Millerite leaders were more interested in sustaining the belief in the Advent Near than exploring this new theological proposition, Bates worked tirelessly to promote and secure this new branch of the Advent movement. While he successfully persuaded certain prominent Millerites to join the small circle of sabbatarian believers, one of his most significant additions was a young couple, James and Ellen (Gould Harmon) White. In James White,[6] the group gained a dedicated preacher and worker who would take on the monumental responsibility of creating, editing, and operating *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, the nerve center and official voice of the group. Until his death in 1881, White, who played a major role in shaping the sabbatarian Adventist movement, contributed significantly to the group's growth and personality, as well as its theological, organizational, and financial dynamics.

Ellen White, the product of a pious Methodist household where spiritual discipline and personal connection with God were conscientiously cultivated, was equally committed to spreading the message of the Advent Near. Religiously sensitive from childhood, she had received a vision shortly after the Great Disappointment in which she saw the Advent people led by Jesus along a steep and narrow path headed for heaven. In a subsequent vision, she received the mandate to share her vision for the comfort and clarity of the struggling Adventists. Initially assisted in her task by her family who drove her to meet with scattered bands, she recited her vision where she could. After her marriage, she traveled and preached alongside James and other Advent "messengers," receiving additional visions and communications from God for group (and individual) encouragement and growth. She brought to the fledgling movement assurance of God's presence and sanction through her ongoing mystical experiences.

In the years that followed, Ellen White was repeatedly confronted by social prejudice against women in nineteenth-century public ministry. Despite the evangelistic success of a number of women who preached the Advent Near fearlessly, reactions to women's preaching were frequently hostile. Many members questioned whether Scripture allowed women to speak publicly where men were present, however positive the results. Ellen White's gifts and practices were problematic to many who had been steeped in the general social and religious traditions of the period and believed that only men should exercise the full range of spiritual gifts in the church setting. The social obstacles to the practice of her spiritual gift might have been overwhelming had she not received her husband's full assistance.

Despite general social trends forbidding women to "speak" publicly, it is not

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[5]Rowe, 141-149.

[6]Hereafter, James White will be referred to simply as White; his wife will be referred to as Ellen White.

surprising that White and the Millerite Movement allowed women to preach. Several Millerite leaders, such as Himes and Joseph Bates (and many of the individuals who formed the nucleus of the sabbatarian Adventist movement) were from the Christian Connection Church, a communion that recognized God's call to women, as well as men, to preach. White shared the Christian Connection's understanding that all individuals should exercise the full range of spiritual gifts that God had given them. He would remain an outspoken champion for women's full participation in religious gatherings until his death.

While Bates's sabbatarian branch of the Advent Near movement succeeded in gathering a gradually expanding core of adherents still looking for the imminent return of Christ, the work of organizing the traveling evangelists, preparing material for distribution, communicating with the scattered believers, and fund-raising for new projects grew exponentially. Although the sabbatarian Adventists were linked together by their common hope and occasional fellowship opportunities, they were not a formally organized or legally recognized entity. There were several drawbacks to the unincorporated state, including the inability to own property as a group.

White, with the group's printing press in his possession, was well aware of the potential legal problems that could arise if he were to die unexpectedly. He argued vociferously for several years that the movement needed to take a name and legally incorporate.[7] After a series of legal steps were taken between 1860 and 1863, the scattered and amorphous bands of sabbatarian Adventists were incorporated into a formally recognized organization, and the young church was ready to press ahead in an "ordered" and more disciplined fashion.[8] The

[7]For a helpful review of the discussion of "church order" and White's clearly articulated sentiments concerning formal organization, see Andrew G. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization: Historical Development, 1844-1881* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987).

[8]Joseph Bates also pressed for organization of the church and the restoration of what was termed "Gospel order." White, working as he did at the *Review* and functioning as the *de facto* superintendent of ministry, was regularly faced with the dysfunctional aspects of their amorphous movement: problems of property ownership and regulation; transfers in church membership (including of those who had been removed from communion in a particular congregation); and the control, assignment, and payment of ministers. These issues appear and are argued through in a series of articles in the 1850s and early 1860s. White's general level of frustration with those who were resisting the move in 1860 appeared at the end of a lengthy article, "The Loud Voice of the Third Angel," *Review and Herald*, April 26, 1860, 177-178. He noted: "The work of Bible union is well begun among us, and is progressing gloriously. Thank God for a religion that will convert both heads and hearts, so that we may be perfectly united in mind, judgment and spirit. Those who are seeking for perfect union on Bible truth are gathering with Christ, and preparing for the loud voice of the third angel. Those who are stupid to the subject are in danger, while those disposed to act independently of the church please Satan, wound their brethren, and are preparing for a fall. J.W." For a general overview of the situation, see George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: The Development of Adventist Church Structure* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2003), 28-47.

church was, White concluded, "left to move forward." Rather than being restricted solely to models of organization and practices outlined in Scripture, "all means which, according to sound judgment, will advance the cause of truth, and are not forbidden by plain scripture declarations, should be employed."[9] White was anxious to establish the church on secure legal, financial, and organizational footing by providing the necessary structure and authority to create a system that would facilitate mission and bring cohesion to the scattered Adventist bands. Additionally, he wanted to be certain that the group was shielded from assault by "self-called, tobacco-eating, gift-hating preachers," individuals who claimed to be Adventist ministers yet undermined the believers' confidence in God's message and messengers.[10] Some of these devourers had a particular problem with women exercising their spiritual gifts.

By the time the church formally organized in 1863, the Adventist understanding of group mission had expanded from encouraging the disappointed to a more generalized spreading of what they called the "Third Angel's Message."[11] As the official ministry was being licensed and appointments assigned at annual conference sessions, the church was seriously considering ways to sustain its full-time workers in a systematic manner.[12] Of the several great challenges the young church faced, none appeared greater than that of providing relief to the few established workers, many of whom were on the verge of collapse from overwork.[13] "What Shall Be Done? Laborers Wanted" was only one

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[9]James White, "Making Us A Name," *Review and Herald,* April 26, 1860, 180. While other leading Adventists continued to insist that the church could only do what they found commanded or modeled in Scripture, by 1859 James White had moved to arguing that the group "should not be afraid of that system which is not opposed by the Bible, and is approved by sound sense" ("Yearly Meetings," *Review and Herald,* July 21, 1859, 68).

[10]James White, "Organization," *Review and Herald,* September 30, 1862, 140. The lack of official organization had created confusion in certain places over who represented the group and who did not. J. N. Loughborough's experience in Otsego, Michigan, provides a case in point. In his report on meetings in the area, he included the following notation: "Eld. Cranmer, who had been preaching what *he* calls the Third Angel's Message in Otsego and vicinity, has picked up those that wished to rebel against the body" ("Meetings in Otsego, Monterey and Wright, Mich.," *Review and Herald,* February 3, 1859, 85).

[11]For a general overview of this process, see Richard W. Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1990); see esp. "Worldwide Outreach, 1868-1885," 130-145.

[12]It is important to remember that tithing was adopted as an Adventist practice during the General Conference Session of 1876. For a record of that action, see U. Smith, "Special Session of the General Conference," *Review and Herald,* April 6, 1876, 108.

[13]As Gerald Wheeler noted: "Poor health and sudden death were a constant litany in the lives of the Seventh-day Adventist pioneers" (*James White: Innovator and Overcomer* [Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2003], 154). Exhausted from stress and overwork, discouraged and threatened, several of the leading pioneers were almost to the point of giving up the ministry. White suffered a major stroke in 1865 that took him months to

of many articles with the same essential message: "From all parts of the country the Macedonian call is heard, 'Come over and help us.'"[14] The responsibility for evangelism needed to be transferred to a larger host of messengers.

Calls for workers were frequent and gender-inclusive, as every person's effort was needed to accomplish the enlarged mission. White announced in an 1870 article, "There are a hundred young men and young women who should attend a thorough course of lectures at Battle Creek immediately after our General Conference, to qualify them to teach the word to others."[15] Even more pointed was an 1873 article on upcoming ministerial lectures, where the description of the proposed lectures was followed by a challenging appeal to women, as well as men. It read:

> We earnestly call the attention of our young men and women of inquiring minds to this subject. Is it not time to recognize the claims of God upon you? When are we going to realize that a world is to be warned of its approaching doom? Will your skirts be clear of the blood of souls if you neglect opportunities for proper preparation to labor in the cause of God?[16]

Women, valued as colaborers in the cause, were invited repeatedly to prepare themselves for ministry by attending the new set of lectures designed to equip ministers to labor more effectively.[17] Other announcements of the ministerial lectures, which were considered the interim method of training young ministers until a school could be opened at Battle Creek, also made it clear that the training was available for women. In fact, in order to facilitate women's enrollment, women were offered a significant discount on the course (they paid $3.00, whereas men paid $5.00) in recognition of their generally more limited access to financial resources.[18] The article, "What Shall Be Done?

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recover from. Several other leaders, including Ellen White, were not far behind him in general debilitation.

[14]"What Shall Be Done? Laborers Wanted," *Review and Herald*, December 12, 1871, 204.

[15]James White, "The Future," *Review and Herald*, January 10, 1870, 32.

[16]General Conference Committee, "Ministerial Lectures," *Review and Herald*, March 25, 1873, 117.

[17]An example of the many and various forms assumed by these calls to service appeared in an article by Francis Gould, "For the People Had a Mind to Work," *Review and Herald*, April 25, 1871, 147. The article asserted that God sends forth qualified individuals to proclaim present truth in every time, including the present age. He noted: "Honest men and women are taking their respective positions to do the work to which the Lord has assigned them," and then proceeded to discuss the absolute significance of every spiritual gift, as "Truth is a unit." The author pressed the point that "The smallest gift in this direction cannot be dispensed with." Not willing that any should excuse themselves on the basis of the meagerness of abilities, Gould added, "I have found by observation, and it is a fact in my experience, that the more we improve upon our gifts, however small they may be, we are adding strength to strength, and gaining a rich experience."

[18]J[ames] W[hite], "Minister's Lecture Association," *Review and Herald*, January 10,

Laborers Wanted," cited above, is a good example of this call. After sketching the need for workers to carry the gospel message, it noted that "Those who have found pardon of their sins, and are the adopted sons and daughters of the Almighty . . . are debtors. And in no way can they approximate toward paying the debt, only by a life devoted to the work of bringing others to Christ." The piece then reminded the readers of the scheduled set of lectures designed to train preachers: "And again we call the attention of our people to the subject of brief courses of instruction in the present truth, and the best methods of teaching it, for the benefit of those young men and young women who feel that the grace of God has made them debtors to sinners, and that they must devote themselves to the last message of mercy to the world."[19] On May 19, 1874, the *Review* featured a short article "Who Shall Preach?" urging all members to take up their responsibilities as preachers of the gospel. Pressing the soul-winning obligation of all Christians, the author challenged the reader to "Let each one proclaim the message, so that all may hear; for how can they hear without a preacher, and how can they preach unless they be sent?" While recognizing that churches ordain certain individuals to ministry, the author directed the readers' attention to a larger reality, "the Heaven-ordained ministry of *all* Christ's disciples." The author explicitly included women among those so ordained and obligated to preach: "[L]et it be done by all sorts of instrumentalities, young or old, men, women, or children." He added: "The Head of the church would fain call into the field a great many more of those preachers, who, like those scattered men and women in the early days of Christianity, went everywhere preaching the word." The article closed with the reminder that "we are our brother's keepers," prompting believers to take up their duties to preach.[20]

Although Protestant churches were becoming increasingly sensitized and polarized on the issue of women's "place" in the church, dividing themselves into liberal and conservative camps on the issue, the pages of the *Review* continued to report women's evangelistic labors and successes and encouraged women to move into active and visible roles within church life. In 1871, the *Review* editors included "Women—Social Devotions,"[21] a small but interesting article inserted after reports on the progress of the work submitted by stalwarts such as J. N. Loughborough and Bates. The bulk of the piece was a statement that Henry Ward Beecher, one of the most renowned and prestigious nineteenth-century American ministers, discussed "Woman's Work in the Church" during a Congregational Conference. Beecher, while openly admitting that "I know I go against the Puritan fathers, whom I revere, but do not feel bound to follow blindly," went on record for the inclusion of women in the formal functions (e.g., prayer) of church services. Drawing from his own experience of his stepmother's powerful spiritual

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1870, 32.

[19]"What Shall Be Done? Laborers Wanted," 205.

[20]"Who Shall Preach?" *Review and Herald*, May 19, 1874, 178.

[21]"Women—Social Devotions," *Review and Herald*, May 23, 1871, 183.

efficacy in prayer, he deduced that the Congregational Church's stance against women's participation in worship services functioned to "exclude those who are adapted by God for it." He succinctly summarized his conclusion on the controversy raging in American Christianity at the time concerning women's roles in public space: "We shall never have a church in its full power until the women take part in the devotional meetings." While this piece may be viewed as a simple reporting of conversations in other denominations, women believers found themselves reminded of the relationship between their full participation in church life and the triumph of God's kingdom.

The practice of encouraging women to exercise the full range of their spiritual gifts excluded Adventists from the religious circles of those who viewed their own practice of restricting the public roles of women as a mark of fidelity to Scripture and God. In August of 1868, M. W. Howard wrote an article for the *Review* to express his own ruminations on the religious debate on the "place" of women in the church and the stance of the "conservatives" against women's "liberty."[22] Thinking particularly about Ellen White and the negative response being accorded to her because of her gender, Howard was moved to try to harmonize her role with Scripture. As he noted, "And thus as I reflected upon that conservatism which so readily takes fright at the prominence accorded to a woman, I was convinced that the conservatism should be in another direction." By examining the scriptural record of women's leadership and teaching in the early church, he was convinced that conservative Christians (i.e., those who follow scriptural teaching and practice) must welcome the labors and messages of women.

In his short article, "Woman as a Co-Worker," Howard reviewed the accounts of Paul's ministry in Acts 18:18ff and Rom 16:3, 12 in order to remind readers that Paul recognized women as coworkers, traveled with them on missionary journeys, and commended their labors (often by name, as in the case of the "'beloved Persis who labored much in the Lord,'" Rom 16:12). He related Paul's choice to travel with Priscilla and Aquila, and asked rhetorically, "What, Paul leave the brethren and take with him as traveling laborers a man and his wife? Yes, for so the sacred record stands." He also cited the experience of Apollo, who, though "'fervent in spirit,'" had an incomplete knowledge of the gospel until Aquila and Priscilla "'expounded unto him the way of the Lord more perfectly.'" He declared, "Here is the simple record. Nor do we glean from what follows that this servant of God, this minister of the gospel, felt any depreciation of his self-esteem, or was held in less repute by the brethren for having been 'instructed in the way of the Lord more perfectly' by such instructors." These narratives of women's activity in the early Christian experience led him to conclude that the call of a woman to leadership "is not so far aside from the order of God's original appointments as we at first supposed." Thus his article served in the *Review* as a challenge to those who would claim that fidelity to the scriptural model prevented their acceptance of

[22]M. W. Howard, "Woman as a Co-Worker," *Review and Herald*, August 18, 1868, 133.

women's spiritual gifts: Scripture records that women have always been coworkers with men in gospel labor.

An "Address and Appeal" by Ellen White

In addition to the generalized appeals for all individuals to commit their lives to service and utilize their spiritual gifts for the building up of the church, some articles focused specifically on recruiting women to various arenas of mission. Ellen White, in one of the relatively few articles she published in the *Review* during this period, made a special appeal to women to accept the call to the preaching ministry.[23] An impassioned plea for gospel workers,[24] the article urged believing women to look beyond their own discomfort with public ministry to the needs of the perishing. Stating her position clearly from the opening sentences, she began with the statement, "Women can be the instruments of righteousness, rendering holy service. It was Mary that first preached a risen Jesus." Underscoring Jesus' mission to redeem the lost, and that there is "no holier work than this," Ellen White declared, "If there were twenty women where now there is one, who would make this holy mission their cherished work, we should see many more converted to the truth. The refining, softening influence of Christian women is needed in the great work of preaching the truth."

Challenging women who were withholding their spiritual gifts for ministry, whether from fear of potential censure and social disgrace for laboring out of women's traditionally approved sphere ("If this work was not beneath the dignity of the world's Redeemer, the Creator of worlds, should it be considered too humiliating for sinful mortals?"), or other concerns, Ellen White utilized the well-known NT metaphor based on Jesus' parables of laborers in the vineyard to call them to action: "The Lord of the vineyard is saying to many women who are now doing nothing, 'Why stand ye here all the day idle?' Zealous and continued diligence in our sisters toiling for the spread of the truth would be wholly successful, and would astonish us with its results." Thus, in the opening paragraph of her appeal for workers, Ellen White established the appropriateness and necessity of women's faithfulness to public aspects of ministry: God's redemptive work needed women's preaching labors.

This article, which characterized faithful Christians "as co-laborers with the Redeemer of the world," made the connection between the work for others and individual spiritual development.[25] Ellen White argued that spiritual growth

[23]E[llen] G. White, "Address and Appeal, Setting Forth the Importance of Missionary Work," *Review and Herald,* January 2, 1879, 1-2.

[24]Ibid. White noted that "I wish I could speak words to men and women which would nerve them to diligent action. The moments now granted us to work are few. We are standing upon the very borders of the eternal world."

[25]Ibid. White stated: "If God and Christ and angels rejoice when even one sinner repents and becomes obedient to Christ, should not man be imbued with the same spirit, and work for time and for eternity with persevering effort to save, not only his own soul, but the souls of others? If you work in this direction with whole-hearted interest as the

requires willingness to "bear the yoke of Christ," to utilize gifts given for the world's salvation. With every ability and "all their powers a willing sacrifice to him," believers must be "faithful to duty, ready for every good work," despite discouragements. She noted that Christian growth occurs "amid strangers to God, amid scoffing, subject to ridicule." Her words had particular meaning for women in a time when preaching automatically excluded them from general social approval and exposed them to criticism and disparagement. The *Appeal's* message was clear: women who desired to progress toward sanctification and to receive divine approval must be willing to utilize their spiritual gifts despite the cost. As she observed, it is the "faithful sower of the seed [who] will hear the commendation of the Master, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant, . . . enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'"

The general appeals to women to enter public evangelism had to counter both the systematic socialization of women to accept a passive (silenced) role in public religious gatherings and the heightened hostility generated toward women preachers and teachers by the controversy raging among Christians in the late nineteenth century. In a series of articles, George I. Butler, a faithful and conservative leader who served twice as president of the church, asked and answered the question concerning whether or not visions and prophecy have been "manifested among Seventh-day Adventists," and then explored the objections certain people posed to accepting them.[26] A careful examination of Scripture relating to the "end-times," its fulfillment in his contemporary era, and the Adventist Church's experience with the fulfillment of the promises found in Joel and Acts ("I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy") were ultimately focused on the gifts given to the church through Ellen White. Butler provided information and testimony to establish the verity and efficacy of her gifts for the church, and then addressed the resistance to Ellen White that stemmed from issues with her gender. Butler was candid on this point: "Some object to these visions because they are given to a woman. They would not think them so objectionable if they came to a man. In reply we would say, It is for God to choose his own agents." Butler then reminded the readers that "He has in ages past often chosen women in this capacity," and listed women prophets in the biblical record. Ending his argument with Joel's promise ("'Your daughters shall prophesy in the last days.' Acts 2:17"), he concluded, "So this objection is of no force."

Women in Public Ministry: Answers to Objections

While the early *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbooks* list women who held ministerial licenses (such as Sarah Hallock Lindsey, Ellen S. Edmonds Lane, Julia Owen,

followers of Christ, discharging every duty, improving every opportunity, your own souls will be gradually settling into the mold of a perfect Christian." On the other hand, "hundreds are dying a spiritual death of inaction because they will not work at all."

[26]Geo[rge] I. Butler, "Visions and Prophecy—Have They Been Manifested Among Seventh-day Adventists?" May 19, 1874, 181; June 9, 1874, 201-202.

Hattie Enoch, and Anna M. Johnson), demonstrating that women were officially sanctioned ministers/evangelists for the church during this era, rapid church growth meant that there was a constant supply of new members for whom the idea of women in ministry seemed surprising, strange, or even inconsistent for a conservative, Scripture-honoring church. The *Review* periodically featured articles answering the objections that were posed to women's full participation in the ministry of the church.[27] This section reviews the articles addressing the propriety of women's participation in the speaking and teaching ministries of the church between the formal organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1863 and 1881, an important year in Adventist history on several accounts, two of which are germane to this topic. First, respected church leader James White, who consistently promoted the recognition of women's spiritual gifts and call to ministry, died, eliminating his advocacy on the issue.[28] The second point of interest was the introduction of a resolution at the General Conference designed to establish the propriety of ordination for women in ministry.[29] Church leaders were concerned about the quality of ministry (and ministers) and were working to create a better educated and more carefully screened clergy. The resolution, which was referred to the General Conference Committee for follow-up after discussion, indicates interest in moving women licentiates (ministers examined and granted a ministerial credential) through the same process that was being regularized and established for men in ministry.

The articles that appeared in the paper, of which some pieces were penned specifically for *Review* readers and others were reprints selected from other Christian periodicals, outlined the church's response to arguments that Scripture forbids women's public-speaking ministry. During this period, the *Review* ran seven articles focused on refuting the misuse of specific Pauline

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[27]For a fuller discussion of this point, see Beverly Beem and Ginger Hanks Harwood, "'Your Daughters Shall Prophesy': James White, Uriah Smith, and the 'Triumphant Vindication of the Right of the Sisters' to Preach," *AUSS* 43 (2005): 41-58.

[28]Joseph Bates, who was also a supporter of women's exercise of their spiritual gifts, had passed away in 1872. Of the three individuals usually considered the church founders, this left only Ellen White.

[29]Minutes of the 1881 General Conference session read in part as follows: "Fifth Meeting, Dec. 5, 10 A.M. . . . *Resolved,* That all candidates for license and ordination should be examined with reference to their intellectual and spiritual fitness for the successful discharge of the duties which will devolve upon them as licentiates and ordained ministers.

"*Resolved,* That females possessing the necessary qualifications to fill that position, may, with perfect propriety, be set apart by ordination to the work of the Christian ministry.

"This was discussed by J. O. Corliss, A. C. Bordeau, E. R. Jones, D. H. Lamson, W. H. Littlejohn, A. S. Hutchins, D. M. Canright, and J. N. Loughborough, and referred to the General Conference Committee" ("General Conference-Business Proceedings [Continued]," *Review and Herald,* December 20, 1881, 392).

verses to exclude women from preaching or teaching ministries. The arguments presented in these articles were consistent with the stance taken before formal church organization and did not present a change in either exegesis or hermeneutics. They maintained the position that both women and men receive and exercise spiritual gifts in and for the church. The occasional nature of these pieces reflects the settled practice of the church on this issue, the continued need to present the denomination's position for new believers, and the need to deflect the criticisms that were being presented by religious "conservatives."[30] The next section provides a brief overview of each of the major articles presented to deal with this issue.

"Shall Women Speak in the Church?"

The first article addressing the Pauline injunction to silence to appear in the *Review* after formal church organization was a piece in 1871 selected from the Free Will Baptist journal, *Morning Star*.[31] In this article, the author examined the Pauline restriction on women in the church, noting its employment among various Christian communities: "Among some Christian sects it is considered disorderly for women to speak or pray in a public assembly. Of course they quote 1 Cor. 14:34, 35, as deciding the case." In subsequent paragraphs, the author developed his thesis that the way these Christian groups were using Pauline texts to exclude women from spiritual leadership was misinformed and illogical, and ultimately a violation of the gospel.

In the discussion that follows, the author looked at the implications of taking the cited verses as "a general law." His presentation insisted that readers move from a casual citation of the text to settle the issue to a careful consideration of what such a stance would signify for church life. He contended that acceptance of the global application of 1 Cor 14:34-35 would mean, "It is forbidden to a woman to speak, pray, or sing, in public, for silence is commanded. It is as much a violation of this scripture to exhort in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, as to exhort in prose and to pray." He argued that as no one would deny women those forms of speech, forbidding other forms of speech creates a state of inconsistency in church proceedings. Assuming that Scripture would not set up an illogical and contradictory formula for church assemblies, he concluded that the current inconsistent

[30]The need for the periodic review of the established stance on women in ministry was at least in part a function and sign of Adventism's evangelistic success. The church was growing rapidly. While there were 3,500 members when the church was organized in 1863, and 4,320 in 1867, the 1870s saw the number expand to 5,400 and enrollment had reached 14,984 by the end of the 1880s. The growth continued exponentially in the 1890s (27,031), while the first decade of the new century would see membership top 63,000. Cf. George Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1999), 132. Adventist historian Emmet K. VandeVere referred to this era as the years of expansion ("Years of Expansion: 1865-1885," in *Adventism in America*, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 66-94.

[31]"Shall Women Speak in the Church?" *The Review and Herald*, March 14, 1871, 99.

state experienced in those groups forbidding women's public speaking originates from a misunderstanding of the text, stemming from improper interpretation.

The bulk of the article was devoted to answering the question, "Shall women speak in the church?" through the use of the methods standard in Adventist biblical hermeneutics: looking at specific texts in the historical context, comparing Scripture with Scripture, and examining general biblical practices that throw light upon the issue. The author first highlighted the particular context of Paul's statement in the church of Corinth: the struggle against disorderly services and confusion in the use of the gift of tongues. He noted that this situation is not the norm in all churches and asserted that "Because it is very improper for women to take part in such meetings as they had at Corinth, it does not follow that they may not take part in orderly religious meetings." Relating this freedom to speak with the often-quoted silence passage of 1 Tim 2:11-12, where women are "commanded to learn in silence, and forbidden to teach, or usurp authority over the men," he contended that this "cannot mean absolute silence, but the opposite of loquacity, impertinence, arrogance." Again, the author painted a picture of the context and concluded that "Women who usurp authority over men, and become dictatorial in public assemblies, are very much out of place; but that does not prove it improper to speak in a proper manner." He was unambiguous: "That these passages do not forbid a modest, orderly utterance of their views, hopes and joys, in religious meetings, is evident from the fact that the Scriptures indorse and commend such acts." He directly challenged those who restrict women's roles at church, citing the passage in 1 Cor 11:5, where instructions are given that "women who pray and prophesy in public should follow the custom of society, and have their heads covered. If it was wrong for them to speak or pray in public, why give these directions? The only difference made between men and women, is that men are to uncover their heads, and women are to cover theirs, when they speak or pray."

In his efforts to answer the question credibly, the author set the "silencing" texts beside the rest of Paul's teachings and harmonized these verses with other Scripture, including those that describe women's spiritual leadership. He insisted that proper interpretation of Paul's instructions must be in harmony with the words of the prophets, including Joel's prophecy that "'sons and daughters' should both prophesy, or exhort, as the word means; and Peter, Acts 2:17, so applies it. It is not likely that Paul's words conflict with this." He ended his overview by calling the readers' attention to the gospel record that Philip had four daughters "that were exhorters, and so noted and useful were their services, that the inspired writer was moved to mention them, that all other sisters having the same gifts might be encouraged to exercise them in the same way." He closed with an observation that could serve as a grave warning to churches that persisted in their practice of silencing women: "When women are forbidden to speak for Christ, the spirit of the gospel is violated."

I. Fetterhoof: "Women Laboring in Public"

In 1871, the August 8 issue of the *Review* featured a forceful and incisive article on the propriety of women laboring in public ministry taken from the Free Methodist publication, *The Earnest Christian*.[32] The author, I. Fetterhoof, presented the debated question and his thesis in his opening sentences: "Ought women to take a part in public worship? to pray and exhort, encourage others to love and serve God? We believe it is not only their privilege, but their duty, so to do." The remainder of the article is his reasoned defense of that position, utilizing a question-and-answer format to organize his points.

Once he had asserted that it is women's duty to publicly labor for God, Fetterhoof presented a survey of biblical history, examining the roles women played in both the OT and NT. He pointed out that in the Hebrew Scriptures, women were acknowledged as prophetesses, and "took part in the worship of God, and gave counsel as God directed them." Deborah, a prophetess and judge, had "dominion over the mighty." Miriam, Huldah, and Anna are cited as women whom God used to communicate his word: "Thus we see that under the old dispensation God gave of his Spirit to women, and made prophetesses of them, and directed them how to speak, and God's will was made known to men through them, and God was honored. And truly God doth respect women as much under the gospel as he did under the law."

Turning to the NT, Fetterhoof examined the work performed by various women in the early Christian movement. He noted that the daughters of Philip "were called prophetesses. Acts 21:9. They were teachers in the church. So says Dr. Clarke," he wrote, citing the foremost biblical commentary of the day to add further credibility to his argument.[33] He assessed the situation, noting: "Hence we see that God in giving his Holy Spirit, gave it equally to females as well as males, and said they should prophesy."

Fetterhoof then drew the readers' attention to the women who worked with Paul: "What did those women do, of whom Paul said that they labored with him in the gospel? How could they have labored with him in the gospel, if they did not join in the same work that he was engaged in, that is, urging the people to leave their sins, and receive Christ?" He argued that by knowing the work that Paul did, we can know something of the work that these women, his coworkers, did. Emphasizing that there were numerous women in this public ministry, Fetterhoof cited them by name for effect: "Phebe, Priscilla, Mary, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Persis, Euodias, Syntyche, and others." This information is important for the reader because "We learn from this that Christian women, as well as men, labored in the ministry of the word. In those times of simplicity, all persons, whether men

[32]I. Fetterhoof, "Women Laboring in Public," *The Review and Herald*, August 8, 1871, 58-59.

[33]Adam Clarke, *Commentary and Critical Notes: The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: The Texts Printed from the Most Correct Copies of the Present Authorized Translation, Including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts, with a Commentary and Critical Notes* (Cincinatti, OH: Applegate & Co., 1856).

or women, who had received the knowledge of the truth, believed it to be their duty to make known to others the word of salvation, and it is the duty of the preacher to teach, exhort, edify, and comfort."

In this context of women's active involvement in God's work with Paul, Fetterhoof examined Paul's commands to keep silent and concluded that this injunction was directed against speaking in unknown tongues and usurping authority over men and did not include praying or prophesying (teaching and preaching). In his estimation, logic precludes such an application as would countermand Paul's instructions to women concerning proper decorum when praying and prophesying. "Would Paul contradict himself thus?" he asked, reminding the reader of Paul's declaration, "'You may all prophesy,' verse 31." Lest there be a lingering doubt, he supplied the answer, a simple but definitive, "No."

Fetterhoof closed his argument against those who would silence women in the church with an appeal to experience. He reflected: "Often have we seen the power of God manifested, under the pious labor and influence of holy women. . . . They have their influence, and may do good." This reflection on the work that women utilizing their spiritual gifts in public ministry can do for God led him to conclude, "Oh! that all, male and female, that have experienced the power of the Holy Ghost in their souls, would stand up for the Redeemer's cause, in the church, in the streets, in the social circle, yes, everywhere."

M. E. Cornell: "Woodland, Cal."

Merritt Cornell's missionary report on his evangelistic efforts in California transitions quickly from an account of success ("the cause here seems now to be established upon a firmer basis, and the prospect is bright") to a formal complaint against women who are reluctant to embrace their responsibilities for speaking publicly.[34] As he noted: "One of the greatest drawbacks here has been the prevailing idea that women ought not to speak in social meetings. Many seem more than willing to have it so—to believe the sentiment. Being unused to speaking, they regard it as a great cross." He was not willing to accept their tradition-based passivity, correcting their notions by referencing the biblical model. Reflecting the Adventist understanding of the matter, he remarked: "But the Scriptures seem clear on the point. Not one word in the whole Bible is ever found with which to oppose it, except in the writings of the apostle Paul. And a careful comparison of all Paul's statements on the subject shows that he had reference only to unbecoming conduct of women in the public assembly, such as contradicting, altercating, and assuming authority over men in business meetings of the church." To add authority to his point, Cornell supplied a quote from Clarke, the respected biblical scholar and commentator noted above, which argued that Paul's injunction was aimed against women's "'*questioning, finding fault, disputing,*'" and "'*dictating* in assemblies,'" not their speaking or praying.

Cornell contended that instructions that are given to the church generally

[34]M. E. Cornell, "Wood, Cal." *Review and Herald,* June 3, 1873, 198.

(such as to assemble together and to exhort each other) apply to the sisters as well as the brothers, and warns that neglecting these directives is done at individual peril: "Paul speaks of the 'whole church,' being assembled in one place and says, '*Ye may all prophesy*, one by one, &c.' Now if the 'whole church' embraces the sisters, then 'Ye may all speak,' means the sisters also." Isolated phrases from Paul must not be used to negate clear testimony given for the conduct of assembled believers. Thus "We must not wrest the words of Paul, for we read that some will do so to their own destruction. See 2 Pet. 3:15, 16."

The article ends with encouragement to the sisters to abandon their reluctance to take up their responsibilities, for "'with the mouth, confession is made unto salvation.'" He bade them to *"Fear not*, go forward, and not be found among the 'fearful' at last." He reminded the reader of Malachi's words, "They that feared the Lord spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened and heard it.' Mal. 3:16." Challenging their total commitment to God, Cornell asked: "Do these timid, trembling sisters fear the Lord? Then may they speak often, and the Lord will hearken and bless them. Come right along, ye trembling souls; take up this cross also." Having stated his complaint and made his case against the misuse of Paul that would limit the witness of women in the churches, he left the women who must venture into public roles with the promise, "God will strengthen and help you."

John Nevins Andrews: "May Women Speak in Meeting?"

In 1879, Adventism's premier scholar, John Nevins Andrews, posted a refutation to those who wished to limit the participation of women in church gatherings based on Pauline texts, noting that 1 Cor 14 and 1 Tim 2 are the two "principal passages cited" to make the case.[35] Andrews dismissed the arguments summarily: "But a careful study of the books of Corinthians shows that the passage first referred to can have no such application."

Andrews's article modeled the Adventist view of the proper method of biblical interpretation. He began with a sketch of the church in Corinth, establishing chapter by chapter the disorder and confusion that characterized the situation. The disorder extended to the assembled meeting, where "the women threw everything into confusion by talking among themselves, and acting with such indecorum as to be a matter of shame to them." He alerted the reader of the need to view any particular instruction in context and avoid universalizing directives given to remedy a particular circumstance: "So that what the apostle says to women in such a church as this, and in such a state of things, is not to be taken as directions to all Christian women in other churches and in other times, when and where such disorders do not exist."

The work continued with a comparison of the passage with and against other Scriptures touching the same topic. He cited Paul's instruction for women to

[35]J. N. A[ndrews], "May Women Speak in Meeting?" *Review and Herald,* January 2, 1879, 1.

cover their heads when praying or prophesying (1 Cor 11:5) as "positive proof" that Paul was not against women's full participation in worship services. Using Paul's definition of prophesying from 1 Cor 14:3 ("he that prophesieth speaketh unto men, to edification, exhortation, and comfort"), he noted that "It was not a shame for women to do this work. Therefore Paul did not refer to such acts when he said, 'It is a shame for women to speak in the church.'"

Andrews acknowledged the Timothy passage as "Paul's *general* rule with regard to women as public teachers," but immediately pressed the readers' attention to other pertinent passages, including Pauline texts acknowledging women as gospel workers and church leaders. He supplied a weight of biblical evidence to demonstrate that both Testaments witness to God's use of women in his work and referred his readers back to the multitude of texts naming women at work for God in various public capacities and responsibilities. Far from taking the position that women are second-class instruments utilized when there are no men willing to accept a task, Andrews noted that "In the time of Jeremiah, Huldah was a prophetess consulted instead of Jeremiah himself."

For Andrews, who could read the Bible in seven languages, the matter was clear and obvious to any who would study Scripture for the purpose of seeking truth. The record of God's calling and employment of women from Miriam to Priscilla testified to God's will. He closed his argument by referring the reader back to Paul, the source of the "principal passages" being used to exclude women as an entrée into rethinking their stance on women's role: "Paul, in Romans 10:10, says, 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation:' and this must apply to women equally with men."

James White: "Women in the Church"

In 1879, White set forth a lengthy exposition on the question of the role of women in the work of God.[36] Opening with the Corinthian text stating that women should keep silence in the churches (1 Cor 14:34-35), White considered the meaning of this text set against the context of all biblical evidence and teaching on the issue of women's spiritual roles. The bulk of the article is devoted to instructing the readers in the basic methods of biblical interpretation, the methodology modeled as White wrestled with the interpretation of the Corinthian text.

Immediately following the Corinthian citation, White established his credentials as a religious conservative as he noted that the "only safe and proper rule of Biblical interpretation is to take every passage of the Book of God as meaning what it says, word for word," unless there is clearly a figure or parable involved. Since this text does not include a figure of speech, "his words should be taken as meaning just what they say." He did not allow the examination of the matter to end there, however, pointing out that other texts in Paul "speak as plainly of the position of woman in the house and work of God as this one

[36]James White, "Women in the Church," *Review and Herald*, May 29, 1879, 172.

does. And in order to arrive at the truth of God on this subject, a position must be found that will harmonize all the texts"—this is the work of the serious biblical scholar or student. He added: "The word of God is not 'yea and nay,' but yea and amen, to the glory of its divine Author."

Having established the necessity of comparing all passages on a subject, White then turned to another step in the process: the exploration of the context of the specific verse under scrutiny. He provided an overview of Paul's intentions in the fourteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, "correcting existing errors and establishing order" in a situation where believers were exercising their spiritual gifts of prophecy and tongues in open assembly. At that point in the article, he related the chaotic Corinthian context with its need for regulation to what was then a contemporary illustration of religion that shocked and repelled conservative Christians: the meetings where the "notorious Victoria Woodhull," widely known advocate of free-love, spiritualism, and women's rights, preached principles and practices that diverged radically from acceptable Christian beliefs and mores. The reader could quickly conclude that Paul needed to establish "rules" concerning the behavior of the gifted but undisciplined women of the Corinthian church. He pushed the reader to further examine the context, referring them to other chapters in Corinthians where Paul addresses church conduct. He observed that in Paul's teaching about the proper head attire for both men and women in religious gatherings, "he places men and women side by side in the position and work of teaching and praying in the church of Christ."

Bringing the readers' attention back to the text originally in question, White pressed the readers to ask themselves again what Paul could have meant when he said, "Let your women keep silence in the churches," given what else Paul had said in the same epistle. White stressed the point that Paul cannot mean that "women should take no part in those religious services where he would have both men and women take part in prayer and in prophesying, or teaching the word of God to the people," and submitted to them his own conclusion: Paul must be referring to secular meetings "which can be managed quite as well by the brethren as the sisters." Further, the meaning must consider the entire verse and not just one part of it. Paul's statement continued: "And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church." The article then called for a reexamination of the text to see if it could be understood to apply to anything other than a meeting from which a woman had been absent. He asked pointedly why a woman would ask her husband questions about a meeting she attended, as "The woman understands quite as well as her husband, sometimes better, all that is said." Since women not only attended, but had instructions on how to participate appropriately in worship services, these meetings must be the business meetings of the church which women did not ordinarily attend. According to White: "The only view that will harmonize all that the apostle has said of the position and work of Christian women, is that he is giving directions relative to meetings of the church to consider

secular matters." Other interpretations fail the test of common sense and
internal coherence, and as he observed: "Consistency, thou art a jewel!"

After examining the command to keep silent in its particular context and
harmonizing the passage with the other teachings of Paul to resolve
inconsistency, White turned his attention to the role that women played in the
history of God's people, demonstrating that God has always used women in
leadership positions. He began with the example of Miriam, citing Mic 6:3-4,
where God reminded Israel, "I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam."
He observed: "Here we find a woman occupying a position equal to that of
Moses and Aaron, God's chosen servants to lead the millions of Israel from the
house of bondage." He then highlighted the texts concerning Deborah to
augment the case that God chooses women to lead his people. White revisited
the Deborah narrative, emphasizing the point that God chose her—a
woman—to receive divine instructions for the community, teach the people,
and exercise judgment among them, concluding his presentation of her story
with the pointed observation: "She was a judge in Israel. The people went up
to her for judgment. A higher position no man has ever occupied."

After pausing to give "honorable mention" to Ruth and Esther, White
turned his attention to the prophecy of Joel, and Peter's use of it in Acts, to make
the transition from the leadership roles of OT women to those in the NT. His
focus, particularly relevant to Adventists, fell upon Joel's picture of the latter days,
when the Spirit of God is promised to men and women alike. He observed that
"Here, too, women receive the same inspiration from God as men."

White found the fulfillment of Joel's pronouncement not only in the story
of the prophetess Anna and the four prophesying daughters of Philip, but also
in the list of church workers provided by Paul in Romans. He pointed out that
Paul spoke of the women's labors "in the highest terms of commendation."

In many ways, the story of Simeon and Anna, the two prophets who
greeted the birth of Christ, were to White a model for the way that men and
women have been called to be colaborers in the gospel. He ended the article
with a repetition of God's promise to pour out his "Spirit upon all flesh" (Acts
2:17) and his own evaluation of the matter: "The Christian age was ushered in
with glory. Both men and women enjoyed the inspiration of the hallowed
hour, and were teachers of the people. . . . And the dispensation which was
ushered in with glory, honored with the labors of holy women, will close with
the same honors."

George Starr: "Does Paul Contradict Himself?"

George Starr opened his discussion on the question of the Pauline treatment
of women's part in worship services with the citation of the oft-quoted verse,
"Let your women keep silence in the churches," from 1 Cor 14:34.[37]
Significantly, however, rather than beginning with the injunction to silence, as

[37]Geo[rge] B. Starr, "Does Paul Contradict Himself?" *Review and Herald*, December
16, 1880, 388.

was the general pattern, he connected the verse with its context by first citing the verse immediately preceding it: "'For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints'" (v. 33), thus setting the verse in the larger context of the epistle of which it was a part.

Taking the book as a whole, Starr established several points on the background of the verse to aid the reader in understanding the 1 Cor 14 passage: the "words were written to a people converted from heathenism, and who upon all points of their newly espoused faith were in need of instruction." In addition to being a group without established precedent to guide them when they gathered, they were a group with problems: "the church was in trouble. Chap. 3:1-3, 11:18." He then drew insight from information given in the first seven verses of the fifth chapter, and concluded that "they were retaining in their midst those who should have been disfellowshiped." Moving on to chapter 11, he introduced the question of head coverings during prayer, noting that Paul had been questioned on this, showing that "differences of opinion were entertained among them in reference to it." At this point, Starr stopped to note the significance of the Pauline instructions for women who were praying or prophesying: "In giving this instruction concerning prophesying, the apostle teaches that women were to speak in the meetings, for his own definition of prophesying in chap. 14:3 of the same epistle, is 'He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.'" He further added the testimonies of "the apostle Peter, and the prophet Joel, as quoted by him," citing Acts 2:16-18: "'on my servants and on my hand-maidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy;' *i.e.*, 'speak unto men to edification, exhortation, and comfort.'"

It is after establishing this context and Paul's teaching that women should exercise their spiritual gifts that Starr turned back to "Let your women keep silence" with the observation: "But, in chapter 14:34 occur the offending words first quoted, with reference to women's keeping silence, which, if they apply to *all* meetings, would make the apostle contradict and countermand his own orders in this one epistle." Starr did not believe that the apostle would contradict himself in such a way, as to do so defied logic and rationality, and created a paradox: how could women be silent, and simultaneously exhort and edify the community? He suggested that the answer to the problem lay in remembering the larger discussion at hand: the settlement of the difficulties and divisions that plagued the group, and as "the past chapters had given no instruction as to the part the women should take in the settlement of these difficulties, to let this scripture apply to meetings of this character will supply the needed instruction, and make harmony in his writings." He continued with a warning for the reader: "If the extreme view be taken, that silence in all meetings is enjoined, the epistle to the Corinthians remains to be harmonized on this important subject, not only with itself, but with the letter to the Romans, in which salvation is said to depend upon confession of Christ *with the mouth* (Rom. 10:10), a privilege of which this view would deprive all women." The reader is left to conclude that Paul

could not have meant to refuse women the opportunity for salvation.

Starr did not entertain the notion that the words of 1 Cor 14:34 had no meaning aside from their original application. It was possible that churches might again face situations where men of violent manners and dissenting opinions needed to be brought into submission to God's way of peace or else be dropped from membership, and "if this was written for our profit," then it could be applied to such meetings and leading men could settle the issue. He appears to be satisfied that he has made a strong case that Paul taught the full participation of women in the worship service and did not contradict himself in 1 Cor 14:33, as some would contend. He closed his reflection with a benediction and word to the women disciples to continue their work of public prayer, exhortation, and comfort for the edification of the community: "And may God bless the sisters, as they bear their part in the social meetings, and as they keep silence in meetings of another nature, such as the apostle refers to, should there be any, that the word of God be not blasphemed."

N. J. Bowers: "May Women Publicly Labor in the Cause of Christ?"

The final article addressing the topic of women's spiritual leadership before White's death appeared in June of 1881.[38] The article title and introduction indicate that some were questioning the propriety of Adventist women engaging in public ministry, their concern stemming from the Corinthian text directing women to silence. In a lengthy essay, N. J. Bowers answered the question posed in the title of the article, beginning with the comment: "Some think not, because Paul says...." In the presentation that followed, he addressed the question of Paul's meaning in his apparent command (1 Cor 14:34-35) that women keep silence in the churches, and explained the hermeneutical principles necessary to discover the meaning of this text. Bowers, consistent with the other authors featured in the *Review*, noted the situation created for those who thought this text established the Pauline rule on the role of women: women who publicly labored in the cause of Christ defied biblical instruction. He conceded that this was a legitimate conclusion if these words were read without context and without consideration of other biblical texts and practices: "Standing alone, and severed from their connections and other related scriptures, these statements seem to justify such conclusion; but we must not forget to bring into the investigation what the author of the language has elsewhere said directly or indirectly touching the matter of Christian teaching and Christian labor, and also what the Bible elsewhere instructs us in regard to the question."

Bowers then presented fourteen points that needed to be considered in the investigation of what the Bible had to say "in regard to the question." The points took the reader on a brief overview of the Bible, adding dates to further clarify the historical context, and to demonstrate that "In the past ages of

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[38]N. J. Bowers, "May Women Publicly Labor in the Cause of Christ?" *Review and Herald,* June 14, 1881, 372-373.

inspired history, women have had important parts to act in spiritual matters."
These included Miriam, who "held an equal position with Moses and Aaron as
leader of Israel"; Deborah, who judged Israel, noting, as White had two years
previously,[39] that "No man ever occupied a higher position"; Ruth; Esther;
Huldah; and Anna, who provided "an instance of public teaching by a woman."

Bowers used the prophecy of Joel as the connector and transition from the
OT to what he referred to as "the gospel dispensation." Concerning the
prophecy of Joel ("Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy"), he noted
that "'Daughters' as well as 'sons' are to prophesy." He expounded on the text:

> Paul tells us that "he that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and
> exhortation, and comfort." 1 Cor. 14:3. Then the Christian woman has the
> divine right to speak to men in an edifying and comforting manner. Does any
> one suppose the apostle would give directions contrary to, and in direct
> conflict with, the exalted privileges and offices conferred by this prophecy
> on the "daughters" and the "handmaidens"?

The rhetorical question Bowers posed assumed the harmony of Scripture. He
understood Joel, Peter, and Paul as links in the chain of revelation that could not
contradict each other. He saw the heritage of women's leadership in the OT
continued in an unbroken stream in the NT. His seventh point focused on the
four daughters of Philip, whom Paul found "exercising the gift of Christian
teaching, and we do not read of his rebuking them for using it. This was A.D. 60,
one year after he told the women of Corinth to keep quiet." His points
immediately following this observation provide the data demonstrating that the
whole career of Paul contraindicated any blanket injunction against women in
public ministry. He then reviewed the long list of women who labored with Paul
and whom Paul commends for their ministry. Priscilla is listed as one, who with
her husband taught Apollos the way of God. "Here," he observed, "we have a
learned teacher instructed in the things of God more fully by a woman." He
pointed out that Paul commended the women "'which labored with me in the
gospel,'" calling them "'fellow-laborers whose names are in the book of life.'" He
remarked pointedly that "These were hardly silent in the churches."

In point 10, Bowers moved the argument from a review of Paul's practices
to his writings, drawing the attention of the reader to the fact that Paul gave
directions to both men and women on how they should dress when praying
and prophesying in the church, which indicates that such functions "belong to
the women no less than to the men." He then challenged his readers' thinking
with a question:

> Paul in 1 Cor. 14:23, 24 speaks of "the whole church" coming together, and
> *all* speaking with tongues, and *all* prophesying. Did *the whole church* consist of
> men only, or of men and women? Surely of both. Then the women spoke
> and exhorted as well as the men. The apostle never found fault with this.

Bowers left the readers to draw the logical conclusion for themselves: if Paul
did not find fault with it, neither should they.

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[39]James White, "Women in the Church," 172.

It is only after an examination of all the points that Bowers saw as pertinent to the question of appropriate women's leadership that he was ready to go back to the problematic Corinthian text. His earlier work of laying out other Pauline writings prepared the reader to analyze this text as it related to the complete Scripture, including the whole of Paul's writings and practices. The text, given what Bowers demonstrated about the scriptural model of God's inclusive gift and call to service, stands as an anomaly and is presented by Bowers as a puzzle to be solved: What does Paul mean by the statement, "Let your women keep silence in the churches"? The next step in the process is to eliminate false or highly improbable meanings: "From the facts noted above, we may know to a certainty what he does *not* mean. He does not mean that women should take no part in the public services of the Lord's house. That would conflict with his own direction."

Reviewing the texts in Paul that relate to the promised spiritual gifts and their desirability, Bowers affirmed that women and men alike receive the gifts of the Spirit that were to be used to strengthen the NT church: "Paul must not be arrayed against Paul, nor must his direction be so understood as to shut off from individual exercise, or out of the church, the gift of prophecy in the majority of believers." According to Bowers, "He does not mean to forbid any kind of public exercise by which edification, exhortation, and comfort is given to the church." He ended the section with a clear word: "So the language in question can have no reference to the public exercises of prayer, testimony, exhortation, and expounding of the word, on the part of women."

Point 13 introduced Bowers's judgment on the case. The key to grasping what Paul meant lay in understanding the conditions he was addressing: "Paul is correcting wrongs and irregularities that existed in the Corinthian church." The church was threatened with disorder, and "There were times in which it was out of order for the men, even, to speak. (1 Cor. 14:27, 28)." Due to the acrimony and violence of the assembly, they were occasionally ordered to contain themselves and speak only to God: "This was of course not general. So in the case of the sisters. Both prohibitions had a special application only." Bowers referred the reader to the several chapters of 1 Corinthians that record the threat of disorder to the unity and survival of the church, and then looked at the role the women were playing in the turmoil. Bowers strengthened his argument by referring to Andrews's analysis of the text: "'Now it appears from the fourteenth chapter that when they were assembled in meeting, the women threw everything into confusion by talking among themselves, and acting with such indecorum as to be a matter of shame to them; so that what the apostle says to the women in such a church as this, and in such a state of things, is not to be taken as directions to all Christian women in other churches and in other times when and where such disorders do not exist.'—*Andrews*."

Consistent with his own methodology, Bowers continued his exegesis in 1 Cor 14:34-35. Commenting on the next section of v. 34 ("for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law"), Point 14 began by quoting a commentary: "'This shows

that the kind of speaking Paul does not permit is that which shows that the speaker *is not* under obedience.'" This is the point that Bowers picked up and argued. Paul had meant to forbid one particular kind of speaking: that which was against, or broke, the law. Bowers, reflecting the vocabulary widely used in the last part of the nineteenth century to discuss gender, interjected his commentary that both men and women must speak appropriately according to their "spheres," or socially assigned circles of operation. Women, assigned a sphere in which to operate, "cannot with propriety go out of it. She cannot go beyond the circle which nature and propriety have drawn about her. Neither can man go out of his, and invade hers."[40] Drawing from Clarke's widely circulated commentary, Bowers outlined women's appropriate sphere as understood in the synagogue of Paul's time, where women were not allowed to ask questions or debate with men. Quoting Clarke, he asserted, "'It is evident from the context that the apostle refers here to *asking questions*, and what we call *dictating* in the assemblies.'" The commentary provided added information on Jewish law and custom: any man could argue, question, or object in the synagogue, but women were not allowed to do so. As it was considered inappropriate and shameful for women to enter the men's debate in the synagogue, Paul commanded Christian women to abstain from such activity:

> "All that the apostle opposes here is their questioning, finding fault, disputing, etc., in the Christian church, as the Jewish men were permitted to do in their synagogues, together with their attempts to usurp any authority over the man, by setting up their judgment in opposition to them; for the apostle has in view, especially, acts of *disobedience, arrogance,* etc., of which no woman would be guilty who was under the influence of the Spirit of God."

Bowers quoted Clarke further to drive home the point that Paul's phrase, "'it is a shame for women to speak in the church,'" applied only to inappropriate or disorderly behavior: "'The apostle refers to irregular conduct, such conduct as proved that they were not under obedience.'" Thus Bowers concluded that there was a problem in the Corinthian church ("It was a local trouble"), and Paul charged women to cease their part in the confusion by conducting themselves publicly within the standards of obedience and not to compound the disorder by going against the accepted rules of society to join in the melee. While Paul was actively combating such "irregularity" in Corinth in his effort to restore the peace and unity that should be the hallmarks of Christian assembly, "there is nothing in Paul's prohibition," Bowers maintained, "that would silence the public testimony and teaching of a humble and faithful woman."

[40]It is interesting to note that, despite the overwhelming attention given in the late nineteenth century to the subject of women's roles and place, Bowers's article is the only one that refers to women's "sphere" or talks about women as being in a subordinated role. Although his ultimate conclusions are aligned with those of the other *Review* writers, he is quite singular in his comments introducing Gen 3:16 as an argument that leadership and authority belong to men. Interestingly enough, he does not see that as precluding women's full exercise of every aspect of public ministry, including preaching, praying, exhorting, rebuking, and teaching men.

Conclusion

A thorough examination of issues presented in the *Review* between the years of 1863 and 1881 reveals the theology and practices of early, established Adventism. In this period of expanding mission, the labors of all were needed to accomplish the great work of the Third Angel's message. Calls for laborers were inclusive, citing the need for men and women to serve in various capacities. Women were regarded as coworkers, called by God, gifted with spiritual gifts in a process common to all. Women were regularly reminded that they were responsible for the salvation of others and that their own spiritual well-being and security depended on their willingness to exercise the talents entrusted to them.

As noted above, reports from women evangelists regularly appeared along with those of male workers. Letters were published that testified to the efficacy of women's ministry. While ministers were roving evangelists rather than pastors of a single church, which created a particular set of challenges for women in a time when women traveling alone were regarded with suspicion, women found ways to circumvent the obstacles and served as full-time evangelists. The *Review* regularly reported their selection as conference officers and licentiates.

The emphasis during this period was not on women's right to exert spiritual leadership, but on their obligation or responsibility to do so when called by God. Although the relatively small number of articles devoted to addressing the topic reflects that women's ministry was not a much-debated subject, the articles that did appear indicate that some members needed assistance harmonizing the practice with certain Pauline passages. The articles addressing this issue did just that and instructed the readers in Adventist hermeneutics. The various authors read each text in its historical context, examined the heritage of women's leadership throughout the biblical record, compared Scripture with Scripture, and demanded that the selected Pauline texts be harmonized with the whole of Paul's teachings and example to resolve inconsistency. The Paul that instructed women in proper attire when leading out in worship and who commended the evangelistic efforts of women could not be used to silence women on the basis of isolated verses taken out of context. Paul's instructions had to be viewed in light of the context in which they were given and his overriding concern to eliminate confusion and disorder.

Going even beyond this step, the authors insisted that Paul's teaching be harmonized with the rest of the scriptural record, which included numerous examples of women in public spiritual leadership. They reflected on God's freedom to select whomever he might choose, and the positive results of the work of biblical women. The authors repeatedly stressed Joel's promise, repeated in Acts 2:16, that the handmaidens would prophesy in the last days, and defined "prophesying" as "speaking edification, exhortation, and/or comfort." This was a promise that applied to the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Thus the gifts of the sisters should be cherished, not rejected.

Throughout this period, the writers and editors of the *Review* were forceful and unambiguous in their defense of the appropriateness, even the duty, of

women to engage fully in preaching and teaching in the church. The primary arguments, as shown above, were that God has always used women, as well as men, to lead and instruct his people, and that he has promised to pour out his spirit on all, both sons and daughters, in the last days. Far from being a problem or unscriptural, the presence of women who preach and lead was considered to be the very sign of God's presence among his remnant people.

ELLEN WHITE AND THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION

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In her portrayal of the history of Christianity, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation*, Ellen G. White recounts the history of the French Revolution. She notes that the French Revolution was actually "a war against the Bible, carried forward for so many centuries in France," and which eventually "culminated in the scenes of the Revolution."[1] One of the early crises pointing toward the French Revolution was the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of the Huguenots on August 24, 1572. At one point in her narrative, White states:

> But blackest in the black catalogue of crime, most horrible among the fiendish deeds of all the dreadful centuries, was the St. Bartholomew Massacre [of the Huguenots]. . . . The king of France . . . lent his sanction to the dreadful work. The great bell of the palace, tolling at dead of night, was a signal for the slaughter. Protestants by thousands, sleeping quietly in their homes, trusting to the plighted honor of their king, were dragged forth without warning, and murdered in cold blood.[2]

Second, White, commenting on the results in terms of human suffering from the prohibition of the Bible in France during the period leading up to and including the French Revolution, states:

> He who obeys the divine law will most truly respect and obey the laws of his country. He who fears God will honor the king in the exercise of all just and legitimate authority. But unhappy France prohibited the Bible, and banned its disciples. Century after century, men of principle and integrity, men of intellectual acuteness and moral strength, who had the courage to avow their convictions, and the faith to suffer for the truth,—for centuries these men toiled as slaves in the galleys, perished at the stake, or rotted in dungeon cells. Thousands upon thousands found safety in flight; and this continued for two hundred and fifty years after the opening of the Reformation.[3]

Third, in another place, White cites J. A. Wylie's *The History of Protestantism*:

> "Then came those days when the most barbarous of all codes was administered by the most barbarous of all tribunals; when no man could greet his neighbors, or say his prayers . . . without danger of committing a capital crime; when spies lurked in every corner; when the guillotine was long and hard at work every morning; when the jails were filled as close as the holds of a slave-ship; when the gutters ran foaming with blood into the Seine. . . .

[1]Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan*, 1888 (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1907), 272.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., 278.

> While the daily wagon-loads of victims were carried to their doom through the streets of Paris, the proconsuls, whom the sovereign committee had sent forth to the departments, reveled in an extravagance of cruelty unknown even in the capital. The knife of the deadly machine rose and fell too slow for their work of slaughter. Long rows of captives were mowed down with grape-shot. Holes were made in the bottom of crowded barges. Lyons was turned into a desert. At Arras even the cruel mercy of a speedy death was denied to the prisoners. All down the Loire, from Saumur to the sea, great flocks of crows and kites feasted on naked corpses, twined together in hideous embraces. No mercy was shown to sex or age. The number of young lads and of girls of seventeen who were murdered by that execrable government is to be reckoned by hundreds. Babies torn from the breast were tossed from pike to pike along the Jacobin ranks."[4]

White follows Wylie's quotation with the comment that "In the short space of ten years, millions of human beings perished."[5]

In regard to these quotations, William S. Peterson raises an intriguing question: "Do these historians [such as Wylie] have any attitude or bias in common which might explain why Ellen White was attracted to them?"[6] Peterson's question flows from his concern regarding the accuracy of White's statements. For instance, in regard to the first quotation above, Peterson calls into question White's statement that the beginning of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre was signaled by the tolling of the "great palace bell." Peterson contends that

> It was pointed out to Mrs. White that this was inaccurate, and in 1911 the phrase was changed to "a bell" (p. 272). . . .

> In fact, the error was a result of a simple misreading by Mrs. White of her original source before 1888. Wylie (volume 2, p. 600), upon whom Mrs. White was drawing at this point in the chapter, wrote that "the signal for the massacre was to be the tolling of the great bell of the Palace of Justice." Two pages later in his book, Wylie explained that in the event it was the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois which was rung. Obviously Mrs. White had read the first statement but not the second, for she displayed confusion also about the time of the night when the bell sounded.[7]

In regard to White's second quotation, Peterson states that

> An even more revealing inaccuracy is one which was never corrected. In the sixteenth century, she wrote, "thousands upon thousands" of Protestants "found safety in flight" from France (1911 edition, p. 278). Then the following paragraph is a lengthy quotation from Wylie. Had she read Wylie more carefully, she would have noticed, immediately preceding the statement which she quoted, this sentence: "Meanwhile another, and yet another, rose

[4]White, 1888, 284.

[5]Ibid.

[6]William S. Peterson, "A Textual and Historical Study of Ellen G. White's Account of the French Revolution," *Spectrum* 2/4 (1970): 60.

[7]Ibid., 64.

up and fled, till the band of self-confessed and self-expatriated disciples of the Gospel swelled to between 400 and 500" (Wylie, volume two, p. 212). Wylie himself is given to hyperbole in discussing Catholic persecutions; and when one compounds his exaggerations with Mrs. White's, the distance from historical reality is very great indeed.[8]

Peterson further explains that

This particular error by Mrs. White is an interesting one, because it is possible to reconstruct how she misread Wylie. Wylie cites the 400 or 500 "self-expatriated disciples of the Gospel" and then goes on to assert: "The men who were now fleeing from France were the first to tread a path which was to be trodden again and again by hundreds of thousands of their countrymen in years to come. During the following two centuries and half these scenes were renewed at short intervals." Mrs. White reduces all of this information to one sentence and thereby distorts it: "Thousands upon thousands found safety in flight; and this continued for two hundred and fifty years after the opening of the Reformation." In other words, Mrs. White removes Wylie's "hundreds of thousands" of Protestant exiles from the "following two centuries and half" and instead places this enormous group in the sixteenth century.[9]

Finally, in regard to the third quotation, Peterson claims that White's statement about the number of people massacred in the French Revolution is also inaccurate. He states: "This is not the only instance I have found of carelessness by Mrs. White in transcribing material from her sources."[10] He goes on to explain that White's errors are not simply "minor changes in wording or punctuation, for these are not worth our notice; but obvious inaccuracies of fact, which in their cumulative effect, undermine the historical basis of the chapter."[11] What are the errors that Peterson finds White most guilty of committing? He clarifies: "Most of her errors, however, are in the direction of exaggeration. In 1888 she had spoken of the 'millions' who died in the French Revolution; in 1911 this was scaled down to 'multitudes' (p. 284)."[12]

The purpose of this article is to consider Peterson's contentions concerning the acumen of White in recording the history of the French Revolution. Was she exaggerating, either intentionally or not, the toll of the revolution on France's population? Were her remarks concerning the beginning of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre correct? In order to answer these questions, I shall examine the historical backgrounds surrounding the three White quotations: the ringing of the bell, marking the beginning of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; the exodus from France of "thousands upon thousands" in response to the events leading up and including the French Revolution; and the question of whether "millions" died as a result of the French Revolution.

[8]Ibid., 65.

[9]Ibid., 68, n. 25.

[10]Ibid., 64.

[11]Ibid., 64.

[12]Ibid., 65.

*The Ringing of the Bell, Marking the Beginning of
the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre*

If we look at the dreadful massacre that took place on Sunday, August 24, 1572, we find that historians paint a scene of horror and panic. However, the fact that panic and horror are such an integral part of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre makes it more difficult—but not completely impossible—to reconstruct fairly well what actually transpired.

What signaled the beginning of the massacre of Huguenot faithful on that dreadful night? Don Fernando de la Mina, an eyewitness, was at the Louvre when the massacre began. He recounts how he and his staunchly Huguenot friend, Bernard Palissy, looked down on the scene from their apartment:

> Palissy and I stood and looked from our studio window down into the streets of Paris that evening and, as we looked, they seemed to us unusually quiet as if the city were waiting for some grim happening! Late into the night we stood there, Palissy and I, watching the traffic grow less and less, as the streets became more and more deserted. The lights in the houses were extinguished one by one as the unsuspecting inhabitants retired to their rest, and presently all Paris seemed to be wrapped in peaceful slumber. It was very nearly midnight. "What's that?" suddenly asked my companion, as he drew back from the window in sudden alarm—"What's that?" "It's the Palace Bell," I replied—and the words were no sooner out of my mouth than the echoing tocsin rang out from the Tower of St. Germain l'Auxerrois nearby.[13]

That the St. Germain bell is mentioned as nearby clearly suggests the Palace bell, which rang first, was not as near to De la Mina's apartment in the Louvre, which agrees perfectly with the location of the Louvre in relation to the Palace of Justice and St. Germain l'Auxerrois. Another witness to the events on St. Bartholomew's Day was the youth, Jacques-Auguste De Thou, who later became a French stateman and historian. He relates that the Chevalier d'Angouleme said: "Cheer up my friends! Let us do thoroughly that which we have begun. The king commands it." De Thou then states: "He frequently repeated these words, and as soon as they had caused the bell of the palace clock to ring, on every side arose the cry, 'To arms!' and the people ran to the house of Coligny."[14] This witness also clearly points out that it was the ringing of the palace bell that signaled the slaughter.

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[13]Don Fernando de la Mina, *My Escape from the Auto De Fé at Valladolid, October 1559* (Poland, ME: Shiloh, 1997, reprint), 106. De la Mina, a Spanish nobleman who escaped the Spanish Inquisition by fleeing to France, bequeathed his son with a sealed document in which his life story was told. De la Mina, who was also a skilled artist, was employed in Paris as Embroider to Her Majesty the Queen, Regent of France. In 1572, the year of the massacre, he lived in a comfortable apartment in the Louvre. His friend, Bernard Palissy, produced exquisite pottery. Cf. Sylvia Lennie England, *The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew* (London: John Long, 1938), 88; Henri Noguères, *La Saint Barthélemy*, trans. Claire Eliane Engel (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), 69.

[14]Jacques-Auguste De Thou, *Historie des choses arrivees de son temps* (Paris, 1659), 658 sqq, as cited in *Modern History Sourcebook*.

It is a good possibility that Catherine de Medici, who took the lead in this cruel plot, waited for the stroke of midnight from the nearby clock of the St. German l'Auxerrois and then gave an order to ring the Palace bell as the signal for the assault to begin, which, in turn, prompted the tolling of other bells across the city. The historian W. Andringa Gz. pieces the details together in the following way:

> The tolling of the bell of the Palace of Justice, so it was decided, would be the sign for murder. . . . Twelve dull strokes were heard of the clock of St. German l'Auxerrois. The festal day of the holy Bartholomew was begun. . . . [T]he cruel Queen, at midnight, ordered that the sign for the assault be given. There resounded the ominous tones through the air. . . . The tolling of many bells sounded through the atmosphere and called the sons of the holy church to the crusade against the heretics, the Huguenots, the apostates. All, all would be exterminated.[15]

Other historical sources provide further details. For instance, R. Husen recounts that "Towards midnight everything was regulated by the gang. In the following St. Bartholomew's Day a pistol shot was fired. The Louvre bell starts tolling. The murderous scenery begins."[16] H. A. van der Mast states that "In the night between the 23rd and 24th of August 1572, just after midnight, by a pistol shot the sign was given for the horrible murder. At once the bells of the palace started tolling."[17] John Dowling notes that "At length the fatal hour had arrived. All things were ready. The tocsin, at midnight, tolled the signal of destruction."[18] J. H. Landwehr also places the fatal stroke at midnight: "At the stroke of twelve of the church tower clock, all Huguenots that could be found in Paris were suddenly, with the help of the military power, murdered in a horrible way."[19] According to D. P. Rossouw, "It was decided that Coligny should die first. As soon as possible after midnight by a pistol shot and the tolling of the Palace bell the sign should be given and immediately the conspirators would meet and begin the slaughter."[20] H. Lankamp notes that "The church-tower clock of St. Germain struck the midnight hour; suddenly a pistol shot rang out from the palace: the

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[15]W. Andringa Gz., Gekeurd en Gelouterd, *Het leven, lijden en sterven der Martelaren* (Utrecht, Joh. De Liefde, 1895), dl. II, 362-364. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of non-English texts are my own.

[16]R. Husen, *Geschiedenis der Hervorming in de 15de, 16de en 17de Eeuw* (Doesburg: J. C. van Schenk Brill, 1903), 550.

[17]H. A. van der Mast, *Beelden en Schetsen uit de Kerkgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam: H. A. van Bottenburg, 1906), 351.

[18]John Dowling, *The History of Romanism*, 14th ed. (New York: Edward Walker, 1847), 588.

[19]F. W. Grosheide, J. H. Landwehr, C. Lindeboom, J. C. Rullmann, *Christelijke Encyclopaedie* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1925), dl. 1, 239.

[20]D. P. Rossouw, *Mede-erfgenamen van Christus, Geschiedenis van de vervolgingen der Christelijke kerk* (Amsterdam: Höveker & Zoon, 1894), 614.

agreed sign; the massacre begins; Coligny, the noblest, is the first victim."[21] J. H. Kurtz states: "On the night of St. Bartholomew, between the 23rd and 24th of August, the castle bell tolled. This was the concerted signal for the destruction of all the Huguenots present in Paris."[22] However, as George Park Fisher records, "In the night of August 24th the massacre began. Coligni and other prominent Huguenots were first slain by the Duke of Guise and his associates. Then one of the great bells of the city rang out the signal to the other conspirators."[23] Will and Ariel Durant provide further details as to the original plan of action, which was superseded by Catherine's command to proceed: "[The military was to] be ready for action at the tolling of the church bells at three o'clock [a.m.]. . . . [A]t the tocsin's sound their men were to slay every Huguenot they could find. . . . Catherine yielded and ordered the tocsin to be rung."[24] Henri Noguères notes that "Far from allowing matters to take their own course, Catherine meant to keep control of them. To begin with, she did not wait until the Law Courts bell rang at the agreed hour, an hour and a half later. She ordered the tocsin to be sounded at once. She ordered the big bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois to be tolled."[25] *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* proposes that: "'After Coligny had been murdered, a bell in the tower of the royal palace, at the hour of midnight, gave the signal to the assembled companies of citizens for a general massacre of the Huguenots.'"[26]

It is obvious from the above historical portrayals of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre that there is no clear harmony as to the given sign for the slaughter. Further, there is no certainty, either, about the total number of victims, the numbers of which range between 6,000 and 100,000. Thus, in view of existing uncertainties, it is far from fair to accuse White of errors because she misread Wylie, her chosen source in these quotations.

C. P. Hofstede de Groot, in his preface to the Dutch edition of Wylie's *History of Protestantism*, makes clear that in the description of the night of Bartholomew, Wylie has not always been followed since he contradicts unchallengeable testimonies.[27] Now if this is really the case, then it is even more

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[21]H. Lankamp, *Leerplan voor de Scholen met de Bijbel, Geschiedenis van Kerk en Zending* (Groningen, P. Noordhoff, 1914), deel I B, 223.

[22]J. H. Kurtz, *Church History* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1889), 2:328.

[23]George Park Fisher, *History of the Christian Church* (New York: Scribner's, 1916), 339.

[24]Will and Ariel Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, vol. 7, *The Age of Reason Begins* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), 351.

[25]Noguères, 79, 80. As to this statement, there is no source mentioned nor any reference given.

[26]*Chambers's Encyclopaeia* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1895), 1:765.

[27]C. P. Hofstede de Groot states: "Het meest heb ik de auteur kunnen volgen in zijn verhaal van de lotgevallen van het Protestantisme in Frankrijk—ofschoon niet in zijn beschouwing van de Bartholomeusnacht, die geheel tegen onwraakbare getuigenissen indruist" (*De Geschiedenis van het Protestantisme, opnieuw verhaald door Dr. J. A.*

evident that White cannot be accused of misreading Wylie's description.

Could it not be possible that White, instead of misreading the source, was guided in a more truthful way? Hofstede de Groot has included the passage that the bell of the Palace of Justice would give the sign for general murder,[28] but the statement that someone was sent at two o'clock in the morning to ring the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois is left out of Hofstede de Groot's Dutch translation. Hofstede de Groot seems to have had a good reason for not including the second statement, and since many other historians do not mention this either, it may be doubtful that the second event really happened as stated by Wylie.[29] Hofstede de Groot indicates that several bells signaled the massacre: "The Louvre bell tolled and other bells added their gloomy tones"[30] as the execution proceeded.

Wylie. Voor Nederland vrij bewerkt door Dr. C. P. Hofstede de Groot [Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1881), Derde Deel, Voorrede.

[28]"Dan zou de klok van het Gerechtshof het teken geven tot de algemene moord" (Wylie, trans. Hofstede de Groot, Deel 3, 87).

[29]It is noteworthy to mention that Wylie refers to De Thou (Jacques-Auguste) for this information, who writes, without giving any credit for his source, that "Therefore the Queen laying hold of his present heat, lest by delaying it should slack, commands that the sign which was to have been given at break of day should be hastened, and that the Bell of the nearer Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois should be tolled" (Meredith McGann, *The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Religious Reaction in 16th Century France* [n.p.: Revolution, Reaction, Reform in History, National History Day Curriculum Book, 2002], Excerpt 2. However, De Thou, as indicated earlier in this article, elsewhere points out that it was the ringing of the palace bell that signaled the slaughter. Philippe Erlanger writes: "The bell of the Palace [of Justice] would give the signal." He provides a source: *Archives Nationales, registers of the Hôtel de Ville.* He also writes that "The queen-mother suddenly made up her mind that the Palace of Justice was too far away, and that the tocsin, the signal, should sound from the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois." No reference is given, however, and no source is mentioned (*St. Bartholomew's Night [Le Massacre de la Saint-Barthélemy]*, trans. Patrick O'Brian [New York: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Ltd., and Pantheon, 1962], 151,154). Sylvia Lennie England mentions twice that the "Palais de Justice" bell was to give the signal for the attack, but she also describes that it was the church bell of "Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois" that clanged out the tocsin. Once again, however, no reference or proof is given for these statements (*The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew* [London: John Long, 1938], 97, 101, 103).

[30]"'Men begon.' zo als Guise antwoordde, 'reeds overal in de stad te executeren.' De klok van 't Louvre luidde, de overige klokken voegden hare sombere tonen daarbij" (Wylie, trans. Hofstede de Groot, Deel 3, 88). It is noteworthy to mention that Wylie refers to Jacques-Auguste De Thou for this information, who writes, without giving any credit for his source that "Therefore the Queen laying hold of his present heat, lest by delaying it should slack, commands that the sign which was to have been given at break of day should be hastened, and that the Bell of the nearer Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois should be tolled" (Meredith McGann, *The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Religious Reaction in 16th Century France* [n.p: Revolution, Reaction, Reform in History National History Day Curriculum Book, 2002], Excerpt 2. However, De Thou, as indicated earlier in this article, elsewhere points out that it was the ringing of the palace

It seems clear that Wylie's description of the timing and the given signal for the massacre to begin are not quite according to what actually happened. Although he served as White's principal historical source in her chapter on the French Revolution, she did not follow him blindly. Rather than being in error for misquoting or misunderstanding Wylie, the evidence seems to suggest that White purposefully did not include Wylie's mistakes in describing the events surrounding the beginning of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Thus her comment that "The great bell of the palace, tolling at dead of night, was a signal for the slaughter," seems to be correct[31] and is also borne out by some historical sources.

The Exodus from France of "Thousands upon Thousands" in Response to the French Revolution

Peterson accuses White of making a deviation from Wylie when she states that "thousands upon thousands found safety in flight; and this continued for two hundred and fifty years after the opening of the Reformation."[32] Peterson levels two charges: error in stating that "thousands upon thousands found safety in flight"; and distortion, by compressing two sentences into one and thereby skewing Wylie's intended meaning. Was White exaggerating and distorting history with her comments in this particular case?

A brief examination of history reveals that France was one of the countries most fiercely afflicted by religious crusades, persecutions, and wars. For instance, in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Francis I (1515-1547), the Evangelical Church of Meaux was dispersed "and by her refugees the seed of the new faith was sown everywhere."[33] Because of a bloody persecution in Provence in 1545, "Some thousands passed over the mountains to Geneva."[34]

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bell that signaled the slaughter. Philippe Erlanger writes: "The bell of the Palace [of Justice] would give the signal." He provides a source: Archives Nationales, registers of the Hôtel de Ville. He also writes that "The queen-mother suddenly made up her mind that the Palace of Justice was too far away, and that the tocsin, the signal, should sound from the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois." No reference is given, however, and no source is mentioned (St. Bartholomew's Night [Le Massacre de la Saint-Barthélemy], trans. Patrick O'Brian [New York: George Wweidenfeld and Nicolson, Ltd., and Pantheon, 1962], 151, 154). Sylvia Lennie England mentions twice that the "Palais du Justice" bell was to give the signal for the attack, but she also describes that it was the church bell of "Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois" that clanged out the tocsin. Once again, however, no reference or proof is given for these statements (The Masacre of Saint Bartholomew [London: John Long, 1938], 97, 101, 103).

[31]White, 1888, 272.

[32]Ibid., 278,

[33]J. Chambon, *Geschiedenis ener Martelaarskerk* (Goes: Oosterbaan & Le Cointre NV, 1951), 31.

[34]Ibid., 33.

And a decade and a half later again thousands settled in another country. "Under Francis II (1559-90) thousands of Huguenots settled in the Netherlands."[35] Their churches were known as "churches of refuge," the first being established at Strassburg in 1538. "In 1575 the French refugees in this city alone were numbered 15,398."[36]

From the massacre at Vassy, in 1562, to the time of Henry II (1574-1589), eight religious wars "depopulated and destroyed" France.[37] J. Chambon notes that immediately following the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day "a new stream of emigrants begins to leave the country in such a measure that about half a year after the Bartholomew's night, in London alone were forty fugitive pastors from Normandy and Picardy."[38] These pastors would not have easily left their flocks to their fate; thus it would be self-evident that these believers were scattered and also had taken to flight. Describing this desperate situation, W. Andringa comments: "Overcome with indescribable fright the remaining Huguenots left the country; all roads were crowded with refugees who tried to escape to England, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Germany."[39] Robert M. Kingdon writes: "After the massacres large numbers of French Protestants, particularly from Normandy and other provinces on the English Channel, made their way to safety in English territory."[40] Reportedly large numbers of refugees and crowded road conditions speak of a great exodus from France. However, this was not the case only in the sixteenth century. White adds that this exodus "continued for two hundred and fifty years after the opening of the Reformation."[41] Since White evidently, according to the historical evidence, did not exaggerate about the numbers of people fleeing, was she then exaggerating about the fact that the exodus continued for two hundred and fifty years after the opening of the Reformation?

George Park Fisher, speaking of the period following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, states: "In 1685, the Edict of Nantes, the great charter of Huguenot rights, was revoked. Emigration went on in spite of hindrances placed in its way. Not far from a quarter of a million of refugees escaped from France to enrich England, Holland, and other countries with the fruits of their industries."[42] In 1697, yet another new religious persecution

[35]Samuel Macauley Jackson, ed., *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1909), 5: 398.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Chambon, 56-57.

[38]Ibid., 75.

[39]Andringa, 374-375. Cf. Adolf Streckfuss, *De Geschiedenis der Wereld* (Leiden: Firma Van den Heuvell & Van Santen, 1871), dl. 7, 329.

[40]Robert M. Kingdon, *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, 1572-1576* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 126; see also 21.

[41]White, 1888, 278.

[42]Fisher, 494. Cf. Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Scribner's, 1926), 556.

began in France. D. P. Rossouw notes that "in Langeudoc alone were 40,000 Protestants who had to leave their native country."[43]

According to the *Dictionary of American History*, "Henry IV granted religious toleration to his Protestant subjects by the Edict of Nantes (1598), but Louis XIV revoked it in 1685. During periods of persecution, approximately 300,000 French Protestants fled to Prussia, Switzerland, Holland, England, and the Dutch and English colonies."[44] The *History of International Migration* adds that "At least 200,000 French Huguenots left France between the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century. After 1520 until the end of the 17th century: 300,000-400,000 French migrated."[45] During the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715), the Huguenots were reduced to a persecuted, martyred church. Louis XIV "drove thousands of their numbers into exile, to the lasting gain of England, Holland, Prussia, and America."[46] Oehninger agrees, stating that "Already at his accession to the throne Louis XIV had begun to oppress the Protestants and hundreds of thousands of them had sought refuge in Switzerland, Germany, England and the Netherlands. At the repeal of the Edict of Nantes this emigration was prohibited. However, fifty thousand families still succeeded in escaping."[47]

In the Netherlands, "Amsterdam alone had 15,000 Huguenots toward the end of the seventeenth century, while about 60,000 were settled in other cities and provinces."[48] However, these persecuted people did not flee only to European countries—thousands of Huguenots also found refuge in the United States: "By the close of the seventeenth century thousands of Huguenots had settled in New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Pennsylvania."[49] Arthur H. Hirsch states in a footnote that "Estimates of the total Huguenot exodus from France to

[43]Rossouw, 659.

[44]Stanley I. Kutler, ed., *Dictionary of American History*, 3d ed. (New York: Scribner's, 2003), 4: 190, s.v. "Huguenots." The *Encyclopedia Britannica* notes that "over the next several years" following the Edict of Nantes, "France lost more than 250,000 of its Protestant citizens. They fled primarily to England, Prussia, Holland, or America" (*Micropaedia*, 15th ed., 5:189, s.v. "Huguenots").

[45]*The History of International Migration*, Leiden University <www.oshel.com>, see esp. 1.4 "How Many? Western Europe, France."

[46]Walker, 441.

[47]Friedrich Oehninger, *Geschiedenis des Christendoms* (Rotterdam: J. M. Bredée, 1899), 452. See also Husen, 630-631, who states that in the seventeenth century France lost, during the reign of Louis XIV alone, "more than fifty thousand families that were successful in passing the boundaries. . . . But thousands upon thousands, as we have seen, followed their shepherds and enriched the countries that took them in with their diligence and industrial art."

[48]Macauley Jackson, 5: 399.

[49]Ibid.

other parts of the world vary from 300,000 to 1,000,000."[50]

White's statement that "thousands upon thousands found safety in flight; and this continued for two hundred and fifty years after the opening of the Reformation" is not exaggerated: 300,000-400,000, or perhaps even 1,000,000, Huguenot refugees made an exodus from France that extended from about 1520 until the 1790s.

Did "Millions" Die During the French Revolution?

Is it really unlikely two million people died in the fierce and bloody French Revolution? At the time of the Revolution, there were approximately twenty-five million people living in France. Therefore, could it not be true that after ten violent years two million people could have lost their lives? For instance, Will and Ariel Durant note that "Before the Vendéans were subdued by Marshal Hoche (July 1796), half a million lives had been lost in this new religious war."[51] The Durants' description alone accounts for a vast multitude of people who lost their lives as a result of the French Revolution. If we consider that the horrible massacres during this period often went on without benefit of trial or mercy, and that no one was spared regardless of age or gender, then the possibility of two million lives lost is not without merit. The Durants note that "They [the ruling powers] put down opposition without mercy, sometimes with enthusiastic excess."[52]

A zealous commissioner, Jean-Baptiste Carrier, declared that

> France could not feed its rapidly growing population, and that it would be desirable to cure the excess by cutting down all nobles, priests, merchants, and magistrates. At Nantes he objected to trial as a waste of time; "all these suspects (he commanded the judge) must be eliminated in a couple of hours, or I will have you and your colleagues shot." . . . [T]he prisons at Nantes were crowded almost to asphyxiation by those arrested and condemned. . . . "We will make France a graveyard," he vowed. . . . "[W]e shall all be guillotined, one after another."[53]

At one time, there were as many as 400,000 prisoners.[54]

Manon Roland wrote on August 28, 1793: "France has become a vast Golgotha of carnage, an arena of horrors, where her children tear and destroy one another. . . . Never can history paint these dreadful times, or the monsters that fill

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[50]Arthur H. Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 3 n.

[51]Will and Ariel Durant, *The Story of Civilization: The Age of Napoleon* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), 11: 72.

[52]Ibid., 11: 68.

[53]Ibid., 11: 68-69.

[54]Georg Weber, *Lehr- und Handbuch der Welgeschichte* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1921), 4:44.

them with their barbarities."[55] Thousands were guillotined. The Durants cite Fouquier-Tinville, who "remarked that heads were falling 'like slates from a roof.'"[56]

The political parties of France—the Girondins, Jacobins, and Royalists—murdered each other. It was, at a given moment, a matter of "to slaughter or be slaughtered."[57] In 1792, for instance, the September Massacre took place, "in which numbers of Royalists were killed, not only in Paris, but also in Orleans, Lyons and elsewhere."[58] In March 1793, the revolutionary tribunal was set up to deal with all political offenders. The *Concise History of the World* states that "Jacobin deputies were sent into the provinces to find suspected persons and once suspected and denounced there was little hope.... At Nantes the massacres took the form of tying the condemned together ... and then throwing them into the sea."[59]

No place was safe from the effects of revolution. Even in out-of-the-way places in the countryside the cruel massacres raged on. From the small village of Bedouin (or Bédoin), located some twenty miles northeast of Avignon, the following report was made:

> The details of cruelty which are continually arriving from France are truly incredible.... And this day, Jan. 9th, 1795 we read the following account.... Goupilleau of Montaign, just returned from his mission in the Southern Departments, gave the following account of the horrors exercised upon the inhabitants of the Commune of Bedouin...: "A young maiden, of the name of Saumont, only eighteen years of age, waited upon a Deputy, to demand the release of her father. 'From whence comest thou?' asked the barbarian. 'From Bedouin,' answered she. She was immediately put under an arrest, and two days after, she mounted the scaffold, along with her father.... You shrink with horror at this narrative, and had you been like me, at Bedouin, you would carry with you to the grave the remembrance of the cruelties of which that Commune had been the theatre and the victim. At Orange I ordered a hole filled with five hundred dead bodies to be closed up. I also ordered some others to be filled, which were destined to receive twelve thousand human victims. Four thousand loads of quick lime had already been brought to consume those bodies. In the same Commune, they guillotined an old woman, in her eighty-seventh year, and who had been delirious six years, and infants between ten and eighteen years of age."[60]

That similar horrible butcheries also took place elsewhere in the country is clearly attested: "[H]orrible assassinations are still prevailing [July 1795]to a considerable degree, particularly in the provinces of Languedoc and Provence.

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[55]Durant and Durant, 11: 66-67.

[56]Ibid., 11: 80.

[57]Oehninger, 456.

[58]*Concise History of the World* (Great Britain: P. R. Gawthorn, 1935), 558.

[59]Ibid., 561.

[60]David Simpson, *Key to the Prophecies* (Halifax: Milner & Sowerby, n.d.), 379-380.

Aix, Nismes, and Tarrascon are much afflicted in this way."[61]

We should not underestimate the heavy loss of human life that was suffered throughout France during this bloody and graceless period. If we take the whole period of the French Revolution into account, with its several dramatic and bloody outbursts on the political, social, economic, and religious levels, and if we add all the victims together, it should not be surprising to find that approximately two million people lost their lives during this horrible and disorderly period of time. If there are still some who doubt the veracity of this point, Oehninger states that "in September 1793 [alone] there were no less than 40,000 revolutionary tribunals, thousands of hangman's assistants and places where daily 30 or 40 people were murdered."[62]

If there were 40,000 tribunals with thousands of hangman's assistants and places where 30 to 40 people were killed daily, how many murdered victims would there be after this level of killing was carried on for several months? I will venture a modest calculation. If we average a total of just one hundred victims for each tribunal and then multiply that by the stated number of tribunals in 1793, which numbered 40,000, there is a possibility that a total of four million people lost their lives. Thus White's description of "millions" dying in the French Revolution appears to be very true indeed, without any taint of exaggeration.

Conclusion

In portraying the events of the French Revolution, it is clear, just as with other parts of history, that the events as they happened are not always agreed upon in perfect harmony among historians. This very fact should keep us from drawing hasty conclusions. A reexamination of the historical data, however, demonstrates that Ellen White's grasp of the French Revolution falls within the accepted interpretations of historians recording that tumultuous period. Her choice of sources and data appears to be deliberate, pointing toward a more-than-naive understanding of the material. Thus it is fascinating to discover that there is ample evidence to substantiate the historical particulars of White's description of the events leading up to and through the French Revolution.

[61]Oehninger, 456.

[62]Ibid.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

THE SO-CALLED MIXED TEXT: AN EXAMINATION OF THE NON-ALEXANDRIAN AND NON-BYZANTINE TEXT-TYPE IN THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES

Name of researcher: Clinton Baldwin
Faculty advisers: William Warren, Ph.D.
    Robert M. Johnston, Ph.D.
Date completed: May 2007

Problem

Since the eighteenth century, textual scholars have been grouping NT Greek manuscripts into groups called text-types in order to evaluate the thousands of variant readings found in these manuscripts. These text-types form the basis for determining the earliest form of the text—the primary goal of NT Textual Criticism. Almost all textual critics recognize three main text-types: Alexandrian, Western, and Byzantine. However, in recent time, W. Larry Richards and his followers identified a "mixed text-type" in six books of the Catholic Epistles that is distinguishable from the already established text-types. This text-type, if supported by empirical investigation to be more original than the Alexandrian and Byzantine texts, could necessitate the reevaluation of these established text-types, and also the reevaluation of the designation "mixed" attributed to this group.

Method

Two hundred and twenty manuscripts were classified using the two-tiered process of Factor Analysis and a modified form of the Claremont Profile Method. (An additional 187 manuscripts already classified were also studied.) The distinctive readings of the mixed manuscripts that were classified as a result of this process were then evaluated using the canons of textual criticism.

Results

In addition to a more comprehensive picture of these mixed manuscripts, it was confirmed that the weighted value of this mixed category was negligible in terms of uncovering the earliest original, as only thirteen (18.5%) of the seventy-two unique readings were confirmed to be the earliest form of the text. Probably the most significant fact that these mixed manuscripts affirm is that the evolution of the NT text that began in the early centuries continued in the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

The distinctive readings of the mixed text-type do not make a significant contribution to uncovering the earliest form of the text.

Recommendation

It would be worthwhile to ascertain whether this mixed phenomenon also exists in other parts of the NT, and what is the weighted value that it carries in these other places in all factors that surround the history of the text.

HOSPITALITY VERSUS PATRONAGE:
AN INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL
DYNAMICS IN THE THIRD
EPISTLE OF JOHN

Name of researcher: Igor Lorencin
Faculty adviser: Robert M. Johnston, Ph.D.
Date completed: March 2007

Problem

This investigation focuses on social dynamics in the Third Epistle of John. In the context of 3 John, hospitality and patronage seem to be opposed as two noncompatible models of behavior. In what sense they are different and what makes them noncompatible in a church setting is the main focus of this investigation into the social dynamics of 3 John.

Method

A social approach is utilized in this investigation for the purpose of understanding the social environment, value system, and circumstances that shaped the events of 3 John. I first collect evidence to explain the ancient customs of hospitality and patronage in order to create a model for each. In the final step I contrast the two models. This exercise helps to visualize the differences and noncompatibility between the two models.

Results

Hospitality is a host-guest relationship between nonkin individuals, who deferentially alternate their roles by practicing balanced reciprocity, which brings them into a state of equality. On the other hand, patronage is a reciprocal patron-client relationship based on social inequality of the parties involved, where the patron uses his power to benefit his client as well as to benefit himself through that relationship, and the client looks for ways to satisfy his own needs, while being of use to his patron. Genuine ancient hospitality included an element of subordination of the host to the guest, as well as deference of the parties to each other. On the other hand, patronage selfishly exploits another person and intends domination.

Conclusion

In 3 John, Gaius has modeled hospitality and is encouraged to continue doing so. On the other hand, Diotrephes has followed patronage and his actions are condemned. The Elder wants to help avoid all the conflicts and power issues that result from the inequality inherent in patronal relationships. That is why he recommends genuine Christian hospitality as a relationship of equality which increases networking, cultivates deference of the parties involved, and produces a healthy local church. In that sense, 3 John presents the model of hospitality versus the model of patronage.

THE FUNCTION OF *LOIPOS* IN CONTEXTS OF JUDGMENT AND SALVATION IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

Name of researcher: Leslie N. Pollard
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Date completed: November 2006

Problem

The function of *loipos* in the Apocalypse is the focus of this research.

Method

A close reading approach to the Apocalypse was employed in this study. Every occurrence of *loipos* as it applies to human entities in contexts of judgment and salvation in the Apocalypse is examined. First come textual and translation matters. Then the examination of the literary context and structure follows. Next comes the historical background to each passage. Finally, the interpretation of that passage is presented.

Results

Chapter 1 presents a review of the scholarly literature from the OT and NT on the remnant idea.

Chapter 2 presents the finds on remnant language in ancient cognate literature. Cognate literature provides insight into how various communities appropriated, adapted, and reformulated the remnant concept.

Chapter 3 presents the findings of the examination of *loipos* in contexts of judgment in the Apocalypse. These findings demonstrate that *loipos* in contexts of judgment narrates an eschatological movement of persons from unrepentance to organized rebellion against God and the Lamb.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the examination of *loipos* in contexts of salvation. *Loipos* in contexts of salvation points to the people of God's covenant loyalty, covenant continuity, and end-time victory over the Beast.

The final chapter summarizes the conclusions of the research along with recommendations for future research.

Conclusion

Unlike the narrowed and restrictive concept of remnant in Qumran or Jewish apocalyptic, *loipos* completes the trajectory toward a universal and eschatological remnant implied in the Gospels, explicated in Paul, and elucidated in the Apocalypse.

BOOK REVIEWS

Aaron, Charles L., Jr. *Preaching Hosea, Amos and Micah*. St. Louis: Chalice, 2005. xii + 148 pp. Paper, $18.99.

Charles L. Aaron Jr. is pastor of the First United Methodist Church of Bowie, Texas. He holds a Ph.D. in Old Testament from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, and serves as an adjunct professor for Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary. In this book, which is part of the Preaching Classic Texts series, Aaron contends that Hosea, Amos and Micah are a real treasure (valuable antique!) for pastors shopping for sermons. To this end, he purposes to stimulate the imaginations of today's preachers, getting "their creative juices flowing" (x) to emulate the prophets by engaging "in a comprehensive ministry" (2) as they did in the eighth century B.C.E. He contends that even though our preaching styles and delivery may be different, we can still "capture the power and vividness of the prophets' rhetoric" (4). We may imitate them in terms of: pursuing social justice; denouncing modern, yet insidious forms of idolatry; delivering compassionate pastoral care; practicing a ministry of intercession; proclaiming a balanced theology (especially in terms of eschatology and God's closeness to his creation); and engaging in evangelism.

Aaron provides a succinct overview for each of the three prophetic books, dealing primarily with the historical milieu and a broad structural outline, followed by a brief commentary on the prominent theological motifs in the books. Here his concentrated gift of summarizing is brought to the fore. Of particular interest is the theological reflection that juxtaposes the twin themes of judgment and salvation—two sides of the same coin. Aaron is correct in treating these as being significant in contemporary preaching.

The heart of the book consists of actual sermons preached from each of these books, utilizing seminal or "classic" passages: Hos 2:14-23; 11:1-11; Amos 5:18-24; 7:10-17; and Micah 4:1-7; 5:1-5a; 6:1-8. Two sermons are based on the exegesis of each pericope; in each case the first was delivered by the author and the second by another preacher. This cadre of preachers represents a good mix of pastors and professors, both male and female.

Preaching Hosea, Amos and Micah is a valuable volume because it issues a challenge not only for the preaching of prophetic texts, but also for prophetic preaching. The modern preacher stands in the stream of the prophetic tradition and is commissioned to sound out YHWH's message with similar confidence and clarity, majesty and magnanimity, as did the eighth-century prophets. Like them, we too are to vigorously engage in the "theological and ethical imperative" (3) of calling people to responsible moral living and citizenship in the kingdom of God.

Aaron has produced a reader-friendly work with a layout that is simple and easy to follow. The book is also a useful model for preaching prophetic texts. Of course, something is always missed when reading a manuscript, as opposed to hearing the actual sermon and experiencing the ethos and pathos of the preacher. Nothing surpasses the preaching event. Yet one is "present," so to speak, when "listening"/reading these sermons. It is the hope of the author and the contributors that these sermons will arouse fervor for such preaching. That goal will be realized. I recommend this volume for all who are interested in recapturing the active voice in prophetic preaching.

Andrews University   KENNETH D. MULZAC

Beale, G. K. *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God.* New Studies in Biblical Theology, vol. 17. Leicester, England: Apollos, 2004; Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004. 458 pp. $29.00.

Gregory Beale is currently Kenneth T. Wessner Chair of Biblical Studies and Professor of New Testament at Wheaton College. He is perhaps best known for his magisterial commentary on the book of Revelation, published jointly by Eerdmans and Paternoster in 1998. The present work grew out of studies undertaken in connection with that commentary. As he explains it, he observed an apparent discrepancy between John's statement in Rev 21:1 that he saw a new heaven and a new earth and the description that follows, in which John describes not a worldwide new creation, but a city that is garden-like, in the shape of a temple (23), while 21:20 announces that there is no temple in the city, for God and the Lamb are its temple. Beale concludes that the city-temple is, in fact, the new creation.

From this point of reference, Beale begins a study of the temple in the old creation, finding that the Garden of Eden was the first temple, the place of God's presence on earth. God's plan was to expand the place of his dwelling through his vice-regent Adam, as God commanded him in Gen 1:28. The entrance of sin, however, complicated this plan and resulted in a failure to accomplish God's purpose. Through various means, God attempted to enlarge the scope of his dwelling on earth. The OT tabernacle/temple was one of those means, as God explained to Moses in Exod 25:8: "And let them make Me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them" (NKJV). Israel's purpose was to expand the scope of God's presence into all the earth, but it failed, as had Adam. Then God sent his Son into the world to more fully establish his presence in the earth: "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth" (John 1:14, NKJV).

After Christ's resurrection and ascension to the "true tabernacle, which the Lord erected," "the greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this creation" (Heb 8:2; 9:11), he left behind his representatives, the members of his church, filled them with his Spirit, and commissioned them to function as a holy temple to the Lord, thereby expanding the presence of God into all the earth. However, even this endeavor by a small remnant of faithful ones will not, due to the presence and power of sin in the world, be able to bring about the goal of establishing the reigning presence of God throughout the world. It is only in the new creation, as delineated in Rev 21:1–22:5, that God's plan will be fully implemented and then he will function in place of the temple, extending his presence into the whole of the new creation. The dwelling place of God will be finally with human beings, and he will dwell with them and be their God and they will be his people (21:3).

This is the short version of Beale's thesis. In fact, he has produced one of the finest studies in biblical theology available. He works very systematically through Scripture, beginning with the OT evidence for the cosmic symbolism of temples, including the presence of God, and a garden setting full of life and beauty, with trees, flowers, fruit, water, light, sky, clouds, heavenly bodies, precious stones and metals, and living creatures. He compares the ancient Near Eastern literature and extrabiblical Jewish literature with the biblical to show that the biblical symbolism of the temple was common in the thought and culture of the OT period. Then he discusses the purpose of the temple in the OT, which was to expand the presence of God into all the earth, which itself encompasses the whole creation, and how this was especially prophesied to take place in the eschatological period.

After firmly establishing his thesis from the OT, Beale moves to the NT and

explores the temple theme in the Gospels, Acts, the Pauline corpus, Hebrews, and Revelation. He demonstrates how the same theme is extended, first by the entrance of Christ into the world, then by the expanding influence of the church's mission to bring the presence of Christ to the world through the work of the Holy Spirit. Before moving to his theological conclusions, he includes an extended excursus on the temple of Ezek 40–48 and its relation to the temple in the NT, especially in Revelation. He concludes that the physical temple, made with human hands, is a mere foreshadowing of the presence of God and of Christ as the true temple in the new creation. Finally, he includes a short essay on practical reflections for the church in the twenty-first century.

Beale's presentation reflects a remarkable synthesis of the themes and symbols that he has assembled from throughout Scripture and extrabiblical sources. Although from time to time, one gets a sense of a possible overreaching to make a point, the impression of the whole is of a solid study that ties everything together in such a way as to make his main thesis incontrovertible. As Beale explains in his conclusion, although some lines of evidence are more compelling than others, his "design is that the overall weight of the cumulative arguments point to the plausibility or probability for the main idea being argued" (365). Even if one may not agree with all of his conclusions, the reader gets a clear sense of the unity of Scripture on this theme.

A minor criticism is Beale's tendency to repeat the same idea a number of times in different places. One can understand in a work of this size that the author feels the need to repeat some things in a new context in order to bring everything together in the mind of the reader; however, this may be overdone at times, at least in the extent to which the same material is rehearsed in different sections of the book.

In addition, I would add a few areas in which Beale apparently overlooked items that might have contributed further to his arguments. He raises the issue of divine rest after the creation (60-61), but he fails to follow up on that by discussing Isa 66:23 and the new creation (138). He also fails to mention the command to Noah and his sons to be fruitful and multiply (Gen 9:1) (104). In discussing the significance of the "tabernacles" (124-125), he neglects to mention the booths used as temporary shelters during the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev 23:40; Neh 8:15). On p. 163, he should mention the expanding waters flowing from the temple in Ezek 47—though he does later mention them in another context (196). I would have expected him, in his discussion of the veil (190-192), to mention that Heb 10:20 portrays it as representing Jesus' flesh. I found it odd that he skipped from Heb 10 to Heb 12–13 (301) with no mention at all of Heb 11 and its depiction of men and women of faith who looked beyond the present temporary existence to "the city that has foundations, whose builder and maker is God," which is located in "a better, that is, a heavenly country" (vv. 10, 16, NKJV).

Needless to say, such minor criticisms would be true in any study of this extent, and these do not weaken the overall case for Beale's main thesis. He states in his conclusion that the broad evidence put forth in his study makes it "no understatement to say that the symbolism of the temple in both testaments is a highly significant strand of biblical theology." The careful reader is obliged to assent to this conclusion.

A spin-off of this study is a set of hermeneutical principles that Beale clarifies in the process of his study, including, explicitly, the nature of typology and the "literal" nature of both physical and spiritual realities, the latter representing what Beale calls a "redemptive-historical" approach (289-291, 379-381). In addition, the broad agreement across the Testaments in the details of the temple theme makes a compelling case for the unity of the canon of Scripture.

I highly recommend this study to anyone interested in significant themes in biblical theology, in the temple motif in Scripture, in the mission of the church as portrayed in Scripture, in biblical symbolism, or in the hermeneutic of typological interpretation in redemptive history.

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Epp, Eldon Jay. *Junia: The First Woman Apostle*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005. xvii + 138 pp. Paper, $16.00.

Junia: The First Woman Apostle tells the story of a first-century Jewish woman apostle who suffered the fate, in church history, of being changed from a female to a male. Junia's story is told by Eldon Jay Epp, a twenty-first-century male and a NT scholar.

Junia's story begins with Paul's letter to the Romans. In Rom 16:7, Paul mentions a person by the name of *Iounian* who was prominent among the apostles. The name *Iounian* is written in the nonaccented accusative form. There are two ways to accent this name: if the accent is placed on the final syllable, it becomes the masculine accusative, Junias—a male name nowhere attested in the Greco-Roman world (43); if the accent is placed on the penultimate syllable, it becomes the feminine accusative, Junia—a well-attested Roman female name (31). Although the Greek manuscripts of the first seven hundred years of church history were seldom accented, the unanimous witness of nearly twenty Greek and Latin commentators (e.g., Origen, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Jerome, Theodoret, Peter Abelard, and Peter Lombard) was that the name *Iounian* was to be understood in the feminine sense (32). John Chrysostom (ca. 344/354-407) even deemed Junia worthy of the title of apostle, not simply crediting her as a person who was prominent among the apostles (32). Later, when the Greek manuscripts were accented, the name *Iounian* was accented *only* on the penultimate syllable, clearly indicating that the scribes understood the name to be a feminine accusative. Thus Junia was respected as a woman, and even an apostle, without challenge for at least the first one thousand years of church history.

When did the female Junia become the man Junias? Epp notes that this transformation took place in the Middle Ages, primarily under the influence of Martin Luther's German translation (38), because it was unthinkable, according to Luther, that a woman should be called an apostle. He felt that the context does not allow for such a reading. However, Epp asks on behalf of Junia, Which context? The biblical context, or the biased male-dominant cultural context?

Interestingly, however, *Iounian* was recognized as a woman in all the critical editions of the Greek NT from Erasmus (1516) to Erwin Nestle's 1920 edition (with only one exception, Alford's Greek NT of 1852), and in English translations prior to 1833 (62-63, 66). But for approximately seventy-five years, from Nestle's 1927 edition on, the use of the masculine form of *Iounian* officially reigned in the critical Greek NT edition for the same basic reason that Luther instituted the change: it was unthinkable for a woman to be called an apostle (54). Only recently have the Nestle-Aland Jubilee 1998 and the UBS 1998 editions quietly restored the feminine form to Rom 16:7. But the damage had been done.

In the end, Epp seriously weakens his case by suggesting that all those Pauline passages apparently advocating the subordination of women be discarded as non-Pauline, viz., 1 Cor 14:34-35; 1 Tim 2:8-15; Eph 5:22-24; and Col 3:18. This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that he begins his discussion by citing 1 Cor 14:34-35, only to reverse his position by arguing that the verses are a non-Pauline

interpolation. This line of argument diminishes, or at least detracts from, the credibility of his previous arguments. In view of his earlier discussion of the relationship between textual criticism and exegesis, one wonders which discipline—exegesis or textual criticism—is the dominant one here.

A minor criticism of the book is that I found the reading heavy at times. The study, though thorough, sometimes tended to be too meticulous and repetitive. I would suggest the production of a more popular version for laypeople and pastors who do not have a background in textual criticism.

Nevertheless, in spite of these criticisms, Epp's presentation adds a valuable insight into the development of the church's understanding of the role of women ministers. He provides valuable tables to show how the change of accent of the name *Iounian* occurs in the Greek NT from Erasmus to the Nestle-Aland Jubilee Edition of 1998 (62-63). There is also a table on the use of Junias/Junia in English translations from Tyndale to the present (66). But he does not deal with the reason why the critical Greek NT began to change its reading to the masculine Junias in 1927, while the English translations started preferring the reading of Junias as early as 1833.

The significance of the book goes beyond the simple rehabilitation of the woman apostle Junia. Unfortunately, it seems to be the typical story of many faithful women ministers in church history. I would like to suggest that Epp was not just writing for the first-century Jewish apostle Junia, but for twenty-first-century women apostles who have labored like those early apostles in their missionary outreach and who have been stripped of their due honor.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   REBEKAH LIU

Gane, Roy E. *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005, xxi + 394 pp. Hardcover, $42.28.

In *Cult and Character*, Andrews University Professor of Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Languages, Roy E. Gane, has "rewritten the book" on the rituals of *kippur* ("atonement," for want of an adequate English term) prescribed in the Priestly legislation in the Torah. As is only natural, Gane's point of departure is the monumental work of his beloved mentor, Jacob Milgrom, to whom it is reverently dedicated. In large measure, Gane's study consists of a point-by-point reconsideration of every aspect of Milgrom's extensive *oeuvre*. Yet Gane does not confine himself to debating with his teacher; an enormous amount of scholarly literature exists on all of the relevant topics and texts, and he has consulted it all—including a number of important earlier studies that have so far escaped the notice of scholars. With supreme erudition and in uncompromising detail, he has taken nothing for granted; he readdresses every text, every question, every interpretation and every theory, accepting what he finds persuasive and unflinchingly critiquing what he does not.

To this thorough reevaluation of existing exegesis and scholarship Gane brings his unique contribution, subjecting the texts, and the work of his predecessors, to his own penetrating analysis and distinctive methodology and drawing upon the study of ancient Near Eastern ritual texts and the best that contemporary ritual theory has to offer. The result is not merely a new synthesis; Gane has constructed a challenging new set of questions and proposed a new understanding of several aspects of the atonement system; these will certainly be a major part of scholarly debate for the foreseeable future.

Even the title of the book, *Cult and Character*, is a gesture of homage to Milgrom, whose initial studies of the atonement system appeared in a collection entitled *Cult and*

Conscience: The Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance (Leiden: Brill, 1976). As with Milgrom, Gane believes that the details of the rituals prescribed and the precise philological understanding of the terms employed in their authentic biblical sense and context are the keys to unlocking the Priestly cult, and like Milgrom he is convinced that when this is accomplished, fundamental aspects of the Priestly theology and worldview are uncovered. Gane also seems convinced by the basic insight that the essence of the Priestly *kippur* is neither reconciliation nor appeasement, but purification—although on this point, he is somewhat ambivalent, occasionally indicating that he sees the sense of "pay a debt, make amends" as related, implying that the two ideas, payment and purification, somehow merge in his understanding.

As a result of the work of Milgrom and others, it is universally acknowledged today that the חַטָּאת, the main ritual by which *kippur* is accomplished in the Priestly texts, is not a "sin-offering," i.e., a gift presented to the deity in the hope of securing divine forgiveness for an offense, but rather a process of "removal," by which the odious matter created by certain offenses and by bodily impurities is either eradicated or at least absorbed and discarded. The question that remains hotly debated is: what do the חַטָּאת rituals purify? Do they, as suggested by such scholars as Angel M. Rodriguez (*Substitution in the Hebrew Cultus and in Cultic-Related Texts,* AUSDS 3 [Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1979]) and Noam Zohar ("Repentance and Purification: The Significance and Semantics of חַטָּאת in the Pentateuch," *JBL* 107 [1988]: 609–618), rid the human being of the sin or impurity that has accrued to his person; or, as developed at length by Milgrom,[*] D. P. Wright (*The Disposal of Impurity,* SBLDS 101 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987]; idem, "The Spectrum of Priestly Impurity," in *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel,* ed. Gary A. Anderson and Saul M. Olyan, JSOTSup 125 [Sheffield: Academic Press], 150-181), Tikva Frymer-Kensky ("Pollution, Purification and Purgation in Biblical Israel," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. Carol L. Meyers and Michael P. O'Connor [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983], 399-414), and others, do they purge the divine abode—the wilderness tabernacle in the Priestly writings, representing the Temple in the writer's present—of the impurities and sins of the Israelites believed to have accumulated there, so that YHWH's residence does not become unfit for divine habitation?

This is the question that the first portion of *Cult and Character,* constituting the greater part of the book, addresses. Gane argues that both dynamics are at work: the חַטָּאת rituals required of individuals (and occasionally of the community) in specific circumstances purify the persons involved; only the חַטָּאת of the annual Day of *kippurim* purges the divine abode. In other words, while he admits the express evidence of the text of Lev 16:16 ("Thus [the high priest] shall purge the Holy Place of the impurities and transgressions of the Israelites"), he sees this purging of the sacred sphere as the exception rather than the rule; a once-a-year divergence from, or perhaps addition to, the overall aim of the חַטָּאת ritual rather than the culmination of an entire ritual system aimed consistently and exclusively at Temple-purification. Gane admits that some offenses and impurities contaminate the divine abode and the sacred objects from afar, without direct contact, but he denies that this dynamic is the governing principle of the entire *kippur* system. Paradoxically then, while arguing cogently and forcefully for the internal coherence of the Priestly laws, almost never admitting stratification or

[*]For up-to-date references to Milgrom's works, consult the footnotes in *Cult and Character.* An earlier, but now outdated, version can be found in David P. Wright, et al., eds., *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish and Near Eastern Ritual, Law and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), xiii–xxv.

diachronic development within P itself (a rare exception may be his treatment of the
חַטָּאת of Num 15:22-31; see p. 85, but cf. pp. 211–213), Gane allows for a major
dichotomy within the ritual system they prescribe. He asserts that a procedure
performed for one purpose in almost of all its occurrences may, in an exceptional
context and with appropriate adjustments in the minutiae of its performance,
accomplish something else entirely, and that a powerful metaphysical dynamic said to
be present may in fact be inoperative much of the time, without this constituting a
breakdown of the system's integrity.

   Gane lays the groundwork for this claim in his opening, theoretical, chapter, in
which he explores questions of general character, including the matter of how best to
define what moderns refer to as a biblical "ritual" and what it is thought to achieve. The
weighty and highly detailed argumentation in support of his assertion that, with only a
few exceptions, the חַטָּאת purifies the person on whose behalf it is performed, leading
to his revision of the specific role of each type of חַטָּאת performed and indeed of the
kippur system in many of its particulars, make up the bulk of Chapters 2–13, and these
chapters will define the scholarly agenda for some time. Milgrom himself has already
responded briefly to one of Gane's central philological arguments, questioning his
understanding of the prepositions following the verb *kipper* and the implications thereof
("The Preposition מִן in the חַטָּאת Pericopes," *JBL* 126 [2007]: 161-163). As an example
of another such issue, one might mention Gane's treatment of the verb *kipper* itself. For
him, it would seem, the purification, or decontamination, denoted by *kipper* is not by
definition the cleansing of the sacred sphere exclusively. And indeed, only if this is the
case, as it is in several nonpriestly texts (e.g., Isa 6:7; Ps 78:38), can the verb *kipper* in
passages such as Lev 12:7–8; 14:31; 15:15 be interpreted to refer to the cleansing of the
individual. If, on the other hand, the semantic range of the verb is, in fact, restricted to
the sense of "decontaminate *the sacred*," as has been argued to be the case in P; and if the
verb itself, when used in ritual texts, simply cannot mean "purify" in general, then all
such passages *ipso facto* can only be read to refer to the removal from the sanctuary of
the sins and impurities that have accumulated there.

   This example provides an opportunity to mention, however briefly, a significant
methodological feature of Gane's treatment of the חַטָּאת, and of the *kippur* system as a
whole, namely the limits of the literary context in which he deems it appropriate to study
them. Most of the scholarly treatments that have preceded Gane's, including the work of
Milgrom, have kept the discussion within the confines of the Priestly source and the texts
known to have been created under its influence, most notably the book of Ezekiel. The
nonpriestly literature has generally been adduced for purposes of contrast, to enable the
scholar to focus more clearly on the Priestly ritual and its logic in all of its esoteric
peculiarity, as the distinctive literary manifestation of a unique theology and worldview
different from the other schools of thought and creativity evidenced in the Bible. The
uniqueness of the Priestly use of words and phrases ("Levitical terminology," in Milgrom's
idiom; cf. his *Studies in Levitical Terminology*, 1 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970])
has been maintained rigorously as distinct from the nonpriestly. In Gane's study, the lines
are much less rigid. On occasion, he too feels that adhering strictly to the evidence of the
Priestly texts is warranted; an illustration of this is his insistence that "physical ritual
impurities are not moral evils" (199), a principle he accepts throughout his study and which
is of crucial importance for understanding the *kippur* system, but which can be upheld only
if the contradictory view of the nonpriestly literature is discounted—which Gane indeed
does (199, n. 6). More often, however, he looks to the larger, canonical context, both raising
questions and suggesting answers from biblical texts well outside the circle of P. One

instance of this would be the important connection he sees between the rituals of purification and Israel's covenant with YHWH, a theme that he develops, for the most part, by reference to the nonpriestly covenant traditions (in P, the covenant is YHWH's one-sided resolve/promise to make Israel his subservient nation). In another example, Gane takes issue (101-103; see also, e.g., 255-266; 289-294) with this reviewer's conclusion that the priests' consumption of the חַטָּאת flesh, said to "bear" the offerer's sin (Lev 10:17), removes it and eradicates it for good (i.e., bears it away) without weighing upon the priests themselves in any sense ("The Bearing of Sin in the Priestly Literature," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells*, ed. Wright, et al., 3-21; esp. 15-17). Yet Gane's objections arise from the imagery and phraseology of sin-bearing outside of P, whereas my own conclusion was derived solely on the basis of my consideration of the "bearing" of sin (which, in the passage under discussion, is used as a synonymous parallel of *kipper*) and related phrases in the Priestly literature, as distinct from the very different use of these expressions in non-P.

This seemingly localized issue is actually quite central to Gane's study. Extending the semantic and theological range of the "bearing" of sin beyond what is included in P itself enables him to establish the principle that YHWH himself bears Israel's sin as the "cost," as he puts it, of forgiveness; and this principle, in turn, becomes highly significant in the concluding chapters of the book. The point can be appreciated by considering Gane's conception of the connection between the purification rituals and the issue of theodicy, and how it differs from that of Milgrom. Milgrom, who was the first to suggest such a relationship, understood theodicy in the classical sense of affirming divine justice in the face of the apparent success of the wicked. P's answer to this existential problem, he claimed, is that, in fact, no sin goes unnoticed; even if the individual sinner continues to thrive, the collective sins and impurities of all Israel do leave their mark. They accumulate in the divine abode, threatening the community as a whole in precise proportion to the amount of untreated contamination. They thereby render the system of *kippur*, by which the abode is constantly and regularly cleansed, a moral imperative, incumbent upon every individual and upon the community at large. Moreover, in Milgrom's model, the Priestly myth of the divine indwelling, and the Priestly law's demand that the divine abode be kept clean, also provide a way of accounting for the possibility of Israel's eventual destruction, although the cataclysmic dimensions of such a national catastrophe, should such a thing occur, would certainly strain the belief in divine justice, forcing the question: can any single generation be so sinful as to warrant Israel's final demise? According to P, Milgrom reasoned, the *accumulated* unexpiated sins and uncleansed impurities of Israel threaten to drive YHWH away from his abode among the Israelites. Such an event would therefore not cast doubt on YHWH's justice, since the consequences would, in fact, be commensurate with their cause. For Gane, however, the theodicy expressed in the *kippur* rituals is something else entirely. For him, they provide an answer to the question of how YHWH's justice can be affirmed in light of the fact that he forgives. How can YHWH's reputation be cleared of the slanderous effect of his people's rebellious acts, Gane asks; how can a just God "get away with" grace? For Gane, this, and not the problem of undeserved tragedy and the success of the wicked, is the theodicy enacted in the חַטָּאת rituals.

Part 4 of *Cult and Character*, consisting of Chapters 14–17 (along with the succinct summary of the major findings in Parts 1–3 found in Chapter 13) explores this theme at length. As a basis for the discussion, Gane delves into the many references and allusions, both within the Priestly literature and outside of it, to the divine abode as the locus for the administration of justice. In a fascinating discussion of royal figures in the Bible who are said to have granted clemency without allowing their reputation for justice

to be tainted, Gane sees an analogy between these narratives and the Priestly purification rituals, which he presents in a new light as aimed at demonstrating the justice of YHWH. In this context, he draws on the widespread theme of YHWH's need to protect his reputation (a motif implicit in P [Lev 26:45] and highly developed in Ezekiel, but explicit in the Torah only in non-P), which he views primarily as a concern that YHWH not be perceived as unjustifiably indulgent, even as he persists in his relationship with a recalcitrant people. The rituals of *kippur*, Gane suggests, serve this end: they establish that whereas YHWH indeed pardons the truly guilty, this dispensation, like the royal reprieve granted by absolute monarchs, is reserved for those whose loyalty has been adequately demonstrated, while those who persist in their obstinacy are never forgiven. Noting that numerous biblical passages, both legal and poetic-prophetic, depict YHWH as meting out retributive justice from his sanctuary and refer to the Temple as the site at which judgment is pronounced, Gane presents a model of precise correspondences between the manner in which royal justice is granted, or withheld, from each type of offender and the ways in which the *kippur* rituals cleanse, or do not cleanse, each type of impure person and sinner. Like all who have gone before him in an attempt to make systematic sense of divine behavior as depicted in the Bible, Gane too addresses the questions that never cease to plague, such as how to explain passages in which YHWH is said to lead persons into sin; how to excuse YHWH for extirpating the disloyal, given the theoretical possibility that repentance, and the concomitant demonstration of loyalty, might be forthcoming at some future time; and how to account for the presence of total absolution even in presumably unexpiable cases. These and other questions, and the responses Gane gives to them, are ample evidence of his theological sensitivity and of the breadth of his thought.

     Viewing the ritual remedies required by the Priestly legislation as analogous to the active demonstrations of loyalty required in the royal administration of justice is a direct outgrowth of one of the most remarkable features of Gane's analysis of the ritual texts themselves, namely, his repeated care not to attach to them anything approaching magical efficacy. To be sure, he does recognize that rituals are thought of as accomplishing something on the metaphysical level, or as he succinctly puts it, "a ritual is a privileged activity that is believed to carry out a transformation process involving interaction with a reality ordinarily inaccessible to the material domain" (15), and he states explicitly that the system of belief underlying Israel's rituals of *kippur* must include the belief in "the reality of the pollution that needed to be removed, and the effectiveness of the prescribed ritual actions required" (18). And yet, the reader cannot help but be struck by a sense that in Gane's view, the reality of the pollution is metaphorical, "quasi-physical" (see e.g., 159–160), and the effectiveness of which he speaks, in the final analysis, amounts to YHWH's gracious acceptance of actions obediently performed at his behest. As a corollary, it gradually becomes clear that the irredeemably condemned are condemned essentially for ritual insubordination, i.e., for refusing to acquiesce in this subservience to the divine command to perform the required actions. In this conception of the ritual system, Gane's work constitutes an implicit challenge to the position held by Yehezkel Kaufmann, who argued that the magical, efficacious element in the purification rituals, while attenuated, is retained in biblical religion, and that the notion that the rituals of the cult are essentially divine "decrees," whose value lies in human obedience to them, is a postbiblical development תולדות הנומאה הישראלית [Jerusalem, 1937-1956], I:536-538).

     The concluding chapter reconsiders the full range of parallels and differences between the Israelite system of *kippur* and the rituals associated with the Nanshe New

Year and the Babylonian Spring New Year observances. In light of the sixteen chapters that come before this discussion and of the rabbinic traditions adduced, the basis for comparison and contrast is much broader than in any previous study of this material, going far beyond descriptive issues of literary form and ritual resemblance.

A brief review such as this cannot possibly do justice to a volume as rich in detail and insight as *Cult and Character*. Innumerable biblical texts and terms are treated to new and thought-provoking elucidation; exegetical and scholarly traditions are mined for all that they have to offer; previously untapped associations of themes and ideas yield rewarding new ways of considering issues that many believed to have been resolved. Scholars of Israelite ritual, of the Priestly tradition, of the Pentateuch, and of biblical theology have much to contemplate, much from which they can learn, and much with which to contend in the course of their own research in this remarkable work.

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Hasel, Michael G. *Military Practice and Polemic: Israel's Laws of Warfare in Near Eastern Perspective.* Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2005. x + 193 pp. Paper, $24.99.

Military Practice and Polemic is a monumental monograph, demonstrating responsible analysis and interpretation of textual, iconographic, and archaeological material on Israel's ancient laws of warfare. The ingenuity of Michael G. Hasel's work is realized not only in his approach and methodology, but in the fair treatment of the selected data from its contextual perspective. Kenneth A. Kitchen, who crafted the foreword to this book, explicitly pointed out that Hasel has tackled "a more restricted subject" based on Deut 20:10-20, but was able to "clarify, and thus to advance, our understanding of both the biblical and other ancient data" (viii). Besides the introduction and the conclusion, the book is basically divided into three chapters. The appendix on 2 Kgs 3 is bonus material the author included so as to clear up any misunderstandings with regard to what may appear contradictory to the text he selected to study.

Hasel analyzes the contextual, syntactical, and linguistic aspects of Deut 20:10-20 through appropriate exegesis of the text, thereby discovering that the biblical text sets the rules for Israel's engagement in warfare at home and abroad. YHWH is responsible for the warfare, defines the marching orders, and grants victory over the enemy. One aspect of warfare specifications included soliciting for peace terms with the cities outside of Israel's territory. Those who complied would be subject to forced labor, while those who refused the peace offer would be besieged and completely destroyed. For the cities inside Israel's territory, there were no negotiations, but total destruction.

Hasel also discusses Assyrian and Babylonian military practices. These nations were contemporary with Israel. Not only did these two nations make war against each other, but they both had war campaigns against Israel at different times. Assyrian warfare is illustrated through textual as well as iconographic sources. The author elucidates the subject by thoroughly analyzing the extant data on Assyrian military activities and includes graphic depictions of Assyrian warfare. The pictorial aids provide "remarkable detail" (55) on Assyrian armory and siege engines. The Assyrians destroyed trees and orchards when they had conquered a city. I agree with the author that the Babylonians did not leave detailed records of their military operations and strategies. So it is appropriate to assume the possibility that the Babylonians may have utilized the military tactics of their predecessors.

Hasel next compares Canaanite, Hittite, and Egyptian military practices in light of Deut 20. It is clear from his analysis that these nations' siege tactics stood in contradiction to the biblical text. They destroyed orchards and used the timber to build siege works. Hasel's remarkable contribution leads us to discover that "the destruction of fruit trees and the enemy's life support system is significant for it provides the only documented parallel for the polemic found in Deuteronomy 20:19-20" (112-113). He concludes that the biblical practice of sparing the fruit trees from use as siege works was thus a polemic against the practices of these other nations.

The importance of Hasel's study, however, is in the fact that, while this book seeks to elucidate biblical war practices in the light of those of other ancient nations, it also illuminates much on the provenance of Deuteronomy. On the whole, the book demonstrates how authentic and credible scholarship does its work.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   PATRICK MAZANI

Lessing, R. Reed. *Interpreting Discontinuity: Isaiah's Tyre Oracle.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004. ix + 313 pp. Hardcover, $37.50.

Interpreting Discontinuity: Isaiah's Tyre Oracle is a revised version of R. Reed Lessing's 2001 dissertation presented at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. The express "goal of this study is to use Isaiah 23 as an arena whereby a debate may take place between how redaction and rhetorical criticism interpret discontinuities within prophetic texts" (39). The rationale for this is because Isaiah is at the center of so much that is contended in OT interpretation and the fact that Isaiah 23 "is filled with the central component of the debate, *discontinuity*" (5), which may be defined as "changes in grammar, syntax, perspective, genre and/or motif" (1).

Lessing aims for a dialogue (11) between these two disciplines by describing the historical roots of redaction criticism as grounded in its forerunner, form criticism. He provides a concise overview of the latter by representing the contributions of its advocates and outlining its evolution. He concludes that there is a "symbiotic relationship" (38) between the two. He continues the discussion by focusing on how commentaries by Otto Kaiser, Hans Wildberger, and Marvin Sweeney answer the driving question of redactional readings, asking the question: "What are the signs that indicate redactional activity?" (40). These signs may be divided into two criteria: major and minor. The first includes explanatory comments, changes in theme, and post-Isaianic themes. The second envelopes the use of catchwords and literary disunity. Lessing then submits these criteria to a redactional interpretation of Isa 23 in the works of the above-named scholars (66-98). He concludes that because of their assumption that "the original author . . . had only *one* perspective, *one* emphasis and *one* style" then "the final text is a composite made up of diverse strata" (97).

At this point, Lessing turns his attention to rhetorical criticism. Beginning with a historical overview of the discipline, he then moves to the core issues of his study: orality and literary form, indicating that Isaiah wrote out chapter 23 for the express purpose of delivering it orally; persuasion, demonstrating that the prophet used several different perspectives, genres, themes and styles in an extended format with the intention of having a persuasive impact on his hearers; function and historical setting, that is, "the original rhetorical situation between the author and audience" (112). Lessing goes further by underscoring the use of pragmatics, poetry, genre and satire as significant factors in the rhetorical investigation of Isa 23. These provide focus and form for the rest of the investigation. The author proceeds with a thoroughgoing translation

of and commentary on Isa 23, refusing emendations because of the presence of discontinuities and steadfastly holding to the integrity of the MT (133). Since place names (Tyre, Tarshish, Egypt) and nations (Assyria, Chaldea) abound in the chapter, it is appropriate to address both its geography and historical setting. A verse-by-verse analysis, attending to matters of rhetorical structure, movement, strategy and technique, is carefully examined.

Lessing's contention is that Isa 23 is a coherent and persuasive speech, utilizing specific rhetorical elements, delivered in Jerusalem in 701 B.C. and pointing to the invasion of Phoenicia by Sennacherib in that same year. The speech purposes to define "Yahweh's *opus alienum* ('alien work')" and to "persuade the Judahite court not to emulate the pride of Tyre in the latter's rebellion against Assyria" (240).

Perhaps one of the most insightful contributions of Lessing's work is his discussion of satire as a rhetorical technique. He argues for extensive use of this as a literary device in the OT as a whole and particularly in prophetic texts. The language of prophetic satire broods with "animosity and insult" (131), directed especially in the oracles against foreign nations. He is convincing that Isa 23 specifically targets Tyre and the events of 701 B.C. in a satirical manner embedded in the city-lament genre (198-209).

While this work is outstanding in its quality of research, analysis, and investigation, it is clear that the author is biased toward rhetoricism. However, one can respect the fact that he clearly states his position (2, 241). However, it causes pause to wonder if it is really possible to fairly evaluate the other side of the issue (even if it was the author's intention to do so). Therefore, in light of his stated purpose, one must therefore ask if this work is evaluative or descriptive. Did the intended *dialogue* truly occur?

Nonetheless, this work is highly recommended because it provides an in-depth analysis of a significant passage dealing with an oracle against a foreign nation. Lessing's work is meaningful since so few studies exist on a subject that is widespread in the prophetic corpus. Future inquiries into such areas must contend with the claims and conclusions of this book.

Andrews University   KENNETH D. MULZAC

Livermore, David A. *Serving with Eyes Wide Open: Doing Short-Term Missions with Cultural Intelligence*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006. 192 pp. Paperback. $12.99.

In an era when short-term missions are exploding, *Serving with Eyes Wide Open: Doing Short-Term Missions with Cultural Intelligence* is a timely and outstanding book. Its author, David A. Livermore, is the executive director of the Global Learning Center at Grand Rapids Theological Seminary and the cofounder of Intersect, a ministry that provides leadership training and consulting to emerging leaders in ministries around the world.

In this much-needed book, Livermore examines the assumptions that drive most of the cross-cultural work done by Americans. He describes the major challenges and difficulties of short-term missions, presenting some of the pitfalls involved in this great Western Christian enterprise. He then points the way forward by engaging and challenging those planning to do short-term missions to seriously consider various perspectives and experiences before embarking on this noble endeavor. He urges everyone to engage in short-term missions with cultural intelligence.

Serving with Eyes Wide Open was written primarily for Westerners engaging in short-term mission trips, but it would also greatly benefit career missionaries serving in cross-

cultural contexts. The author's intentional engagement with the "majority worlds" is worth mentioning: he not only attempts to dialogue and hear what national (indigenous) church leaders have to say, but he also aims to make Westerners more aware of the need to be respectful and mindful of the global Christian church and what it has to offer. In this way, he gives a voice to non-Western church leaders. In doing so, he has attempted, with a great deal of success, to listen to what the global church has to say.

The book is divided into three parts. Part 1 helps the reader to understand the world in which we live and interact—its realities, challenges, and opportunities. Part 2 compares the different and often-conflicting perspectives of Westerners with other nationals. Part 3 integrates various aspects of cultural-intelligence theories into the planning and practice of short-term missions.

Livermore states that "the biggest problems for most short-term mission teams are not technical or administrative. The biggest challenges lie in communication, misunderstanding, personality conflicts, poor leadership, and bad teamwork" (14, cf. 155). Thus, because all these issues have to do with humans relating to humans, it is imperative that anyone engaging in short-term mission trips would do so with intentional planning and preparation, and with some clear guidance and wisdom from those who have traveled this road before.

The appendix, with its recommended resources, is an excellent feature in this book. The helpful reference material includes practical trip-planning guides, devotionals, cross-cultural training and follow-up tools, tips for developing global awareness and cultural intelligence, and a biblical theology of missions.

Serving with Eyes Wide Open is a must read for all who want to be engaged in short-term and cross-cultural missions. It will also be of great benefit to career missionaries, churches, mission agencies, schools, and other supporting church ministries "that continually grapple with the issues of cross-cultural interactions" (13).

Andrews University   WAGNER KUHN

Morgan, Douglas, ed. *Peacemaking Remnant: Essays and Historical Documents*. Kearney, NE: Morris, 2005. 128 pp. Paperback, $10.00.

Anyone acquainted with contemporary American Adventist teaching and practices concerning war would certainly not equate *Peacemaking Remnant* with present-day Adventism. Douglas Morgan proposes that Adventists have become so thoroughly mainstreamed in American society that peacemaking is foreign to them. Like their fellow Americans, Adventists are united in the war against terrorism. According to Morgan, Adventists have so wrapped themselves in the American flag and embraced the political party that preaches patriotism that some seem to believe that even God has become an American and his party affiliation is Republican.

Peacemaking Remnant, a collection of documents and essays by Adventist theologians and leaders, tells a different story, reminding Adventists of their countercultural roots and abhorrence of any form of violence, state-sanctioned or not, and their bold proclamation to be a peacemaking remnant. Adventists were not afraid to be different. While not disrespectful of the government, they also did not applaud government in its war-making enterprises. This small booklet powerfully calls Adventists and other Christians back to their historical roots and prophetic mission.

There are eight major contributors to the book who explore the subject of peacemaking as a central and necessary part of Adventist identity and mission, whether it is expressed in daily encounters and political positions or in doctrinal statements and

community involvement. These essays were extracted with the writers' permission from previous materials that were published or presented at scholarly forums.

Charles Scriven views the Adventist peacemaking role primarily through his understanding of eschatology. He condemns the traditional Adventist position on eschatology as a kind of escapism from reality. There is a glaring lack of engagement and stewardship by Adventists. He calls for the church to be a true "prophetic minority" engaged in building up the kingdom of God here on earth, while not losing the vision of the coming kingdom. He calls for believers to be a faithful witness to the victory of Christ in the midst of the last-day crisis.

Zdravko Plantak continues in a similar vein as Scriven, but uses the biblical model of the OT prophets to show that as a people of prophecy, Adventists have fallen short of the major prophetic mission, which is to tell forth the message rather than to predict the future. Plantak chides the church for its apparent passivity and silence in the face of injustice, inequality, bad relationships, and the violation of human rights. He urges the church to be the first to condemn these practices and to foster good relations with its neighbors.

Charles Bradford, in his article on the Sabbath, shows how Sabbath-keeping was observed historically in Africa and its role as a major symbol of radical liberation. He sees Africa as a special place where God is now doing a miraculous work. Ryan Bell reflects on the experience of Daniel as a type of what present-day Adventists should be like as they seek to influence secular society and government.

In the most radical of the essays, Keith Burton confronts super-patriotic American Adventists and seeks to strip them of their nationalistic idolatry. He disabuses them of the notion of God's partiality toward America and portrays a God who is distinctly universal, loving all people from all nations, even those we consider our enemies.

Kendra Haloviak shows from the book of Revelation how worship transforms our present. She says: "When we worship we anticipate a new heaven and a new earth. The future enters our present and we live now as we will live in the future" (69).

Ronald Osborn examines Adventism's peacemaking roots and shows how throughly pacifist the church was due to its connection with Anabaptist theology. He traces the church's views on war and shows how the church's position has changed over time from the stance of "conscientious objectors to conscientious cooperators." He laments this unfortunate shift in position, urging the church to return to its peacemaking roots.

Morgan continues along the same line as Osborn. He analyzes Adventists' reasons for their changed attitudes toward the government and war, concluding that change came about as a result of political expediency. He denounces the loss of the vision of being agents of *shalom* for the oppressed. Ellen White's recommendations to temporarily accommodate segregation eventually became the norm. Thus, according to Morgan, the church has neglected to be an active agent against war, racism, and oppression.

These eight outstanding essays make for exciting reading. They carry an urgent call for Adventist believers to become active agents for peace and justice in their communities rather than joining the governmental bandwagon for war. Because of the nature of the work, it was difficult to maintain coherency throughout the book. At times, ideas appear disjointed and disconnected, and it is obvious that the essays were pulled from different places and quickly assembled together. However, the passion and the urgency of these writers resonates in the style and content of their writings. This is a small book, but it carries a powerful punch and is needed in the Adventist faith community.

Andrews University   TREVOR O'REGGIO

Muraoka, T. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets*. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2003. xxxii + 613 pp. Cloth, $83.00.

T. Muraoka's *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* is a substantially expanded version of the lexicon published in 1993 dealing with the Twelve Prophets. It begins (vii-xviii) with a helpful introduction, in which Muraoka outlines the scope of his project, which is to cover lexemes primarily in the Pentateuch and Twelve Prophets, but also where significant words in these sections occur infrequently outside of these bounds. Lexical data is also gleaned from these references. This volume includes some 4,500 lexemes.

Muraoka outlines his basic approach to LXX lexicography in the introduction, raising the important question of lexical methodology particular to dealing with a text in translation from a Semitic original. He concludes that it is best to read the LXX as a Greek document and "try to find out what sense a reader in the last few centuries before the turn of the era who was ignorant of Hebrew or Aramaic might have made of the translation" (viii-ix). Muraoka, however, does compare the LXX with the Hebrew throughout. He also uses daughter versions based on the LXX, along with Greek patristic commentaries on the LXX.

Muraoka also (rightly) presupposes the Greek of the LXX to be that "of the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, though necessarily influenced by the grammar and usage of Aramaic and Hebrew," while acknowledging that "the nature and degree of that influence (varies) from translator to translator and from question to question." The textual bases that he uses are the Göttingen critical editions, where completed. He rarely considers textual variations. As a "fully fledged lexicon" (x), this volume provides morphological, semantic, and Semitic background information. This, Muraoka claims, is the difference between the present volume and other LXX lexicons, specifically *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* as compiled by J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992-1996); and F. Rehkopf, *Septuaginta-Vokabular* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989).

Muroaka's outline of his "working methodology" (xff) is instructive. He critiques the limitations of Hatch and Redpath's concordance for serious lexicography due to its inability to provide sufficient context for accurate lexicographical work. He notes that more contextual features were required. He rightly asserts the importance of establishing a word's meaning in its context, what he calls "the semantic 'profile' of the word concerned." This necessarily allows the lexicographer to distinguish between it and like words, to determine what sort of adjective qualifies a given noun, or what sort of noun or nominal entity a given verb takes as its grammatical subject or object, all of which are essential to the task. The introduction to the lexicon is followed by a list of abbreviations (xix-xxii), a helpful bibliography (xxii-xxx), and a key of symbols (xxxi).

In terms of layout, this lexicon provides four parts to each entry. The first section (A) provides the bold-faced headword, along with morphological information and symbols designating the scope of data considered. The second section (B) is the main body of the entry, defining senses of the headword and describing its usage. A "sense definition" is given, with the occasional listing of translational equivalents enclosed with single quotes, which is marked off by a colon from the following description of the uses of the headword in the sense so defined (xiv). Muraoka's third section (C) lists, where appropriate, a word or group of words semantically associated with the headword. The final section (D) concerns the relationship between the LXX and its Hebrew original.

The strength of this lexicon is what Muraoka describes as its articulation of a "definition" rather than "translation equivalents," though sometimes translational equivalents are also provided. Indeed, this is an important distinction between it and the

English-LXX lexicon of Lust et al. The problem is that, whereas Lust's work (now slightly edited and available in a single hardback volume) provides bibliographic references (where they exist) to articles and portions of books (especially in *La Bible d'Alexandrie* volumes) specifically related to the particular entry under consideration, Muraoka provides only a bibliography separate from lexical entries, with only sporadic referencing. Thus each lexicon has something to contribute and is valuable. For specific work in the Pentateuch or Twelve Prophets, particularly where one is looking beyond a simple one-word gloss for a Greek term, Muraoka's work is unparalleled. However, for quick reference to single-word definitions that cover the entirety of the LXX and provide helpful and specific secondary references, Lust's work remains invaluable. I find myself keeping both within reach while working in the LXX. I also find reviewing Muraoka's introduction to this volume to be instructive in my own lexical work in the LXX.

The price for this volume is reasonable for the quality of the research put into it. Moreover, the fine cloth binding and durable pages ensure that it will endure continued use for many years to come.

Bethel Seminary   DANIEL M. GURTNER
St. Paul, Minnesota

Tetley, M. Christine. *The Reconstructed Chronology of the Divided Kingdom.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005. 194 pp. Hardcover, $45.00.

This book is a revision of M. Christine Tetley's doctoral dissertation on the biblical chronology from the death of Solomon until the fall of Samaria. Eisenbrauns has done a fine job in formatting the book, providing a wide-page layout that is useful for displaying the numerous charts and tables. Indexes of authors, scriptural references, and royal names are provided. The author sees as her goal the presentation of a chronology that would replace the work of Edwin Thiele for this period of time. Overall, the system of Thiele and those who built on his research is characterized as too complicated, since it is based on giving consideration to whether the two kingdoms might have used a different calendar, or whether some regnal years and synchronisms might have been measured from the start of a coregency, or whether the first partial year of a monarch was considered his "zero" year or his "first" year (accession and nonaccession counting, respectively). Tetley therefore sees the need for a fresh approach to the chronology of the divided kingdom. Her hypotheses are spelled out (118) as follows: only one dating system is employed in 1–2 Kings for both Judah and Israel, and that dating system was invariant over the time of the divided kingdoms. The regnal years of kings were counted from the day of accession in the same way that modern people reckon birthdays, and so there is no need to consider whether the calendar year started in Nisan or Tishri. Regnal years were not exact, but were rounded up or down, with no explanation given of how this was done. No coregencies or rival reigns will be considered since they are "witnessed neither by the regnal formulas nor any other textual evidence." Tetley's method can be described as a *tour de force* of developing a chronology based on these simplifying assumptions. Her approach is only secondarily a text-critical methodology, which is Tetley's own characterization of her approach.

The second distinctive of the author's method is her endeavor to examine all recensions, Hebrew and Greek, of the books of Kings, and to determine which recension, or combination of recensions, points to the original chronological data. Chapter 2 provides the background of these recensions. Chapter 3 then has useful charts for comparison of the chronological data—reign lengths and synchronisms—found in

these various textual traditions. Chapter 4 looks more closely at c_2, a tenth-century A.D. manuscript in the Lucianic family. For the second half of the period of the divided monarchies, Tetley offers the opinion that "c_2 is the only extant text to give synchronisms and regnal years that provide an internally consistent chronology for this period" (63). To the author's credit, she nevertheless cites scholars who have decided that the Lucianic MSS in general, and c_2 in particular, are next to worthless for determining the chronology of the period. The reader is thus forewarned that the chronology about to be constructed will be in contradiction to the judgment of many critical studies of textual traditions in the books of Kings.

After a chapter dealing with regnal formulas, Chapters 6 through 9 develop the Reconstructed Chronology, as based on the presuppositions presented earlier and the predilection for Greek texts, particularly c_2, over the MT. As mentioned previously, the methodology here is primarily presuppositional, not text-critical. This can be seen in the various instances where Tetley finds no textual support for her reconstruction, and indeed where all relevant texts contradict it, but the logical consequences of the presuppositions are allowed to override all evidence—textual, inscriptional, or otherwise. Even the text-critical method, which can usually be bent to favor an author's presuppositions, is discarded by Tetley when it contradicts her presuppositions. The treatment given to the Tyrian king list illustrates this approach. This list, as cited in Josephus's *Against Apion*, allows a calculation of the time that elapsed between the start of construction of Solomon's Temple and the founding of Rome. Once the date for the founding of the Temple is calculated by this method, the biblical data for the regnal years of Solomon give 932 B.C. as the date of the beginning of the divided kingdoms, plus or minus two years at the maximum (see William Barnes, *Studies in the Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel*, 29-55). This agrees remarkably well with Thiele's date of 931 B.C., but it contradicts the *Reconstructed Chronology* date (981 B.C.) by forty-nine years. To deal with this, Tetley starts by accepting the finding of Barnes, F. M. Cross, and other scholars that the Tyrian king Balezeros (*Ba'li-manzer*) is attested in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III as giving tribute in Shalmaneser's eighteenth year, but she assigns this to 885 B.C., forty-four years earlier than the 841 B.C. acknowledged by Assyriologists. The 841 date is also consistent with Thiele's dates for Jehu (841-814 B.C.), who gave tribute at the same time as Balezeros. Here the Tyrian data, the conventional interpretation of the Assyrian data, and the biblical data agree, and they all contradict Tetley's chronology. The wisest course, once so many contradictions had been encountered, would have been to modify or discard the various presuppositions used to construct that chronology. Instead, Tetley added to them: she assumed that the Tyrian chronology needed to be extended, and the presumption was made that Dido, founder of Carthage, did not leave Tyre in Pygmalion's seventh year, but in his forty-seventh, for which there is no textual warrant. Regarding the tribute of Balezeros in the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III, Tetley assumed that the usual interpretation of the Assyrian data must be wrong (since it was not in keeping with her assumptions), so she rejected the Assyrian Eponym Canon for all years before the Bur-Sagale eclipse of 763 B.C. She further assumed that the Israelite king *Iaúa* who gave tribute to Shalmaneser at the same time as Balezeros was Joram, not Jehu, and in 885 B.C. instead of in 841 B.C. Tetley adds extra presuppositions like this throughout her work, so that her system ends up being more complicated than the system of Thiele that she rejected as too complicated.

Tetley's rejection of the Assyrian Eponym Canon for all dates before 763 B.C. will not find a ready acceptance among Assyriologists. The rationale for rejection is the presence of an extra name during the reign of Adad-Nirari III in one list of eponyms. Thiele (*The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 3d ed., 73-76) explains this extra name,

and shows that the Eponym Canon is consistent with the Khorsabad King List and the other copies of the Eponym Canon when the single extra eponym, found in only one inscription, is recognized as an erroneous addition. Thiele's treatment shows the proper usage of the text-critical method, which cannot be said of Tetley's handling of the same Assyrian texts. When she claims that an extra twenty-two eponyms are missing from the reign of Adad-Nirari III, no Assyrian inscriptions can be cited that give these eponyms, nor is any explanation given how this stretching out Adad-Nirari's reign to fifty years can be compatible with the twenty-eight years given to him in the Assyrian King List. It is Thiele who uses properly the text-critical method in studying these data, whereas the approach of *Reconstructed Chronology* is clearly presupposition-driven, not text-driven.

Has Tetley's approach been able to make sense out of the biblical data for the divided monarchies? There are thirty-three monarchs involved in the two kingdoms for this period of time. The reign lengths given for these monarchs in Tetley's chronology differ from any text, MT or Greek, in eight cases, six of which are more than the one year that Tetley could attribute to "rounding." For seven of the eight cases, all Greek MSS agree with the MT, *contra* Tetley's figures. For synchronisms between these kings the statistics are equally bad: of the thirty-seven synchronisms between Israel and Judah that can be constructed from Tetley's charts, twelve of them find no support in any textual tradition, MT or Greek. In eleven of these cases, the difference is more than one year. Also in eleven cases, all Greek MSS that give a synchronism agree with the MT against Tetley. The Reconstructed Chronology, therefore, is in poor agreement with the extant Greek data or with any combination of Greek and Hebrew data. Its chronology is ultimately not determined by the underlying biblical texts, nor is it determined by the chronology of Assyria, Tyre, or any other surrounding nation. It is determined by the author's presuppositions.

If we apply a similar test to Thiele's chronology for the same period, we find that all Thiele's figures for reign lengths are in harmony with the MT. With regard to synchronisms, Thiele rejected the synchronisms between Hezekiah and Hoshea in 2 Kgs 18, and he also failed to understand the Hoshea/Ahaz synchronism of 2 Kgs 17:1. These synchronisms are all dealt with adequately by the scholars who corrected Thiele's deficiencies, most notably by Leslie McFall. The Thiele/McFall chronology has no cases in which the reign lengths and synchronisms do not have textual backing, compared to the twenty cases in which Tetley's chronology has no textual support. This disparity is even more striking when we consider that McFall uses a notation that is exact to within a six-month period in most cases, compared to Tetley's use of "rounding" to account for small disparities. Surely a system that uses precision and matches all the data is to be preferred to a system that is inexact and still conflicts with the data that supposedly support it.

For Tetley's purposes, the considerations of when the calendar year started and whether accession or nonaccession reckoning was used are basically irrelevant because the small differences that these issues determine can all be covered by her inexact "rounding." The real cause of the difference in the dates given by Tetley's chronology and that of Thiele, McFall, and the Assyrian data is Tetley's principle that there were no coregencies and no rival reigns during the time of the divided monarchies. This presupposition leads to statements that are clearly erroneous. For example, in discarding the data for a rivalry between Tibni and Omri, Tetley states that the texts that show that the rivalry began in Asa's twenty-seventh year (1 Kgs 16:15) and ended with the death of Tibni in Asa's thirty-first year (1 Kgs 16:31) are not compatible with Omri's reigning six years in Tirzah before he built Samaria. This is a serious misunderstanding of the passage; the death of Tibni and the founding of Samaria are separate events that are not

assigned to the same year in any text. Yet based on the misunderstanding that causes her to reject these synchronisms to the regnal years of Asa, Tetley goes on to conclude that "[i]t is evident that Tibni never reigned" (139), contradicting 1 Kgs 16:21, and that "[n]either the MT pattern nor the OG/L [Old Greek/Lucianic] pattern explain the datum at 16:23 for Omri's accession in Asa's 31st year" (41). Here, as in at least sixteen other places, Tetley charges the Scriptures (particularly, the MT) with error, whereas it is her presuppositions, not the Scripture, that are the problem. In all these cases, it should have been stated that the real conflict is with the author's presuppositions, not with the Scripture. Unfortunately, this is not done, which would lead many readers to wrongly conclude that the MT is repeatedly in error in its chronological data. Another instance of misinterpretation of the scriptural data is found in Tetley's treatment of the only other example of a rival reign, that of Pekah with Menahem and Menahem's son Pekahiah. One part of the evidence for this rivalry is the chronological data, and the other part is the various scriptural texts that imply that there were two rival kingdoms in the north in the time of Menahem. In dealing with one such text, Hos 5:5, Tetley writes (116) that the *vav* between "Israel" and "Ephraim" should be translated as "even, indeed," so that there is no need to treat Israel and Ephraim as distinct entities. Since it was necessary to read the text in its original Hebrew to come to this conclusion, one wonders why it was not read more carefully. The construction has not just one *vav* but two, one before "Israel" and one before "Ephraim." This is the Hebrew way of expressing "both . . . and," as in Zech 5:4 and many other Scriptures. By saying "both Israel and Ephraim," the verse definitely implies two rival states; furthermore, the LXX here also says "both . . . and" (καὶ . . . καὶ). Since it was essential to Tetley's argument to show that this verse does not imply two distinct kingdoms, her lack of knowledge of Hebrew constructions has led her to a wrong conclusion. This would unfortunately mislead readers who had no solid grounding in biblical languages or who did not bother to check the text in its original language.

The presupposition of no coregencies and no rival reigns requires adding extra years to Tetley's chronology in those instances when the given figure for regnal years includes the time of a coregency. It therefore leads her into conflict with the Assyrian data, such as the tribute of Menahem to Tiglath-Pileser III. On p. 177 she writes: "Neither Assyrian inscriptions nor biblical text indicate any personal contact between Menahem and Tiglath-Pileser," despite 2 Kgs 15:19 (where Tetley acknowledges that Pul is an alternate name for Tiglath-Pileser) and Menahem's tribute being mentioned three times in Tiglath-Pileser's inscriptions. The final results put the beginning of the divided monarchy in 981 B.C., fifty years earlier than the 931 date given by Thiele and accepted by the majority of scholars who are most influential in this field, including Jack Finegan, Kenneth Kitchen, T. C. Mitchell, Gershon Galil, Leslie McFall, and Eugene Merrill.

What if Tetley's approach were to be applied to the chronology of ancient Egypt? Her criticism that Thiele's system is too complicated would apply even more to Egypt: the Egyptian calendar, and how it changed throughout Egypt's history, provides a complex question that is still under investigation. How the various pharaohs related their reigns to this calendar is also a complicated issue, and the way they did this was different at various times in the various dynasties. Egyptian chronological methods are more complicated than the methods that Thiele found were used by Israel and Judah. However, these minor matters regarding the calendar year could be ignored if Egyptologists adopted Tetley's "rounding," even though Egyptologists could argue from inscriptions that this is an improper understanding of Egyptian practice, in the same way that sound scholarship has shown that it is improper for treating the biblical

texts. But the real problem would be because of coregencies and rival reigns, just as with Judah, Israel, and Assyria. Here the same criticisms that the *Reconstructed Chronology* makes of Thiele's interpretations could be applied to the Egyptian data: the various pharaohs do not always tell us that they are measuring their years from a coregency, or that there was a rival pharaoh ruling in another city, and so all chronological systems that take these things into account would be rejected. All data that show that sometimes a change was made in either the calendar or the way that pharaohs counted their years would also be rejected, since these ancient personalities did not leave any explanation for the modern scholar that they were doing anything unusual. If these principles—the same as are applied as a criticism of Thiele's chronology in *Reconstructed Chronology*—were applied to Egyptian history, the result would be disastrous, on an even grander scale than the dislocations already described in Tetley's treatment of Hebrew and Assyrian history. What does this say about any methodology that starts with presuppositions, rather than with a careful study of the practices and methods of ancient scribes and court recorders? When such an approach would not be given serious consideration by Egyptologists or Assyriologists, why does it find acceptance in biblical studies?

There is, however, a different way to approach the study of OT chronology. It can be characterized as the inductive method—one that starts with observations, rather than presuppositions. Induction is the method followed by V. Coucke, Thiele, Siegfried Horn, Kitchen, and McFall. It has led to lasting contributions in the field of ancient Near Eastern chronology, as well as in the more specific field of biblical chronology. Anyone who desires to understand the chronology of the divided kingdom can do no better than to read the first four chapters of Thiele's *Mysterious Numbers* in order to grasp the fundamental principles of how ancient scribes measured the years of their king and their kingdom. Although some of Thiele's Assyrian data have been updated by later studies, the general trend of these findings has been to corroborate his work, not invalidate it. After becoming familiar with the basic principles (accession vs. nonaccession years, coregencies, Nisan and Tishri years), it would be profitable to read McFall's "Translation Guide" article in *BSac* (1991) to see how they can be applied with an exact notation to produce a chronology that is in harmony with all the data used to derive that chronology, with no outlandish presuppositions necessary. McFall's chronology is based on the MT, and in no case did McFall or Thiele find a superior reading in the LXX. This presents a challenge to all those who would favor the LXX: produce a chronology that is based on any reading that is presumed to be superior in the LXX, and then demonstrate that the chronology has the same internal and external harmony as the Thiele/McFall system. Shenkel, who preferred "Old Greek" readings in the books of Kings, was not able to do this; he did not even try. Tetley, with her preference for the Lucianic text c_2 and with various mixing and matching, is a long way from being able to do it, as was demonstrated above. So far it is only the MT that allows the building of a consistent chronology for the period of the divided monarchies. Until some scholar is able to produce a similar success with LXX variant readings, it must be said that the preference for the MT readings in all these matters is no longer just a hypothesis or a presupposition; it is a conclusion. This has an important bearing on textual studies: here is a mathematical system (a chronology) that can be used to test which data are original or authentic and which are later corruptions. If the chronological data of the MT were not authentic—the actual reign lengths and synchronisms for these various kings—then neither Thiele nor McFall nor anyone else could have constructed a chronology from them that in every case is faithful to the original texts and in every proven instance is consistent with Assyrian and Babylonian chronology. This

mathematical demonstration should sit in judgment over the various theories of text formation: if a theory of text formation cannot explain how the chronological data of the MT have produced a chronology that in every respect seems authentic for the four centuries of the monarchic period, then that theory must be rejected as another example of a presupposition-based approach that cannot meet the rational criteria for credibility.

Tetley's *Reconstructed Chronology* is therefore only recommended to those who have first read and understood the basic principles of the chronology of the kingdom period that Thiele explains and McFall works out in extensive detail, using an exact notation while at the same time correcting Thiele's errors in the handling of the eighth-century B.C. data for the southern kingdom. Once a basic understanding is achieved from these two sources, a reading of the *Reconstructed Chronology* will reveal how unfair its criticisms are regarding Thiele's work, and the reader will not be so likely to be misled by the author's misunderstandings of Thiele and the scriptural data. The reader might then be able to profit from the book's abundance of references to the various studies that have been done in this field. But perhaps the best benefit would come if the reader approaches the book with the purpose of seeing how an author's presuppositions can lead to repeated contradictions of the essential data, and then ask the question: When is it appropriate to stop and say that these contradictions mean that the presuppositions are wrong? All who write in the field of biblical studies need to continually ask this of our work, and if the reader will read the *Reconstructed Chronology* with this question in mind, it may be of considerable benefit. If, however, the reader is not solidly grounded in historical methods and the chronological usages of antiquity, then the book will lead him or her into wrong conclusions about Thiele's methodology, the trustworthiness of the OT Scriptures (particularly, the MT) regarding chronology, and several other matters such as the reliability of the Assyrian Eponym Canon from 910 B.C. to 763 B.C.

St. Louis, Missouri   RODGER C. YOUNG

Vanlandingham, Chris. *Judgment and Justification in Early Judaism and the Apostle Paul.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006. 384 pp. Hardcover, $29.95.

Judgement and Justification is a revision of Chris Vanlandingham's 2000 Ph.D. dissertation under the supervision of George Nickelsburg at the University of Iowa. The book is a challenge to E. P. Sanders's view of the final judgment in Second Temple period Judaism. Sanders's major point is that scholarship has misunderstood the Judaism of the first century to be a "works for salvation" religion. Sanders contends that works of the law were considered a proper response to God's election to salvation. He is adamant that the proto-Pelagianism often associated with the Pharisees of the first century is a misreading of the data because of the imposed Lutheran/Augustinian "justification by faith" grid. Sanders argues that if one actually reads the data from the first century and keeps one's Protestantism out of the mix, it is evident that no Jews thought they earned their salvation by keeping the Torah. Sanders's point is that the important elements of first-century Judaism were what "got you in" and what "kept you in," a catch-phrase that has almost become a mantra for some Pauline scholars. Vanlandingham surveys the literature since Sanders's *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* that deals specifically with the last judgment. He finds that few scholars who have challenged Sanders's view of election have dealt systematically with the literature of the Second Temple period. Vanlandingham takes this as his task and rereads the material to see if Sanders has been accurate in his interpretation. He concludes that in nearly every case, Sanders has used only the texts which support his position and ignored those which were not particularly helpful.

While studies challenging Sanders's position are not unique, they are almost always from the Calvinist side of the Reformation and are intent on defending the Reformation view of justification by faith in Paul. Vanlandingham has charted a new course in that he approaches Sanders's premise from a decidedly Arminian view of salvation and the last judgment. For Vanlandingham, Sanders is guilty of the very sins of which he accused scholarship in his *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*—he reads the Reformation view of grace and works back into the literature of the Second Temple period and finds a robust view of election. Vanlandingham contends that Jewish literature of this period, including that of the Apostle Paul, uniformly describe the final judgment as a judgment by works.

Vanlandingham begins by surveying Second Temple period literature with respect to election and God's grace. After examining this material, he concludes that election is not a gift, but rather a reward for proper behavior (18). Israel enjoys a corporate election rather than an election of individuals for salvation. He admits something of a mystery in the biblical story of Abram in Gen 12, where there is election without reference to his good works, but he also points out the practice of the Second Temple period to invent stories of Abraham's youth. *Jubilees*, for example, describes Abraham as rejecting the idolatry of his father and destroying idols and temples. Because of this proper behavior, Abraham is rewarded with the covenant described in Gen 12. Abraham has already chosen God when God gives him the covenant (24). This same apocryphal faith is found in Philo (*Ab* 77, *Virtue*, 226-227), *Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo* (6:11), and Josephus (*Antiq.* 1.154-185). The most pronounced example is the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a book which describes young Abraham as a good monotheist well before his call. Vanlandingham claims Sanders ignores all of this data and therefore misses a major point of the Second Temple period: election is a reward for proper faith (36). In the literature of the Second Temple period, salvation is not a gracious gift of God, but rather a response to obedience and righteousness. Genesis 12 is "corrected" in the postbiblical period to conform to the theology of Second Temple period Judaism.

The second chapter of the study is devoted to the last judgment in the Second Temple period. In this section, Vanlandingham shows that in none of the literature surveyed does the last judgment result in the salvation of all Israel as the "elect of God"; rather there is a separation of the good from the bad on the basis of works. This is a function of deuteronomic theology based on the curses and blessings (cf., e.g., Jer 44:15-19). Here again Vanlandingham finds that Sanders has mishandled the evidence. Sanders sees the books described in *Jubilees* 36 as "books of life" rather than accounts of the deeds of those about to be judged. Vanlandingham rejects this, pointing out that names are blotted out of these books on the basis of behavior and of their rejection of a 365-day calendar (79). Treating the book of Daniel as a second-century book, Vanlandingham concludes that Dan 9:9, 18 imply that one's eternal destiny is decided *vis-à-vis* the Hellenistic program in Jerusalem (83). *1 Enoch* resounds this theme from the first chapter, where 1:9 states that the coming judgment is based on what people have done: "The elect are not predestined by God, and righteousness is not a status granted to them apart from their behavior" (89).

Since Sanders finds a great deal of support for his covenantal nomism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Vanlandingham spends more than thirty pages dealing with seven major points pertaining to the final judgment at Qumran. In each case, Sanders is shown to ignore or mishandle the texts in order to overemphasize election themes over against judgment by works. One example will suffice. Vanlandingham states that Sanders ignores the synthesis of works and judgment found in the "Two Ways" passage in 1QS 3-4, which itself is based on the deuteronomic curses and blessings (115). This seems

overstated when one reviews Sanders's work closely. He does not deny (or ignore) the texts that deal with judgment by works. Instead he accepts that the Scrolls do discuss rewards for deeds, but he sees this as a minor theme that is "seldom mentioned" in the Scrolls (*Paul and Palestian Judaism*, 294). In each of the seven points Vanlandingham is a helpful corrective to Sanders, but it is possible he overstates his case rhetorically. As he admits, some of these texts simply contradict one another (116) and therefore can be cited on either side of the argument. Qumran is (unfortunately) not a systematic set of documents, but rather a collection which has various strands of Judaism represented.

When discussing the last judgment in *4 Ezra*, Vanlandingham finds a clear testimony for a judgment by works at the final judgment. Sanders agrees with this assessment, but in his view *4 Ezra* is not at all representative of the covenantal nomism of Second Temple period Judaism. Vanlandingham disagrees, stating that *4 Ezra* is, in fact, typical of the period (152). Likewise, *2 Baruch* consistently assumes the curses and blessings of the covenant when describing judgment (e.g., *2 Baruch* 14:5-8). Baruch knows two groups of humanity: the righteous and the wicked. The righteous base their hope solely on their deeds, never on their election. The *Testament of Abraham* is the best evidence for his thesis, since only one soul in 7,000 will be saved at the last judgment, based on deeds (169). Vanlandingham therefore concludes that, in general, the last judgment was thought to be based on deeds in the Second Temple period. He recognizes there are a few problem texts for this view, but the overall trend is toward a deeds-based salvation, in contrast to Sanders's grace/election-based salvation.

Vanlandingham's survey may be flawed by reading literature from before the fall of Jerusalem in the light of works written after the fall. *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* are different from early Second Temple period literature because Judaism is changing in light of the shocking event of the destruction of the Temple. Later Second Temple period literature is more pessimistic and more works-oriented, while earlier literature focuses on the election and the mercy of God. In general, Sanders's case is more solid when looking at the early material, while Vanlandingham's case is more solid when looking at the later material. In *4 Ezra* 3:28-36, for example, Ezra argues that God must show mercy because if he does not, no one will stand. But in chapter 4, Uriel destroys this line of thought. If Ezra is the voice of the Second Temple period in the book, then at least some strands of Judaism in the first century did emphasize mercy and grace in God's judgment.

In the third chapter of the study, Vanlandingham turns to the Pauline material on election, grace, and the last judgment. This section attempts to show that Pauline theology fits well within the general view of the last judgment in the Second Temple period, demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 2. In making this argument, Vanlandingham surveys all of the texts on judgment in the epistles of Paul and concludes that Paul, too, understands deeds as affecting one's eternal destiny. Deeds are, in fact, the "ultimate criterion for determining one's eternal destiny at the Last Judgment" (175).

In affirming this position, Vanlandingham emphasizes the ethical demands of the Pauline material. Paul "endeavors to make the Gentiles acceptable to God by bringing their behavior into conformity with what God requires" (176). This is problematic, since the standard of behavior in much of the literature surveyed in Chapter 2 was based on Torah, or at least certain elements of it. In the case of *Jubilees* and, to some extent, *1 Enoch* and the Qumran literature, one may very well face judgment due to using an improper calendar. In Tobit, acts of charity are considered meritorious, but not for the final judgment. Good deeds save one from trouble to come in this life (Tob 4:7-11). While Vanlandingham sees Galatians as not too far from the "Two Ways" of the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple period literature (esp. 6:7-9), Paul seems to separate

boundary markers of the Law from faith in Jesus Christ.

With respect to the Corinthian letters, Vanlandingham finds Paul firmly holding to the idea that a believer might be rejected at the final judgment based on his or her moral failures. For Vanlandingham, this is seen especially in 1 Cor 5:10, although many scholars argued φαῦλον, translated "deeds," is not precisely equal to "sins" and therefore refers to works done after faith without reference to eternal destiny. In addition, 2 Cor 5:5 seems to imply that the presence of the Holy Spirit is a guarantee of "what is to come," or eternal life, in this context. This text would lie outside the parameters of Vanlangindham's study, which focuses only on last judgment texts. By limiting the study as he does, he misses these sorts of "guarantee" texts. Certainly Paul had high ethical demands for his readers, but it is not the case that he was demanding that Gentiles keep the Law, as in Second Temple period Judaism. In addition, Vanlandingham has limited his study to the undisputed Pauline letters. By considering Ephesians, Colossians, and the Pastoral epistles as deutero-Pauline, he avoids rather direct statements, such as Eph 2:8-10 or 2 Tim 1:9, which would cause problems for the thesis of a last judgment by deeds only.

Finally, and most controversially, Vanlandingham studies justification in the Pauline epistles. He contends the "*dik*-word group" has been mistranslated and misunderstood by the bulk of scholars who define justification along the lines of a declaration of righteousness. He admits that if the *dik*-word group has the sense of "declared righteous," then the argument of his study thus far cannot stand (244). He therefore studies every use of the terminology and finds that, even if, on occasion, the word group has the idea of forensic justification, it never does so in the context of the last judgment. For Vanlandingham, the *dik*-word group is equivalent to forgiveness and "emancipation from sin" (245). He correctly points out that δικαιοσύη is never forensic outside of Paul and often has the sense of righteousness in a qualitative sense. The term simply never means "salvation, acquittal or absolution" outside of Paul (252), but rather "forgiveness from sins," especially when it is used in contrast to sin and freedom from the power of sin (312). When a Pauline text appears to use the *dik*-word group in the sense of justification according to the opinion of most commentators, Vanlandingham argues that the final judgment is not in view. He does not see a final judgment in Rom 8:33, a text almost always associated with the last judgment, since there is no possibility of God's disapproval. Paul, in fact, never connects the *dik*-word group with final judgment (331).

In the end, Vanlandingham provides an excellent reading of the intertestamental texts from an Arminian point of view. This alone is an attraction, since many of the responses to Sanders have been from the more traditional and Calvinist perspective. Vanlandingham's application of this material to the NT is consistent, but he tries to prove too much in arguing that "justification by faith" has been misinterpreted by the vast majority of scholars. Limiting the discussion (for the most part) to Sanders is a weakness of the study. In his conclusion, Vanlandingham indicates his study is a response to "the many others who affirm Sanders's view" (335), but there is very little interaction with James Dunn and none at all with N. T. Wright (*Climax of the Covenant*, 1991), both of whom have offered corrections and extensions to Sanders's original work. Since the dissertation was finished in 2000, Vanlandingham has not interacted further with several important texts published in the last seven years that deal specifically with justification in the Second Temple period (esp. D. A. Carson, Peter O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid, *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, 2 vols. [2001, 2004]; and Seyoon Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 2002).

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BOOK NOTES

ERHARD GALLOS

Book Review Manager

Dapaah, Daniel S. *The Relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth.* New York: University Press of America, 2005. xiv + 205 pp. Paper, $35.00.

While acknowledging the fundamental differences between John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth, this study calls attention to the important continuity between them. Contrary to the assumption that baptism simply disappeared during Jesus' ministry only to reemerge in the church in Acts, this study shows the continuity between John, Jesus, and the early church with respect to baptism.

Green, J. B., and Stuart L. Palmer, eds., with Kevin Corcoran. *In Search of the Soul: Four Views of the Mind-Body Problem.* Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2005. 223 pp. Paper, $20.00.

Many Christians assume that it is biblically faithful and theologically noncontroversial to speak of humans having a soul, while a range of biblical scholars are questioning the common understanding of the "soul." *In Search of the Soul*, four Christian philosophers set forth their best arguments for their distinct views and then respond to each other. The four views are labeled as follows: Substance Dualism (Stewart Goetz); Emergent Dualism (William Hasker); Nonreductive Physicalism (Nancy Murphy): Constitution View of Persons (Kevin Corcoran). The editors wrap the debate up by considering the implications for the Christian life.

Henze, Matthias, ed. *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005. xiii ++ 214 pp. Paper, $25.00.

Henze has assembled an impressive collection of studies by scholars such as Moshe J. Bernstein, John J. Collins, Peter W. Flint, and James C. VanderKam, which explore examples of biblical interpretation unique to Qumran, including legal exegesis, the "rewritten Bible," and the Pesher. Collins argues that the distinction between good and evil was one of the goals of creation. VanderKam claims that the Qumran community modeled itself after the likeness of Israel as it encamped at the foot of Mount Sinai, as expressed in the *Community Rule.* Flint observes that even though David is said to have prophetic qualities according to sources such as the NT and the Psalm Targums, this aspect is rare at Qumran due to a prevalent suspicion of the term "prophetic" at Qumran. However, the large Psalm scrolls state that David composed his psalms and songs through prophecy.

Hirschfel, Yizhar. *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004. xxvi + 270 pp. Hardcover, $34.95.

Yizhar Hirschfeld, one of Israel's finest archaeologists, boldly reassesses the long-held view, established by de Vaux and Magnes, that Qumran was the home of the monastic community known as Essenes. He asserts that the Dead Sea Scrolls were not the product of Essene scribes but a collection of scrolls moved from Jerusalem for safekeeping during "The Great Revolt" of the Jews, 66-70 C.E. The author takes the region as prime context of the settlement. The book features more than 135 maps, vivid photographs, archaeological drawings, and reconstructions of archaeological sites.

Knierim, Rolf P., and George W. Coats. *Numbers*. Forms of the Old Testament
     Literature 4. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005. xii + 367 pp. Paper, $45.00.

This commentary is the first to be written using the exegetical methods of the
redesigned form-critical approach to the OT. Knierim and Coats have shown how
form criticism sheds light on the text's structure, genre setting, and intention.
Following an extensive introduction to the historical/social background, *Numbers*
investigates the text, highlighting the literary development of Numbers and its
meaning to the audience.

Miller, Patrick D. *The Way of the Lord: Essays in Old Testament Theology*. Grand Rapids:
     Eerdmans, 2004. x + 341 pp. Paper, $30.00.

Patrick Miller, one of the finest of contemporary exegetes, writes on topics and texts
relevant for the church and public life. The essays, some of which were published
previously, are the products of the last decade. Miller carries out an ongoing theological
interpretation of the OT in three broad areas. First, he takes up texts and pertinent
issues in relation to the Ten Commandments. Second, in the essay on the Psalms and
the First Commandment, he argues the possibility that the Commandments and the
Psalms together can point out the way of faith and life. Third, he presents essays on
theology and anthropology, including listening to the OT in the context of God's
redemptive word in Jesus Christ.

Miller, Robert D., II. *Chieftains of the Highland Clans: A History of Israel in the 12th and 11th
     Century B.C.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005. xix + 186 pp. Paper, $28.00.

Miller offers an original reconstruction of Israel's society prior to the rise of the
monarchy ca. 1,000 B.C. Using the latest archaeological theories, he presents an
intriguing picture of life during the Iron I period. He employs the "complex chiefdom"
model to clarify social and political developments in that critical era. He also points to
areas of potential correspondence and contradiction between his reconstruction and the
biblical text.

Williams, D. H. *Evangelicals and Tradition: The Formative Influence of the Early Church*. Grand
     Rapids: Baker, 2005. 192 pp. Paper, $18.99.

Williams skillfully exposes the unfortunate myth that Luther, Calvin, and other Protestant
founders discarded the entire Catholic tradition and built anew from biblical foundations.
In truth, these Protestants acknowledged their immense debts to the fathers of the early
church. If one is to grasp Christianity fully, one must grasp the contributions made by the
patristic fathers, asserts Williams. The intent of this book is not to argue for the legitimacy
of tradition, but to illuminate its place within Christian thought and practice, so that
Protestants of all stripes can see the value and necessity of its resources for appropriating
the faith today. If contemporary evangelicalism aims to be doctrinally orthodox and
exegetically faithful to Scripture, it cannot do so without recourse to and integration of the
foundational tradition of the early church, claims Williams.

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	וֹ = ô
ָ = ā	ֵ = ē	ִ = i	= o	וּ = û
ֲ = a ְ (vocal shewa) = e	ֳ = 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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or women, who had received the knowledge of the truth, believed it to be their duty to make known to others the word of salvation, and it is the duty of the preacher to teach, exhort, edify, and comfort."

In this context of women's active involvement in God's work with Paul, Fetterhoof examined Paul's commands to keep silent and concluded that this injunction was directed against speaking in unknown tongues and usurping authority over men and did not include praying or prophesying (teaching and preaching). In his estimation, logic precludes such an application as would countermand Paul's instructions to women concerning proper decorum when praying and prophesying. "Would Paul contradict himself thus?" he asked, reminding the reader of Paul's declaration, "'You may all prophesy,' verse 31." Lest there be a lingering doubt, he supplied the answer, a simple but definitive, "No."

Fetterhoof closed his argument against those who would silence women in the church with an appeal to experience. He reflected: "Often have we seen the power of God manifested, under the pious labor and influence of holy women. . . . They have their influence, and may do good." This reflection on the work that women utilizing their spiritual gifts in public ministry can do for God led him to conclude, "Oh! that all, male and female, that have experienced the power of the Holy Ghost in their souls, would stand up for the Redeemer's cause, in the church, in the streets, in the social circle, yes, everywhere."

M. E. Cornell: "Woodland, Cal."

Merritt Cornell's missionary report on his evangelistic efforts in California transitions quickly from an account of success ("the cause here seems now to be established upon a firmer basis, and the prospect is bright") to a formal complaint against women who are reluctant to embrace their responsibilities for speaking publicly.[34] As he noted: "One of the greatest drawbacks here has been the prevailing idea that women ought not to speak in social meetings. Many seem more than willing to have it so—to believe the sentiment. Being unused to speaking, they regard it as a great cross." He was not willing to accept their tradition-based passivity, correcting their notions by referencing the biblical model. Reflecting the Adventist understanding of the matter, he remarked: "But the Scriptures seem clear on the point. Not one word in the whole Bible is ever found with which to oppose it, except in the writings of the apostle Paul. And a careful comparison of all Paul's statements on the subject shows that he had reference only to unbecoming conduct of women in the public assembly, such as contradicting, altercating, and assuming authority over men in business meetings of the church." To add authority to his point, Cornell supplied a quote from Clarke, the respected biblical scholar and commentator noted above, which argued that Paul's injunction was aimed against women's "'*questioning, finding fault, disputing,*'" and "'*dictating* in assemblies,'" not their speaking or praying.

Cornell contended that instructions that are given to the church generally

[34]M. E. Cornell, "Wood, Cal." *Review and Herald,* June 3, 1873, 198.

I. Fetterhoof: "Women Laboring in Public"

In 1871, the August 8 issue of the *Review* featured a forceful and incisive article on the propriety of women laboring in public ministry taken from the Free Methodist publication, *The Earnest Christian.*[32] The author, I. Fetterhoof, presented the debated question and his thesis in his opening sentences: "Ought women to take a part in public worship? to pray and exhort, encourage others to love and serve God? We believe it is not only their privilege, but their duty, so to do." The remainder of the article is his reasoned defense of that position, utilizing a question-and-answer format to organize his points.

Once he had asserted that it is women's duty to publicly labor for God, Fetterhoof presented a survey of biblical history, examining the roles women played in both the OT and NT. He pointed out that in the Hebrew Scriptures, women were acknowledged as prophetesses, and "took part in the worship of God, and gave counsel as God directed them." Deborah, a prophetess and judge, had "dominion over the mighty." Miriam, Huldah, and Anna are cited as women whom God used to communicate his word: "Thus we see that under the old dispensation God gave of his Spirit to women, and made prophetesses of them, and directed them how to speak, and God's will was made known to men through them, and God was honored. And truly God doth respect women as much under the gospel as he did under the law."

Turning to the NT, Fetterhoof examined the work performed by various women in the early Christian movement. He noted that the daughters of Philip "were called prophetesses. Acts 21:9. They were teachers in the church. So says Dr. Clarke," he wrote, citing the foremost biblical commentary of the day to add further credibility to his argument.[33] He assessed the situation, noting: "Hence we see that God in giving his Holy Spirit, gave it equally to females as well as males, and said they should prophesy."

Fetterhoof then drew the readers' attention to the women who worked with Paul: "What did those women do, of whom Paul said that they labored with him in the gospel? How could they have labored with him in the gospel, if they did not join in the same work that he was engaged in, that is, urging the people to leave their sins, and receive Christ?" He argued that by knowing the work that Paul did, we can know something of the work that these women, his coworkers, did. Emphasizing that there were numerous women in this public ministry, Fetterhoof cited them by name for effect: "Phebe, Priscilla, Mary, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Persis, Euodias, Syntyche, and others." This information is important for the reader because "We learn from this that Christian women, as well as men, labored in the ministry of the word. In those times of simplicity, all persons, whether men

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[32]I. Fetterhoof, "Women Laboring in Public," *The Review and Herald*, August 8, 1871, 58-59.

[33]Adam Clarke, *Commentary and Critical Notes: The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: The Texts Printed from the Most Correct Copies of the Present Authorized Translation, Including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts, with a Commentary and Critical Notes* (Cincinatti, OH: Applegate & Co., 1856).