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DEUTERONOMY AS DIDACTIC POETRY? A CRITIQUE OF D. L. CHRISTENSEN'S VIEW

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For years, a minority voice has asserted that Deuteronomy is best characterized as didactic poetry rather than prose, falling on the more heightened side of the Hebrew Bible's continuum of elevated style. In contrast, through rigorous comparative statistical analysis, this study argues that Deuteronomy, while including instances of embedded poetry (e.g., chs. 32–33), is as a whole literary didactic prose. *Specifically, the book's frequent employment of the* waw + *verb-first clause pattern, its tendency to precede a verb by no more than one constituent, and its high appropriation of prose particles all point toward a prosaic rather than poetic nature for the book.*

Key Words: Deuteronomy, Hebrew language, genre, poetry, prose, mainline, syntax, word-order, prose particles, literary analysis, linguistic analysis

1. Introduction

In his revised 2001–02 two-volume study on Deuteronomy for the *Word Biblical Commentary* series, Duane L. Christensen continues to proffer that Deuteronomy is poetry over prose—"a didactic poem, composed to be recited publicly to music in ancient Israel within a liturgical setting."[1] While he affirms that the book is far from "the lyric poetry of the Psalter," he observes that it is highly liturgical,[2] bears an "epic style," and has "poetic fea-

[1] Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9* (rev. ed.; WBC 6A; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), lvii–lviii, lxxx–lxxxvii, quote from lxxxiv; see idem, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12* (rev. ed.; WBC 6B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2002). For some of his earlier discussions of the issue, see idem, "Prose and Poetry in the Bible: The Narrative Poetics of Deuteronomy 1,9–18," *ZAW* 97 (1985): 170–89; idem, "Form and Structure in Deuteronomy 1–11," in *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (ed. Norbert Lohfink; BETL 68; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 135–44; idem, "The Numeruswechsel in Deuteronomy 12," in *Proceedings from the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, division A: The Period of the Bible* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986), 61–68; repr. in *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (ed. Duane L. Christensen; SBTS 3; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993); idem, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (WBC 6A; Dallas: Word, 1991), xli, lv–lxii.

[2] Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9*, lxxx, cites J. van Goudoever, who observes that Deuteronomy is "the most liturgical book of the Bible" ("The Liturgical Significance of the Date in Dt 1,3," in *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* [ed. Norbert Lohfink; BETL 68; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985], 148). Compare von

tures such as inclusio, concentric framing devices, and inversion."[3] The presence of such literary artistry causes Christensen to conclude that Deuteronomy is poetry, landing on the more heightened side of what James Kugel has termed a "middle ground" on the Hebrew Bible's continuum of elevated style.[4]

While few scholars have affirmed Christensen's designation of Deuteronomy as poetry, no study to date has provided a formal evaluation of his conclusions. This paper attempts to fill this gap, but the critique is posited principally through the lens of *linguistic* rather than literary features—a perspective from which few in the field have approached the question. Traditionally, in order to distinguish poetry from prose, scholars have sought to identify in a given text multiple "poetic" features like repetition, inclusio, parallelism as a structuring feature, and terseness/conciseness.[5] Christensen's conclusions about Deuteronomy predominantly derive from this type of analysis. In contrast, a number of scholars like Kugel have legitimately shown how texts traditionally identified as prose regularly contain the same "poetic" indicators as those commonly designated as poetry. As such, Sue E. Gillingham has legitimately suggested that the distinction between prose and poetry is "more one of degree than kind."[6]

While affirming that there is a continuum of elevated style, I believe that a predominance of literary features like those mentioned above does at least help to mark certain texts as poetic. Indeed, my argument below will focus

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Rad's assertion that the arrangement of material in Deut 4–30 must be understood to be "following a traditional cultic pattern, probably that of the liturgy of a cultic festival". Cf. Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomy* (trans. D. Barton; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 12; German original: *Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium* (ATD 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964).

3 Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9*, lxxxiv.

4 Ibid. For comment regarding this "continuum" and the "middle ground" related to it, see James Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981; repr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 59–95, esp. 85–87, 94–95.

5 W. G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Technique* (JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: JSOT, 1984), 46–54, argues for at least nineteen different "indicators" of the poetic genre, most of which are literary as opposed to linguistic. *Broad indicators:* presence of established line forms, ellipsis (gapping), unusual vocabulary, conciseness (terseness), unusual word order, archaisms, use of meter, regularity and symmetry; *structural indicators:* parallelism, word pairs, chiastic patterns, envelope figure (inclusio), break-up of stereotyped phrases, repetition, gender-matched parallelism, tricolon, rhyme and other sound patterns, absence or rarity of prose elements. Significantly, all these elements are at times present in prose.

6 Sue E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible* (The Oxford Bible Series; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 36.

on one key *literary* (specifically, lexical) feature that sets Deuteronomy apart from poetic discourse. More telling than style, however, are certain key *linguistic* elements that distinguish poetry from prose. And, as will be shown below, Christensen's contention that Deuteronomy is poetry falters at just this point.[7]

2. Christensen's Case

Along with noting the presence of the above "poetic" elements, Christensen supports his claim that Deuteronomy is poetry with the following arguments: First, while the book contains some formal features characteristic of ancient Near Eastern law codes and treaties and while it may rightly be termed a "legal document" or "national constitution," Deuteronomy as it comes to us is neither a law code nor a treaty text but a religious teaching tool.[8] This fact, however, does not mean that the book should be viewed merely as an "archive" of hortatory addresses.[9] Indeed, the book's "extraordinary literary coherence, poetic beauty, and political sophistication" require that the work be understood not as a mere collection of sermons but as an artful composition, comparable to ancient and modern works of epic poetry and music.[10] Second, in accordance with the arguments of French musicologist Suzanne Haïk-Vantoura,[11] Christensen contends that the Masoretic accentual system recorded in Deuteronomy (and the Bible as a whole) is not a medieval construct imposed on the text but is a sophisticated cantillation system that represents an ancient tradition of musical in-

7 Perhaps overstating the case, Raphael Sappan, *The Typical Features of the Syntax of Biblical Poetry in its Classical Period* (Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sefer, 1981), p. iv, has asserted: "The language of Biblical Poetry has a sufficient number of distinctive features both in the grammar and the lexicon, to justify considering it as a special dialect of Biblical Hebrew, 'Dialectus Poetica' [...] as distinct from the ordinary ('standard') language of Biblical prose."

8 Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9*, lvii.

9 Duane L. Christensen, "Deuteronomy in Modern Research: Approaches and Issues," in *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (ed. Duane L. Christensen; SBTS 3; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 3. Christensen points to Lohfink as one who characterized the repository of ancient Israelite tradition found in Deuteronomy as an "archive." See Lohfink's "Lectures in Deuteronomy" (paper presented at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, 1968), 7; acquired at the Graduate Theological Union Library, Berkley, Calif.; cf. Daniel I. Block, "Recovering the Voice of Moses: The Genesis of Deuteronomy," *JETS* 44 (2001): 400 n. 72, 401.

10 Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9*, lvii–lviii, quote from lvii.

11 Suzanne Haïk-Vantoura, *The Music of the Bible Revealed* (ed. J. Wheeler; trans. D. Weber; Berkley: BIBAL, 1990).

terpretation that predates the Masoretes by at least a millennium.[12] Third, nearly two centuries ago Bishop Robert Lowth observed that in antiquity throughout the Mediterranean world the ancient law codes were sung at festivals.[13] With this, the biblical text asserts that the Torah of Deuteronomy was placed in the hands of the Levites (Deut 17:18), who were commanded by Moses to "proclaim" it at the Feast of Booths (31:9–10). Thus Christensen concludes, "Though we do not know the precise nature of this proclamation of the law, which was handed down within levitical circles, it is likely that it was sung and that this greater 'song of Moses' (i.e., the entire book of Deuteronomy) was taught to the people."[14]

What are we to do with Christensen's contention that Deuteronomy is didactic *poetry*? He is certainly correct in his assertion that the book shows a high level of literary coherence and, I would argue, cohesion.[15] He is also justified in seeing a higher literary style at work in Deuteronomy than, say, in the prose history of the Succession Narrative (2 Sam 9–20 + 1 Kgs 1–2). But to designate Deuteronomy as "didactic *poetry*" goes too far, for while many *literary* features present in the poetry of Psalms and Proverbs can be posited for Deuteronomy (e.g., inclusio, concentric framing devices, and inversion), there are certain lexical features present in Deuteronomy that clearly distinguish it from the poetic genre and none of the *linguistic* fea-

[12] Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9*, lxxxi, states that the Masoretes simply "fixed a once living tradition in written form in order to preserve it for all time" and that the cantillation tradition accurately preserves "the original performance of the text during the period of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, and perhaps earlier" (p. lxxxv). In support of the view that the masoretic cantillation system preserves an earlier tradition, E. J. Revell has posited the oldest evidence for the Hebrew accent system in the spacing of an early LXX manuscript (2nd century B.C.E.), along with clues in various Qumran materials. Cf. E. J. Revell, "The Oldest Evidence for the Hebrew Accent System," *BJRL* 54 (1971–72): 214–22. He also suggested that the punctuation was the first feature after the consonantal text to become standardized in the Jewish biblical tradition. See idem, "Biblical Punctuation and Chant in the Second Temple Period," *JSJ* (1976): 181–98, esp. 181; also I. Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah* (trans. E. J. Revell; SBL Masoretic Studies 5; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1980), 163–64.

[13] R. Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (trans. G. Gregory from the 2nd Latin edition [1763]; London: Chadwick, 1815), 54–55; followed in Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9*, lxxx.

[14] Christensen, "Deuteronomy in Modern Research," 8.

[15] "Coherence" relates to a text's functional connectedness or deep structure, whereas "cohesion" points to the syntactic or semantic connectedness of linguistic forms in the surface structure (D. Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* [5th ed.; The Language Library; Oxford: Basic Blackwell, 2003], 81). For the argument that Deut 5–11 expresses a high level of linguistic cohesion, see chapter 5 of Jason S. DeRouchie, *A Call to Covenant Love: Text Grammar and Literary Structure in Deuteronomy 5–11* (Piscataway: Gorgias, forthcoming in 2007).

tures necessary to designate a work as poetry predominates in the book. This study will focus on three of these characteristics that point to Deuteronomy's nature as prose rather than poetry. The first two are linguistic features and the last is lexical: (1) the predominance of *waw* + verb-initial clauses; (2) the preponderance of prosaic as opposed to poetic word order; and (3) the high frequency of prose particles.[16]

3. Predominance of *waw* + Verb-Initial Clauses

First, Alviero Niccacci has justifiably argued that Hebrew prose distinguishes itself from poetry by its "linear" as opposed to "segmented" communication.[17] This communicative feature is represented linguistically by the dominant presence of the *waw* + (finite) verb-first clause pattern (V[x]), which frequently marks mainline development in Hebrew discourse.[18] For

16 A further point of inquiry that is beyond the scope of this study would be to analyze the sermonic material of Deuteronomy against Michael O'Connor's constraints for a poetic line (*Hebrew Verse Structure* [2nd ed.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997], 87): (1) Every line has from 0 to 3 clause predicators (i.e., finite verbs, participles functioning as verbs, etc.); (2) every line has from 1 to 4 constituents (i.e., phrases filling a grammatical slot, e.g., verb, prepositional phrase, etc.); (3) every line has from 2 to 5 units (i.e., basically a word, though not including many small particles); (4) a constituent has no more than 4 units; (5) if a line has three predicators, it will have nothing else; if a line has two predicators, only one may have a dependent nominal phrase (whether noun, adjective, etc.); (6) a line must have syntactical integrity (i.e., a line with predicators can only contain nominal phrases dependent on them). For a helpful summary and evaluation of O'Connor's line constraints, see William L. Holladay, "Hebrew Verse Structure Revisited (I): Which Words 'Count'?" *JBL* 118 (1999): 19–32; and idem, "Hebrew Verse Structure Revisited (II): Conjoint Cola, and Further Suggestions" *JBL* 118 (1999): 401–16.

17 Alviero Niccacci, "Analyzing Biblical Poetry," *JSOT* 74 (1997): 77. See also Francis Landy, "Poetics and Parallelism: Some Comments on James Kugel's *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*," *JSOT* 28 (1984): 71.

18 "Mainline development" refers to those events or actions in discourse that the reader perceives as most structurally salient and that carry the discourse along (see John A. Cook, "The Semantics of Verbal Pragmatics: Clarifying the roles of *Wayyiqtol* and *Weqatal* in Biblical Hebrew Prose," *JSS* 49 [2004]: 254; Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 184). In the past, scholars were prone to view *waw* + verb-first clause patterns as marking temporal succession, often unhelpfully termed "sequencing" (e.g., Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971], 162–63; Stephen G. Dempster, "Linguistic Features of Hebrew Narrative: A Discourse Analysis of Narrative from the Classical Period" [Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1985], 64–96, 265; Randall Buth, "Functional Grammar, Hebrew and Aramaic: An Integrated, Textlinguistic Approach to Syntax," in *Discourse Analysis of Biblical Literature: What It Is and What It Offers* [ed. Walter R. Bodine; SBLSS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995], 84–89; Yoshinobu Endo, *The Verbal System of Classical Hebrew in the Joseph Story: An Approach from Discourse Analysis* [SSN; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996], 321–22; P. J. Gentry, "The System of the Finite Verb in Classical Biblical Hebrew," *HS* 39

example, in his 1985 doctoral dissertation at the University of Toronto, Stephen G. Dempster's analysis of the 3,657 independent, non-embedded prose clauses in the Succession Narrative (2 Sam 9–20 + 1 Kgs 1–2), the Joseph Story (Gen 37–50), the Siloam Inscription, the Moabite Stone Inscription, and the Synchronistic History (1 Kgs 12:1–2 Kgs 18:12) uncovered the following percentage relationships between the mainline (V[x]) and offline ([x]V) structures: Succession Narrative = V[x] (90.07%) / [x]V (9.93%); Joseph Story = V[x] (93.17%) / [x]V (6.83%); Synchronistic History = V[x] (87.79%) / [x]V (12.21%).[19] More recently, in his analysis of 1,190 prose clauses, Nicholas P. Lunn observed that 1,017 were verb-first (V[x] = 85.5%), leaving only 173 without the verb in initial position ([x]V = 14.5%).[20] Clearly, the statistics suggest that prose material contains significantly more *waw* + verb-initial clauses than non-verb-first clauses.

In contrast, Lunn's analysis of 1,243 poetic clauses revealed 821 verb-initial clauses (V[x] = 66%) to 422 non-verb-first clauses ([x]V = 34%).[21] Similarly, Terrence Collins observed that the V[x] and [x]V patterns occur with almost equal regularity in the poetry of the prophets, so that one is hard

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[1998]: 13–14). Recently, however, John A. Cook has persuasively argued for the need to distinguish the mainline function of certain predicate patterns and the temporal succession that often is implied in the context (see Cook, "The Semantics of Verbal Pragmatics," 247–73). For a full discussion of the relationship between mainline or foreground predicate patterns and temporal or logical succession, see DeRouchie, *A Call to Covenant Love*, ch. 4.

19 Dempster, "Linguistic Features of Hebrew Narrative," 64, 152, 224. At least two other studies using Dempster's model have been performed in other parts of the canon to confirm the statistical conclusions. Peter J. Gentry' analyzed Exod 1–14 under the same constraints, and he also discovered similar patterns: V[x] (92.78%) / [x]V (7.8%). See here Peter J. Gentry, "Macrosyntax of Hebrew Narrative" (unpublished paper presented before the OT Ph.D. colloquium, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, fall 1999), 10. Similarly, Jason S. DeRouchie and Miles V. Van Pelt evaluated all of the 843 prose clauses in the Joseph Story not evaluated by Dempster (i.e., all the reported direct speech + clauses marked by a subordinate conjunction in non-embedded speech), and again similar percentages were discovered: V[x] (71.6%) / [x]V (28.4%). Cf. Jason S. DeRouchie and Miles V. Van Pelt, "A Macrosyntactical Analysis of Rank-shifted Clauses in the Narrative Material of Genesis 37–50: A Framework for Further Study" (unpublished Ph.D. seminar paper, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 29 April 2002), 21.

20 Nicholas P. Lunn, *Word-Order Variation in Biblical Hebrew Poetry: Differentiating Pragmatics and Poetics* (Paternoster Biblical Monograph Series; Waynesboro: Paternoster, 2006), 8, 291.

21 Ibid. Lunn further distinguishes among the non-verb-first clauses those that are pragmatically marked and those in which the word-order is altered merely for poetic variation ("defamiliarisation") (pp. 277–78).

pressed to determine which pattern is more dominant.[22] Years ago Dempster posited that the higher rate of non-verb-initial clauses in poetry was due to poetry's frequent topic shifts and lack of thematic or temporal development.[23] More recently, Lunn has concluded similarly, asserting that "the lack of linearity in poetic discourse" is most likely one of the key factors contributing to the statistical phenomenon.[24]

As for Deuteronomy, L. J. de Regt's computer generated study of clause patterns in the book noted that 2,019 of the 2,255 clauses in Deut 1–30 containing a finite verb are verb-first (V[x]) (89.534%), a figure that aligns perfectly with the patterns found in prose rather than in poetry.[25] These statistics clearly point to the prosaic nature of the book as a whole.

4. Predominance of Prosaic Word Order

Related to the syntactic argument above is the fact that whereas prose texts only rarely prepose a verb with more than one constituent, poetry fre-

22 Terence Collins, *Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry: A Grammatical Approach to the Stylistic Study of the Hebrew Prophets* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 7; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 77, 202–6; cf. Dempster, "Linguistic Features of Hebrew Narrative," 205. As I tally them, Collins' totals include 552 V[x] clauses against 696 [x]V clauses.

23 Dempster, "Linguistic Features of Hebrew Narrative," 265, 271 note 6. If indeed all of Isa 40–55 is regarded as poetry, Michael Rosenbaum's more recent study reveals a somewhat less balanced pattern: 662 V[x] clauses (62.63%) / 395 [x]V (37.37%) clauses. Cf. Michael Rosenbaum, *Word-Order Variation in Isaiah 40–55: A Functional Perspective* (SSN; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1997), 221–23.

24 Lunn, *Word-Order Variation in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, 277. He continues: "By this we mean that the text is not organized along the lines of its chronological development as is apparent in the case of narrative. In poetry the movement from one episode to another on the basis of spatial or temporal shifts, prominent in prose, is hardly to be found. Instead the organization is thematic or even spontaneous, as the expression of praise to God. Such being the case, marked clauses presenting new topics may be expected to occur more frequently." Lunn also notes that when the first of two parallel lines bears a V[x] pattern, the second line will often be non-verb-initial for poetic variation alone, with no particular pragmatic concerns dominating the shift (ch. 5 with pp. 269, 275). In contrast, where the A-line is marked ([x]V), the B-line will almost always be marked (ch. 7 with 275).

25 These calculations include only finite verbs (+ infinitive absolute where standing as a free, uninflected verb form) and are derived after separating the predicating non-finite verbal forms from de Regt's statistics. See L. J. de Regt, *A Parametric Model for Syntactic Studies of a Textual Corpus, Demonstrated on the Hebrew of Deuteronomy 1–30 and Supplement* (2 vols.; SSN; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 2:32–34 with 82–84. This distinction was necessary because de Regt included both participles and infinitives construct as clause predicators (1:13–17) whereas the comparable data noted above treated both as nominals.

quently places two and even three constituents before the verb.[26] With reference to prose texts, a number of studies have been conducted. Dempster's analysis of the independent, non-embedded clause material in his varied historical narrative corpuses revealed no occurrences of a finite verb preceded by more than two constituents and only 5 instances of a finite verb in third position.[27] Similarly, Walter Groß' examination of the entire Hebrew canon, though by no means exhaustive, found merely 135 instances in prose of a verb preceded by two constituents and only 12 by three, though after examination of his 12 texts I would limit the number to 6 or 7.[28]

[26] Dempster, "Linguistic Features of Hebrew Narrative, 264; Walter Groß, "Is There Really a Compound Nominal Clause in Biblical Hebrew?" in *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Approaches* (ed. Cynthia L. Miller; LSAWS 1; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 45; idem, *Doppelt besetztes Vorfeld: Syntaktische, pragmatische und übersetzungstechnische Studien zum althebräischen Verbalsatz* (BZAW 305; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), esp. 22–24 for statistics.

[27] Dempster's data included 3,349 clauses containing a finite verb (including the free, uninflected verb form—i.e., infinitive absolute). The five occurrences of a verb preposed by two constituents were Gen 39:22b; 2 Sam 17:27b–29; 1 Kgs 16:7; 2 Kgs 16:11b; Moabite Stone Inscription, line 10 (see Dempster, "Linguistic Features of Hebrew Narrative," 275–81). On the absence of any examples with more than two constituents preposing the verb, see pp. 66, 153, 184, 202, 224–25. Gentry's ("Macrosyntax of Hebrew Narrative") follow-up study of Exod 1–14 found no examples of a verb preposed by more than two slots. Similarly, the study by DeRouchie and Van Pelt uncovered no instances of three or more constituents preposing a verb and only 8 occurrences of a verb preposed by two ("A Macrosyntactical Analysis of Rank-shifted Clauses in the Narrative Material of Genesis 37–50," appendix C.). Due to their clearly poetic nature, clauses in Gen 48:15c–16d and 49:1c–27 were not analyzed in the latter study. The eight instances where two constituents preposed a verb were in Gen 40:10b; 41:11b; 43:20b; 44:5c; 48:5b, 6a; 48:7a; 50:24c.

[28] Groß, *Doppelt besetztes Vorfeld*, 23–24; cf. his more provisional analysis in, "Is There Really a Compound Nominal Clause in Biblical Hebrew?" 45 n. 95. The 135 prose instances with two constituents preposing the verb are: Gen 5:1b; 7:8–9; 8:19; 14:10d; 17:6c; 23:6d; 31:29b; 31:42b; 35:11f; 41:11b; Exod 12:4c; 12:10b; 16:18d; 18:23d; Lev 17:11c; 19:8a; Num 22:33d; 30:9a; 36:7b; 36:9b; Deut 2:10; 2:28a; 2:28c; 12:22c; 18:14a; 24:16c; Judg 17:6b; 21:25b; 2 Kgs 5:13d; 8:12g; 14:6d; 16:15c; 25:10a; 25:30; Isa 17:7b; Jer 18:12d; 19:8b; 19:9b; 26:18d; 31:30a; 32:4d; 32:44a; 32:24b; 34:3d; 34:3e; 37:10c; 42:16b; 42:16c; Ezek 1:9b; 1:12a; 1:17a; 3:18e; 3:19c; 3:19d; 3:20g; 3:21e; 4:11a; 4:16d; 5:2a; 5:4a; 5:12a; 5:12c; 5:12d; 6:6a; 6:10b; 6:12a; 6:12b; 6:12c; 9:10c; 10:11a; 10:22b; 11:21b; 12:6a; 12:18a; 12:18b; 12:19c; 12:19d; 14:14b; 14:20d; 16:51a; 17:21b; 18:7d; 18:11a; 18:16d; 18:19c; 18:30a; 20:7b; 20:8c; 20:39a; 22:11a; 22:11b; 22:11c; 22:31c; 23:10c; 23:25d; 23:25e; 23:38a; 23:47d; 24:21d; 25:13e; 26:6a; 26:11b; 26:11c; 26:12e; 27:14; 27:19a; 30:17a; 30:17b; 30:18d; 31:17a; 32:29b; 33:6f; 33:6g; 33:8e; 33:20c; 33:26c; 34:18e; 34:19a; 36:7c; 36:37b; 38:8c; 38:20d; 39:3b; 44:26; 45:21b; 45:24a; 46:8a; Zech 1:12c; Esth 4:3c; Neh 2:3b; 1 Chr 17:18b; 19:13c; 2 Chr 25:4e; 31:6a; 35:8b. The proposed 12 prose instances with three constituents preposing the verb are: Lev 7:17; Num 28:15; 1 Sam 9:9a; 1 Kgs 10:29d; 20:40d; Jer 48:36a; 48:36b; Ezek 16:43c; 30:5; Zech 5:3c; 5:3d; 2 Chr 35:8a. Upon my own evaluation, I would move Num 28:15; 1 Kgs 10:29d; Ezek 16:43c; 30:5; and perhaps 2

In significant contrast, Collins catalogued 156 examples of clauses in his poetic corpus with the verb in third position and 2 examples in fourth position.[29] Similarly, O'Connor listed 32 examples in his poetic corpus of a verb preposed by two constituents, 9 of which occur in Deut 32:1–43 and 33:2–29.[30] Finally, Groß has found 698 instances in poetry where verbs are preposed by two constituents and 17 instances where verbs are preceded by three.[31] These types of figures cause Groß to conclude: "Although this type of clause [i.e., one with two or three different constituents before the finite verb] occurs very rarely in prose, it is so frequent in poetry that without hesitation we may consider it viable for the syntactic system of rules for Hebrew."[32]

Now, with reference to Deuteronomy, de Regt's study noted that out of the 3,076 non-elliptical clauses in the corpus, none precedes a verbal form (whether finite or non-finite) with three constituents and only 12 (.004%) prepose with two.[33] From the perspective of syntax and word order, therefore, there are no grounds for viewing the whole of Deuteronomy as poetry.

Chr 35:8a up to the "two constituent" section. Furthermore, on my assessment, 1 Kgs 20:40d includes only a connector plus pendent construction and thus only preposes the verb with one constituent.

29 Collins, *Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry*, 77, 202–6. In his assessment of Collins' work, Dempster, "Linguistic Features of Hebrew Narrative," 271 n. 4, arrived at 306 examples of clauses with the verb in third position but I cannot account for this in my reading of Collins' study.

30 O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 342–44. Those listed with two constituents preposing the verb are Gen 49:9d, 13a, 19a; Num 23:9c, 24a; Deut 32:12a, 17c; 33:2a, 3b, 7e, 11d, 17c, 19a, 29f; Jdg 5:17a, 24c; 2 Sam 1:25b; Hab 3:3a, 4a, 11b, 16f, 18a; Zeph 2:4c, 7b, 9d, 14c, 15f; 3:5c; Ps 78:50c, 64a; 106:11b; 107:26c. On the flexibility of Hebrew poetic word order and syntax, see most recently Lunn, *Word-Order Variation in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, along with Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 49 and Patrick D. Miller, "The Theological Significance of Biblical Poetry," in *Language, Theology, and the Bible: Festschrift for James Barr* (ed. Samuel E. Balentine and John Barton; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 220–22.

31 Groß, *Doppelt besetztes Vorfeld*, 22–23. The 698 instances of two constituents in front of the verb will not all be listed here, but the 17 occurrences of 3 constituents before the verb are as follows: Isa 10:14b; 11:8b; 13:14b; 16:11a; Jer 50:16b; Ezek 7:13e; Mic 3:12a; Hab 2:6a; Zeph 3:10; Ps 4:9c; 29:11a; 56:4a; 74:6; 99:4d; Job 19:24; 33:3b; Prov 28:23.

32 Groß, "Is There Really a Compound Nominal Clause in Biblical Hebrew?" 45.

33 De Regt, *A Parametric Model for Syntactic Studies of a Textual Corpus*, 1:109; 2:22–23, 82–84. Of the 3,076 total clauses, 173 are nominal and 2,903 are verbal (i.e., contain a finite verb). While de Regt fails to catalogue most of the data behind the statistics, he does offer the following examples of a verbal form preposed by two constituents (1:109–10): with *yiqtol* = 2:28a, 28c; 12:22c; 24:16c; with *qatal* = 2:10a; with participle = 4:12b; 10:12a; 29:14a. My own preliminary investigation has uncovered what appear to be two of the four remaining instances (i.e., *yiqtol* = 18:14a; participle = 18:12b); de Regt's calculations

5. Predominance of Prose Particles

A feature of lexical distribution is the focus of my third argument for Deuteronomy's prosaic nature. Specifically, Deuteronomy contains some of the highest, most consistent "prose particle" counts (i.e., הַ, אֲשֶׁר, אֵת) in all of Scripture,[34] a fact that strongly indicates the prosaic nature of the book.[35] Specifically, building off of the work of Francis I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes,[36] David N. Freedman has plausibly posited that texts with a prose particle count of 5.0% or less are poetry, whereas those with 15.0% or higher are prose; those between 5.0 and 10.0% are probably poetry, and those between 10.0 and 15.0% are most likely prose.[37] When the chapters in Deuteronomy are analyzed, only the ancient blessing of ch. 33 contains a count lower than 5.0% (3.274%), whereas 28 of Deuteronomy's total 34 chapters contain a prose particle frequency over 15.0%.[38] Chapters 15, 24, and 25 contain counts ranging from 10.0–15.0%, which in Freedman's analysis means they are probably prose.[39] Chapters 23 and 32 contain counts between 5.0 and 10.0%,[40] but when the embedded song in 32:1–43 is set apart from its context, the song itself shows a frequency well below 5.0% and the rest of

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suggest the additional texts should contain two *yiqtols* and two participles (see his 2:84–86).

34 Francis I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes, "'Prose Particle' Counts of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Festschrift for David N. Freedman* (ed. Carol L. Meyers and Michael O'Connor; ASOR: Special Volume Series 1; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 166, 170–71 n. 29. Andersen and Forbes define "particle frequency" as "the number of consonantal articles, relatives, and *notae accusativi* divided by the number of words in the chapter" (p. 170).

35 See David N. Freedman, "Another Look at Hebrew Poetry," in *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (ed. Elaine R. Follis; JSOTSup 40; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 11–18. Recognizably, because there are no apparent linguistic constraints that account for the higher density of these particular particles in prose rather than poetry, this lexical feature is more literary than linguistic. Nevertheless, the statistics strongly suggest that Deuteronomy is prose rather than poetry.

36 Andersen and Forbes, "'Prose Particle' Counts of the Hebrew Bible," 165–83.

37 Freedman, "Another Look at Hebrew Poetry," 17.

38 Andersen and Forbes, "'Prose Particle' Counts of the Hebrew Bible," 172–73, namely Deut 1 (19.878%), 2 (17.857%), 3 (24.512%), 4 (23.386%), 5 (18.008%), 6 (19.811%), 7 (19.417%), 8 (17.747%), 9 (21.042%), 10 (22.222%), 11 (25.591%), 12 (19.808%), 13 (19.207%), 14 (22.792%), 16 (15.868%), 17 (22.283%), 18 (18.750%), 19 (18.675%), 20 (18.671%), 21 (18.644%), 22 (18.535%), 26 (19.749%), 27 (21.472%), 28 (15.292%), 29 (23.462%), 30 (20.859%), 31 (23.689%), 34 (19.886%).

39 Ibid., 173, namely Deut 15 (13.842%), 24 (12.538%), 25 (12.308%).

40 Ibid., namely Deut 23 (5.900%), 32 (6.829%).

the chapter aligns with the majority of the book well over 15.0%.[41] As for ch. 23, no stylistic features appear to set this chapter apart from the rest of the legislation/exhortation found in chs. 12–26. Christensen does posit a detailed concentric framing within the chapter[42] and places its various units as the central elements in a chiastic structure that stretches from 21:10–25:19.[43] However, he nowhere suggests the presence of a heightened poetic style like that found in the song of ch. 32 or the blessing of ch. 33, and there is nothing about his analysis in ch. 23 that is distinct from the way he handles the rest of the section. In the *BHS*, Johannes Hempel formats Deut 23 in paragraph form (i.e., as prose),[44] and I am aware of no other interpreters that treat any part of this text as a poem, distinct from the other Deuteronomic materials. As such, Deut 23 should probably be understood to be one of those few prose texts that retain, for whatever reason, a low particle count.[45]

6. Conclusion

Deuteronomy's frequent employment of the *waw* + verb-first clause pattern, its tendency to precede a verb by no more than one constituent, and its high appropriation of prose particles all point toward a prosaic rather than poetic nature for the book. It is likely on this basis that the narrator refers to the body of the book simply as "the words" (הַדְּבָרִים = "farewell sermons," 1:1) of Moses or "the words of the covenant" (דִּבְרֵי הַבְּרִית, 28:69 [29:1]) and

41 According to my count, of the 462 words in the ancient song of Deut 32:1–43, only 5 are prose particles (see 32:1, 4, 38) = 1.082%. In contrast, 32:44–52 contains 153 words, and 37 are prose particles = 24.183%. My totals of 615 words and 42 prose particles for ch. 32 align with the figures of Andersen and Forbes (ibid.).

42 See Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12*, 523–56.

43 Ibid., 465–66.

44 Johannes Hempel, arranger, "Deuteronomomium," in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1977), 326–28.

45 Intriguingly, three of the four chapters in Deuteronomy that do not contain an embedded poem and yet bear prose particle counts between 5.0–15.0% all occur in succession: chs. 23 (5.900%), 24 (12.538%), 25 (12.308%). No features, however, appear to mark this set of chapters off from the rest of chs. 12–26, apart from the apparent miscellaneous nature of the laws included. In view of the high frequency of prose particle counts between 5.0 and 15.0% in the prophetic literature, Freedman, "Another Look at Hebrew Poetry," 15–16, has posited a third category called "prophetic discourse" that is neither prose nor poetry but that shares characteristics of each. But because the majority of Deuteronomy exhibits particle counts above 20.0% and because there are no apparent stylistic or formal features that set these chapters apart from the rest of the book, it is unlikely that chs. 23, 24 or 25 should be viewed as "prophetic discourse" in distinction from the rest of the book. Rather, they are all prose texts, though ones that employ prose particles at a remarkably low rate.

interweaves them into the narrative begun in Genesis–Numbers.[46] In contrast, it is noteworthy that the two sections of Deuteronomy usually viewed as poetry contain explicit titles setting them apart from the rest of the text: ch. 32 is a warning "song" (שִׁירָה, 31:30) and ch. 33 is a deathbed "blessing" (בְּרָכָה, 33:1). If, as Christensen asserts, the whole book is a poetic song, why was the narrator compelled to distinguish these two units?

Few scholars would question that Deuteronomy witnesses a high level of stylistic and structural artistry in the way both its parts and the whole are structured.[47] Indeed, such literary beauty and structure fits well in the con-

[46] The Mosaic addresses roughly cover chs. 1–4; 5–28, 29–30. These passionate, hortatory appeals for behavioral change are characterized as "the Torah" (הַתּוֹרָה)—a term that occurs twenty-two times in the book. Probably deriving from the hiphil of the verb ירה "to instruct, teach," the term תּוֹרָה "Torah" is used broadly throughout the OT in cultic, civil, and familial contexts to designate a standard of conduct usually deriving from God and often with specific reference to a canonical body of materials (see *HALOT*, 1710–12; Peter Enns, "Law of God," in *NIDOTTE* 4:893–900; Martin J. Selman, "Law," in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch* [ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2003], 497–515). In Deuteronomy, the Torah is identified with Yahweh's covenantal decrees delivered through Moses (1:5; 4:8, 44), which were written down (17:18; 31:9, 24; cf. 27:3, 8; 31:22) either before or after recitation in order to give lasting guidance to the Israelites regarding the nature and demands of covenant relationship with Yahweh (17:19; 28:58, 61; 29:20 [21]; 30:10; 31:11, 26). For more on how the closing chapters of Deuteronomy (32:48–34:12) link the book to the concluding narrative portions of Numbers, see e.g., Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 10; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 229–32; Morton S. Smith, "Matters of Space and Time in Exodus and Numbers," in *Theological Exegesis: Festschrift for Brevard S. Childs* (ed. Christopher R. Seitz and K. Greene-McKnight; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 203; Block, "Recovering the Voice of Moses," 401 n. 74. Others have suggested that the arrangement of key poetic texts in the Pentateuch (Gen 49; Num 24; Deut 32) gives an eschatological / Messianic framework to the remaining historical narrative of the whole—see Frank Crüsemann, *The Torah: Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law* (trans. Allan W. Mahnke; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 345–47; John H. Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative: A Biblical-Theological Commentary* (LBI; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 35–37; idem, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 239–52.

[47] While numerous stylistic studies have been performed on Deuteronomy that stress its textual unity, the most noteworthy due to its groundbreaking nature is Norbert Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot: Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5–11* (AnBib 20; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963). Lohfink's meticulous examination of words, expressions, themes, speech formulas, and the "covenant form" often led him to argue for unity in the textual composition where C. Steuernagel and W. Staerk at the end of the 19th century and G. Minette de Tillesse and others in the second half of the 20th century posited redactional layering. Christensen himself has built a strong case for the textual unity of Deuteronomy's final form through his identification of

text of a prophet's final passionate appeals for godward, affection-filled living.[48] Furthermore, there is no doubt that the stylistic continuum between prose and poetry leaves room for a measure of subjective judgment.[49] Nevertheless, the linguistic and lexical features of the discourse addressed above indicate that Deuteronomy is best regarded as "literary didactic *prose*" rather than "didactic *poetry*," keeping in mind that there are instances of embedded poetry in the text itself.[50]

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thematic inclusios, concentric framing, and inversion throughout the book (see his commentary and his "Form and Structure in Deuteronomy 1–11," 135–44).

48 DeRouchie's textlinguistic study of Deut 5–11 reveals not only the remarkable structural coherence of the Deuteronomic address but also the text's stress on Yahweh's passion for his people's affection or love (see *A Call to Covenant Love*, ch. 5).

49 Compare Freedman, "Another Look at Biblical Hebrew Poetry," 15: "As we know from other languages and literatures, there are few if any sharp lines between prose and poetry, and there are various stages between pure poetry and pure prose which can be categorized as prose-poetry, or poetic prose, or prosaic poetry."

50 For a helpful recent summary of scholarly viewpoints and dialogue regarding the question of distinguishing Hebrew prose and poetry, see J. Kenneth Kuntz, "Biblical Hebrew Poetry in Recent Research, Part I," *CR:BS* 6 (1998): 55–57; and idem, "Biblical Hebrew Poetry in Recent Research, Part II," 7 (1999): 44–47.

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THE GROWING OF CHRIST: UNDERSTANDING LUKE 2:40, 52 IN THE LIGHT OF THE STRUCTURAL PATTERN OF LUKE–ACTS

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Jesus' growth in Luke 2:40, 52 has been interpreted as personal growth only. However, in the context of the structural pattern of Luke–Acts, those references to Jesus' growth should be seen as part of a series, a growth pattern that characterizes the birth of John the Baptist, the birth of Jesus, Jesus' childhood, Jesus' ministry, the continuation of his ministry by his disciples after his ascension, and the growth of the early church. The way Luke closes the Book of Acts indicates an expectation for the continuous growth of Christianity. A Christian child or individual should be taught to grow according to this missiological pattern of church growth.

Key Words: Jesus' growth, unity of Luke–Acts, mission, church growth

1. Introduction

Luke includes more data on Jesus' growth than the other Gospels do,[1] including the prenatal incidents. He mentions the time when Mary conceived Jesus: the sixth month of Elizabeth's pregnancy (Luke 1:26). He also mentions that Mary came to visit the mother of Jesus' forerunner and stayed there for about three months (vv. 39, 56). In addition to the birth account (Luke 2:1–20), Luke mentions what happened to Jesus at the age of eight days (2:21–40), the visit of Jesus to the temple when he was twelve years old (2:41–52), and his baptism by John when he was thirty (3:21–23).

"Having investigated everything carefully from the beginning" (1:3), Luke does not include a record of Jesus from when he was eight days old to his twelfth year (a twelve-year period), and again the time between his twelfth and thirtieth years (roughly, an eighteen-year period). Luke describes both periods of time with statements about Jesus' growing. For the

[1] Mark does not include the birth account. He begins with Jesus' baptism (Mark 1:9–11), skipping many years of the life of Jesus. John the Baptist mentions Jesus' coming to him at the Jordan (John 1:29–34), but does not say anything about Jesus being baptized. Matthew includes the birth account (Matt 1:18–2:12). He also mentions the escape to Egypt (1:13–23) and return to Nazareth, but then jumps directly to the baptism of Jesus (3:12–17).

twelve-year period of Jesus' growth, Luke says, "And the Child continued to grow and become strong, increasing in wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him" (2:40). For the circa eighteen-year period, Luke states, "And Jesus grew in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men" (v. 52 NIV). It seems that what Luke would like to emphasize about Jesus during those periods is Jesus' growth. This is what other gospels do not emphasize.[2]

Biblical scholars explain the two statements (2:40, 52) differently. Some scholars suggest that the two statements describe "the fullness of wisdom" and "the outstanding stature and appearance" of Jesus just like the growth of Samuel and Moses of the Old Testament.[3] Others explain the statements as the "concluding summary" of the display of Jesus' wisdom in the temple (2:46–47).[4] Luke 2:40 and 2:52 have been considered as the enclosing statements to the story depicted in vv. 41–51 that emphasizes the wisdom of Jesus.[5] Some scholars argue that the statements about Jesus' growth serve to highlight Jesus' superiority over John the Baptist.[6] Luke 2:40, 52 has been also called "the brief record of His [Jesus] early life."[7]

2 Matthew, for example, emphasizes the fulfillment of the OT prophecies in marking Jesus' childhood in Egypt and in Nazareth (Matt 2:15, cf. Hos 11:1; Matt 2:23).

3 Christopher F. Evans, *Saint Luke* (TPI New Testament Commentaries; London: SCM / Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990), 227. Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Luke* (trans. David E. Green; Atlanta: John Knox, 1973), 64, sees the emphasis more on the growth in wisdom and grace than in physical stature. Josephus explains about the growth of Moses: "His growth in understanding was not in line with his growth in stature, but far outran the measures of his years; its maturer excellence was displayed in his very games, and his actions then gave promise of the greater deeds to be wrought by him on reaching manhood." Cf. Flavius Josephus, *A.J.* 2.9.6 (trans. Henry S. J. Thackeray; LCL 242; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 265,

4 Eugene LaVerdiere, *Luke* (New Testament Message; Wilmington: Glazier, 1980), 39. David L. Tiede, *Luke* (ACNT; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), calls those statements "the concluding growth refrain."

5 Cf. Henk J. De Jonge, "Sonship, Wisdom, Infancy: Luke 2:41–51a," *NTS* 24 (1978): 317–54. De Jonge suggests a chiastic structure of Luke 2:41–51a that positions Jesus' encounter with the teachers of the law (vv. 46b–47) as the center of the structure.

6 Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50* (BECNT 3A; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 274, compares the growth statement of John (Luke 1:80) and that of Jesus (2:40, 52): "That Jesus receives two such notices while John the Baptist receives only one suggests Jesus' superiority." So also William Hendricksen, *Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke* (New Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978), 186.

7 Ellen G. White, *My Life Today* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1952), 289. The author describes Jesus' growth in the light of a balanced Christian life: "As He grew in years He grew in knowledge. He lived temperately; His precious hours were not wasted in dissipating pleasures. He had a truly healthy body and true powers of mind. The physical and mental powers could be expanded and developed as yours or

It seems that most scholars consider Jesus' personal growth to be the main thrust of Luke 2:40, 52. The immediate context of the texts does not deny this fact.[8] However, questions arise: do the statements about Jesus' growth in Luke 2:40, 52 serve the immediate context only? Could it be that they serve a certain function within the wider context, namely, Luke–Acts?[9] This article seeks to understand the meaning of Jesus' growth in Luke 2:40, 52 in light of the structural pattern of Luke–Acts and as part of a larger pattern of church growth.

2. The Structural Pattern of Luke–Acts

The connection between Luke and Acts may be demonstrated by the use of the word καθεξῆς "in order," "in sequence."[10] In the New Testament this word is used exclusively by Luke, twice in the Gospel of Luke (1:3; 8:1), and three times in Acts (3:24; 11:4; 18:23). The word καθεξῆς in Luke 1:3 explains the nature of Luke's writing, as Luke himself says, "It seemed fitting for me as well, having investigated everything carefully from the beginning, to write it out for you in consecutive order (καθεξῆς), most excellent Theophilus."[11] The other four occurrences of καθεξῆς echo what Luke has stated at the beginning of his gospel. Theophilus might recall the introduction every time he encountered the word.

The literary parallels between the closing of Luke and the opening of Acts also indicate the idea of the continuity in Luke–Acts, as shown in the following table:

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any other youth's. The Word of God was His study, as it should be yours." Cf. Ellen G. White, *Our High Calling* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1961), 59.

8 Luke 2:40 is the end of vv. 21–40, and 2:52 is the end of vv. 41–52. This make vv. 21–40 the immediate context of v. 40, and vv. 41–52 the immediate context of v. 52.

9 This study presupposes Lukan authorship and the unity of Luke–Acts. For further explanation regarding the common authorship of Luke and Acts, see Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke–Acts* (Studies in the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1982), 3–23. See also Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 1–12; Walter L. Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 21–48.

10 L&N 1:610, define καθεξῆς as "a sequence of one after another in time, space, or logic."

11 Unless specifically notified, all Bible texts are taken from the NASB.

Luke 24:36–53	*Acts 1:1–12*
Jesus appears personally several times (ch. 24)	"To these he also presented himself alive, after his suffering, by many convincing proofs, appearing to them over a period of forty days" (v. 3)
"And behold, I am sending forth the promise of my Father upon you; but you are to stay in the city until you are clothed with power from on high" (v. 49)	"And gathering them together, he commanded them not to leave Jerusalem, but to wait for what the Father had promised" (v. 4)
"[...] should be proclaimed in his name to all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem. You are witnesses of these things" (vv. 47, 48)	"You shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the remotest part of the earth" (v. 8)
"[...] and he lifted up his hands and blessed them. And it came about that while he was blessing them, he parted from them" (vv. 50, 51)	"And after he had said these things, he was lifted up while they were looking on, and a cloud received him out of their sight" (v. 9)
"And they returned to Jerusalem with great joy" (v. 52)	"Then they returned to Jerusalem" (v. 12)

Table 1: Luke–Acts Continuity

The table above may function as the bridge or transition from Luke to Acts. The parallels suggest that Luke has not finished telling Theophilus everything that is necessary for him. Moreover, when Luke started writing Acts, he referred to his Gospel with the statement: "The first account I composed, Theophilus, about all that Jesus began to do and teach, until the day when he was taken up, after he had by the Holy Spirit given orders to the apostles whom he had chosen" (Acts 1:1). Luke employed the verb ἄρχομαι "to begin" in the phrase περὶ πάντων [...] ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν "about all that Jesus began to do and to teach." This phrase refers to the Gospel of Luke. It is said in Luke 3:23, "And when he began his ministry, Jesus himself was about thirty years of age." Here, Luke also uses the verb ἄρχομαι. Therefore, since the Gospel of Luke provides the beginning of what Jesus has done and taught, then the book of Acts would be a continuation of the account of Jesus—the enlargement of his kingdom. The argument above suggests not only the unity of Luke-Acts but also the continuity of Luke–Acts.

Since Luke 1:1–4 provides the introduction for Luke–Acts,[12] one may expect to see not only a similar pattern in Luke–Acts,[13] but also a united and continuous pattern that has been overlooked.[14] Analyzing the structural pattern may help the reader of Luke–Acts to see the plot of these books as well as the purpose.[15]

As a continuation of Luke, Acts is rich in structural patterns. Scholars have suggested several: a geographical pattern,[16] a socio-ethnic and cultural frontiers pattern,[17] a Peter–Paul pattern,[18] and a pattern of summary state-

12 See, for example, Schuyler Brown, "The Role of Prologues in Determining the Purpose of Luke–Acts," in *Perspectives on Luke–Acts* (ed. Charles H. Talbert; PRSt 5; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978), 99–111, who suggests that Luke 1:1–4 provides the purpose of Luke–Acts.

13 For example, Donald R. Miesner, "The Missionary Journey Narrative: Patterns and Implications," in *Perspectives on Luke–Acts*, (ed. Charles H. Talbert; PRSt 5; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978), 199–214, sees that Luke and Acts have a similar pattern, based on the missionary journey motif: the gospel focuses on the missionary journey of Jesus and Acts focuses on the missionary journeys of Paul. Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 61, says that the journey pattern of the Gospel of Luke is to express Jesus' ministry. Similar also Kenneth E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 80–82. Miesner, "The Missionary Journey Narrative," 201, argues that the similar structure between Luke and Acts is "to serve corresponding thematic purposes."

14 For example, none of the fifteen scholars in Charles H. Talbert, ed., *Perspectives on Luke–Acts* (Perspectives in Religious Studies 5; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978), has discussed the unified and continuous structural pattern of Luke–Acts, nor any of the nineteen scholars in Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips, eds., *Literary Studies in Luke–Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998).

15 Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts*, 22–30, proposes a methodology for determining the purpose of Acts: (1) Analyze the introduction; (2) identify the historical or implied reader; (3) follow the plot; (4) observe the conclusion; (5) consider the literary characteristics; and (6) give weight to dominant themes. Based on this methodology, several purposes have been suggested. Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, 20–23, for example, notes seven different purposes of Luke-Acts suggested by scholars: (1) to present the progress of evangelism; (2) to defend Paul at his trial; (3) to defend Christians before the Roman authorities; (4) to preserve the memory of Paul; (5) to discuss theology; (6) to provide a defense against Gnosticism; and (7) to confirm the gospel. On the various purposes of Acts, Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts*, 32, suggests, "Not only is it unnecessary for the interpreter to discover one single dominant purpose, to decide on one single purpose could well obscure ancillary purposes and the diverse emphases of the book."

16 This pattern is based on Acts 1:8. See I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles* (NTG; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 29.

17 This is only a revision of the geographical sequence, but puts more emphasis on people than on locations.

ments.[19] These patterns can be subsumed under the more encompassing topic of growth. There is growth in terms of geographical expansion from Jerusalem to Rome (Acts 1:8; cf. 28:31); growth from reaching only people of the Jewish culture to reaching people of other cultures (9:15); growth from the ministry done only by Peter and Jesus' other disciples to the ministry performed by Paul who is not among the twelve. Many summary statements of Acts indicate the concept of growth (Acts 2:47; 4:4; 5:14; 6:7; 9:31; 9:42; 11:21; 12:24; 13:48; 16:5; 19:20; 28:31).

The pattern of growth in Acts begins with the mass baptism of believers into Christianity during Pentecost (Acts 2:40) after Jesus' ascension (1:9-11). Looking back to the Gospel of Luke, one may expect to see the initial growth. In this light, Acts could be the continuation of a structural pattern in Luke—forming a united and continuous pattern.[20]

3. Growth Pattern in Luke–Acts

The statement in Acts 1:1 recalls the things that Jesus began *to do* and *to teach*. Although he began his ministry when he was thirty years old, it is notable that Jesus' first teaching-related activity is described in Luke 2:41–52,[21] where the statement about his growth is given (v. 52). Furthermore, it is in that setting that Jesus indicates his awareness of the mission his Father gives him to complete.[22] In other words, as Jesus was growing up, he realized the mission his father had given to him and began his ministry after his baptism which he continued until his ascension to heaven. Before going to

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18 Michael D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964), divides Acts into a Petrine Section and a Pauline Section.

19 Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts*, 41–46.

20 John Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20* (WBC 35A; Dallas: Word, 1989), iv, suggests that "Acts provides us with an invaluable aid to working out how Luke would have us read his Gospel text."

21 Jesus is described as "sitting in the midst of the teachers, both listening to them, and asking them questions" (v. 47). Also, "all who heard him were amazed at his understanding and his answers" (v. 48).

22 In responding to his mother's question, Jesus replied: "Why is it that you were looking for me? Did you not know that I must be in the things of my Father?" (v. 49, my translation). The word δεῖ "it is necessary" indicates purposeful action which suggests that Jesus was not accidentally remaining in the temple, but did so realizing that he must be in the things of his father. The reason Jesus remained in the temple was in relation to his father. See L&N 1:670–71, and 672. In Luke, the word δεῖ occurs most of the time in direct discourse by Jesus—eight of twelve occurrences indicate his awareness of his mission (2:49; 4:43; 9:22; 17:25; 19:5; 22:37; 24:7, 44). Interestingly, the first use of δεῖ is in Jesus' statement in the temple when he was twelve years old (2:49). Luke might have intended to emphasize Jesus' initial awareness of his mission in the temple's account (2:41–52).

heaven, he commanded his disciples to continue the mission (Luke 24:46–49; cf. Acts 1:8). This is what the Gospel of Luke is all about, and is summarized by Luke in Acts 1:1, before he continues with the expansion of the gospel and the Kingdom of God in the book of Acts. In this case, Acts may be seen in the context of the continuation of Jesus' growth in the sense of his work. Therefore, Luke–Acts may be read in the context of Jesus' growth, from his birth (Luke 1–2) to the unhindered spreading of his kingdom (Acts 28:31), even after he had already ascended to heaven. This idea of growth might be part of Luke's intention to write about Jesus "in consecutive order" (1:3).

The verbs that convey the idea of growing in Luke–Acts are προκόπτω "to advance, progress, grow" and αὐξάνω "to grow, spread, increase." In addition to these, the verb περισσεύω "to increase, abound," (e.g., Acts 13:48; 16:5), the verb προστίθημι "put to, add to" (e.g., 2:41, 47; 5:14), and the verb πληθύνω "to be multiplied, to increase" (9:31; 12:24) are used to describe growth in number. These are the verbs used to give the idea of growth in the summary statements of Luke–Acts. In the absence of any of those verbs, the concept of growth is described by the use of the noun ἀριθμός "number, total" (e.g., 4:4; 11:21).

The word προκόπτω is only used once in Luke–Acts, namely in Luke 2:52. This word may suggest a progress in learning, religious knowledge and spirituality, culture, virtue, intellect, and moral education.[23] Although προκόπτω plays an important role in describing Jesus' growth in Luke 2:52, one needs to consider that the description of his growth is introduced earlier in 2:40, with the verb αὐξάνω. Even the growth of John the Baptist, who prepared the way for Jesus, is described with the same verb (1:80).

Of the twenty-two occurrences of αὐξάνω in the NT, eight occur in Luke–Acts (Luke 1:80; 2:40; 12:27; 13:19; Acts 6:7; 7:17; 12:24; 19:20). The verb emphasizes the physical growth of a person.[24] Luke, however, uses this verb to also describe the growth of the Christian church (Acts 6:7; 12:24; 19:20).[25] Outside of Luke–Acts, the verb αὐξάνω is used in the context of the growth of the body of Christ—the church (1 Cor 3:7; 2 Cor 10:15; Eph 2:21; 4:15, 16; Col 1:10, 16; 2:19; 1 Pet 2:2; 2 Pet 3:18).

[23] Cf. Gustav Stählin, "προκοπή," *TDNT* 6:705. Stählin gives the basic meaning of προκοπή as "to make headway in spite of blows" (ibid., 6:704). The meaning may be also "to make one's way forward by chopping away obstacles." Cf. I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans / Carlisle: Paternoster, 1978), 230.

[24] Stählin, *TDNT* 6:713.

[25] In Acts 7:17 the verb is also used to describe the increase of the Israelites in Egypt. The Israelites are also called the "church" (cf. 7:38).

The concept of growth in Luke–Acts may be outlined as follows:[26]

Luke	*Growth Concept*
1:80	*"And the child* [John the Baptist] *continued* **to grow** [αὐξάνω], *and to become strong in spirit* [...]"
2:40	*"And the Child* [Jesus] *continued* **to grow** [αὐξάνω] *and become strong, increasing in wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him"*
2:52	*"And Jesus kept* **increasing** [προκόπτω] *in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men"*
4:37	*"And the* **news about him spread** *throughout the surrounding area"* (NIV)
7:17	*"This* **news about Jesus spread** *throughout Judea and the surrounding country"* (NIV)
Acts	***Growth Concept***
2:41	*"So then, those who had received his word were baptized; and there were* **added** [προστίθημι] **that day about three thousand souls"**
2:47	*"*[...] *and the Lord was* **adding** [προστίθημι] **to their number day by day** *those who were being saved"*
4:4	*"But many of those who had heard the message believed; and* **the number** [ἀριθμός] **of the men came to be about five thousand"**
5:14	*"And all the more believers in the Lord,* **multitudes** *of men and women, were* **constantly added** [προστίθημι] **to their number"**
6:7	*"And the word of God kept on spreading; and the* **number** *of the disciples* **continued to increase** [αὐξάνω] *greatly* **in Jerusalem** [...]"
9:31	*"So the church throughout* **all Judea and Galilee and Samaria** *enjoyed peace,* [...], **it continued to increase** [πληθύνω]"
11:21	*"And the hand of the Lord was with them, and* **a large number** [ἀριθμός] *who believed* **turned to the Lord"**
12:24	*"But the word of the Lord continued* **to grow** [αὐξάνω] **and to be multiplied** [πληθύνω]"
16:5	*"So the churches were strengthened in the faith and* **grew** [περισσεύω] **daily in numbers** [ἀριθμός]"
19:20	*"So the churches were being strengthened in the faith, and were* **increasing** [αὐξάνω] **in number daily"**

Table 2: Growth Concept in Luke–Acts

All above references have a couple of things in common: (1) they are summary statements that mark the border of one passage to another; (2) they convey the concept of growth. The above outline of this concept of growth suggests a unity in the structural patterns of Luke–Acts. It starts with the growth of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus (1:80), and is followed by

[26] Especially in relation to the book of Acts, this study is indebted to Liefeld, *Interpreting the Book of Acts*, 41–46, who sees the growth-related summary statements in Acts as a structural pattern doe the book. The Greek verbs for growth are inserted in their lexical form (present, active, indicative, first, singular).

the personal growth of Jesus (2:40, 52): growth in stature and in wisdom, and in favor with God and man.[27]

After the summary of Jesus' personal growth is given in Luke 2:52, there is a gap of about eighteen years without any account of Jesus until he appeared for his baptism and began his ministry.[28] As Jesus began his ministry, "the news about him spread throughout the surrounding area" (4:37; 7:17).[29] There is a switch from personal growth to the growth in ministry and mission. The remaining references in the table above demonstrate a growth in the ministry and the mission of Jesus as given by his father. Even after he died, was resurrected, and ascended to heaven, the mission was carried on by the apostles.

This motif of growth is also presented by Luke as he retold the account of Moses in the speech of Stephen (Acts 7:1–53),[30] as demonstrated by the table below:

[27] Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, 274, sees how the growth of Jesus is described carefully by Luke. Jesus is first described as βρέφος "baby, infant" (Luke 2:16). Then he is called παιδίον "child" (2:40), and παῖς "boy, child" (Luke 2:43)—a young person normally below the age of puberty (cf. L&N, 1:110).

[28] This study does not discuss why Jesus was baptized when he was already thirty years old, and not younger as practiced by many Adventist young people today. Perhaps, this may be explained in light of the relationship between Jesus and John the Baptist, his forerunner. John was born about six months ahead of Jesus (Luke 1:26–38, 56–57). It is conceivable that John might have begun his ministry only a short time before Jesus was baptized (3:1–3, 21–22).

[29] Although these two references are not included in the table, they also suggest the concept of growth, in which the news about Jesus expanded to many places.

[30] It is self-evident that the speech of Stephen in Acts 7:1–53 focuses on the comparison between the mission of Moses and the mission of Jesus. The speech of Stephen is a response to the false accusations that—according to the Jews—are compelling enough to bring him before the religious council (6:8–14). The accusations include two main elements: (1) Stephen spoke blasphemous words against Moses and against God (v. 12), and (2) Stephen confirmed Jesus' changing of the traditions delivered by Moses (v. 14).

The Growth of Moses (Acts 7:1–53)	*The Growth of Jesus (Luke–Acts)*
Preparation for Moses (vv. 2–19)[31]	Preparation for Jesus (Luke 1, 3)
The birth of Moses (vv. 20–21)	The birth of Jesus (Luke 2)
The personal growth of Moses (v. 22)[32]	The personal growth of Jesus (Luke 2:40, 52)
Gap of twenty-eight years (between v. 22 and v. 23)	Gap of eighteen years (between Luke 2:52 and Luke 3)
Beginning of the mission given by God (vv. 23–34)	Beginning of the mission given by God (Luke 3:23)
The continuation of the mission by Joshua after Moses went to heaven (v. 45; cf. Deut 34:6; Luke 9:30)	The continuation of the mission by the apostles after Jesus went to heaven (Luke 24:36–53; Acts 1:1–12)

Table 3: Parallels between the Growth of Moses and the Growth of Jesus

The motif of personal growth as a preparation for the growth of mission is not presented only in Luke–Acts. It is also indicated in the life of the OT Samuel. Samuel was presented to God just like Jesus was (1 Sam 1:27–28; cf. Luke 2:22–23). The personal growth of Samuel is mentioned four times (1 Sam 2:11, 21, 26; 3:19). After the last mention of his personal growth (3:19), the story of Samuel is presented in the context of the growth of his mission: "And *all Israel from Dan even to Beersheba knew* that Samuel was confirmed as a prophet of the LORD. [...] Thus *the word of Samuel came to all Israel* (3:20; 4:1; cf. Luke 4:37; 7:17) [italics are mine]."[33] Luke, who mentions Samuel twice in Acts,[34] might have been familiar with the account of Samuel and his growth.

[31] Acts 7:2–19 seems to be a background for the coming of Moses, as indicated by the conjunctional phrase 'Εν ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη Μωϋσῆς "and it was at this time that Moses was born" (v. 20). The mention of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph leads to the introduction of Moses.

[32] Acts 7:21: "Moses was educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and was powerful in speech and action" (NIV).

[33] Bill T. Arnold, *1 & 2 Samuel* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), 72, makes a careful observation on the growth of Samuel: (1) In 1 Sam 2:11, Samuel is mentioned in the context of Eli's supervision; (2) In 1 Sam 2:21, there is no mention of Eli's influence. Samuel grew "in the presence of the LORD"; (3) in 1 Sam 2:26, Samuel grew "in favor both with the LORD and with men."

[34] Samuel is mentioned only three times in the NT, once in Heb 11:32, and twice in Acts (3:24; 13:20).

4. Conclusion: A Proposal for Reading Luke 2:40, 52

Luke must have had a purpose in placing the information about Jesus' growth as summary statements in Luke 2:40, 52, and skipping over a period of twelve and eighteen years without any information about Jesus. By presenting Jesus' missionary work after the final mention of his personal growth (2:52), Luke emphasizes that Jesus' personal growth is a preparation for his mission. As Luke continues the motif of growth in Luke–Acts, he pictures Jesus' personal growth is continued with the growth of his mission. Even after Jesus' ascension, the growth goes on through the ministry of the apostles. In this sense, Luke–Acts outlines the growth of Christianity, from the birth and growth of Christ's forerunner, to the birth of Christ, the personal growth of Christ, and the growth of Christ's missionary work until he ascended to heaven, and the growth of Christianity through the ministry of Christ's disciples and later apostles. The way Luke ends Luke–Acts, with an openness for further growth (Acts 28:31), suggests that Christianity—the gospel work—has been growing, is growing, and must be growing until Christ comes to harvest the result of that growing. Therefore, Luke 2:40, 52 should be read not only in the context of Jesus' personal growth, but as a wider growth pattern outlined in Luke–Acts, namely, the growth of the gospel work. Personal growth must contribute to the growth of the church.

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THE BEAST OF REVELATION 17: A SUGGESTION (PART I)

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This article focuses on the beast of Rev 17 on which the harlot Babylon rides. It attempts to contribute to the ongoing debate and seeks to identify the beast. The first part of the two-part article published here provides an introduction to the discussion and deals with the literary context of Rev 17, its time frame, and its structure. It argues that the scarlet beast is a parody of God. Although it has shared elements with the sea beast, it is not necessarily identical with the sea beast of Rev 13. The beast on which Babylon sits comes out of the abyss. Since the abyss seems to be connected with Satan throughout the Book of Revelation, it is suggested the scarlet beast be identified as Satan working through political powers.

Key Words: Revelation, beast, Rev 17, scarlet beast, Satan, Babylon, seven heads, ten horns

1. Introduction

Revelation 17 is one of the most complicated chapters of the NT and has been subjected to many different interpretations. In this article we will focus on the beast on which the harlot Babylon rides and will try to identify it. The beast is briefly introduced in Rev 17:3. In Rev 17:7–8 an enigmatic description follows: "And the angel said to me, 'Why do you wonder? I will tell you the mystery of the woman and of the beast that carries her, which has the seven heads and the ten horns. The beast that you saw was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss and goes [literal translation] to destruction. And those who dwell on the earth, whose name has not been written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, will wonder when they see the beast that was and is not and will come.'" Further information on the beast is given in the rest of Rev 17.

While this article cannot pretend to solve all the riddles, it will at least narrow the number of possible interpretations. The article is divided into two parts. The first half provides an introduction to the discussion, deals with context, time frame, and structure of Rev 17 and introduces the interpretation of the scarlet beast.

2. The Issues and Their Discussion

Reading Rev 17 in the context of the Book of Revelation triggers a number of important questions that beg an answer: (1) Is the sea beast of Rev 13 identical with the beast of Rev 17 or does the beast of Rev 17 represent a different power? Do we, for instance, find the deadly wound of Rev 13:3, 14 in one or another form again in Rev 17? (2) What is the time frame of the events portrayed in Rev 17? Does John describe final events from a first century A.D. perspective or is the point of reference a later time in which John is placed in the spirit? (3) Are the descriptions of the beast in Rev 17:8—namely "it was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss and goes to destruction"—parallel to the description of the heads which are depicted as "five are fallen, one is, the other has not yet come" plus the eighth (Rev 17:9–11) or do these different stages of the beast not directly coincide with the subdivision of the heads?[1] (4) How should the heads be interpreted?

Preterist interpreters of Revelation see in the harlot, the beast, and the seven mountains of Rev 17:9, which are the seven heads of the beast, a reference to Rome.[2] Some of them understand the seven heads as seven emperors of the first century A.D.[3] Since there is hardly a way to decide which of the more than ten Roman emperors of the first century are meant,[4] other scholars suggest a symbolic approach. Mounce holds: "The most satisfactory explanation of the seven kings is that the number seven is symbolic

1 The "was" phase of the beast would be parallel to "five are fallen;" the "is not" phase of the beast would parallel "one is"; and the "will come" phase of the beast would match "the other one has not yet come."

2 E.g., Pierre Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 487, 491, the "woman who rides it [the beast] is Rome, the imperial city. ... The beast is a symbol of the Roman empire and an allusion to Nero." Cf. Ronald L. Farmer, *Revelation* (Chalice Commentaries for Today; St. Louis: Chalice, 2005), 144; and Wilfrid J. Harrington, *Revelation* (Sacra Pagina; Collegeville: Liturgical, 1993), 171, on the heads.

3 Compare R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (ICC; 2 vols., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 2:69; Harrington, *Revelation*, 172; Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 492.

4 For a discussion of the problems involved see, David E. Aune, *Revelation 17–22* (WBC 52C; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 946–48; G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 872–74; Farmer, *Revelation*, 114–16; Simon J. Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary: Exposition of the Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 471–72; Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (NICNT; rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 315–17; and Grant R. Osborne, *Revelation* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 617–19.

and stands for the power of the Roman Empire as a historic whole."[5] Corsini understands the beast of Rev 17 as oscillating between the dragon of Rev 12 and the sea beast of Rev 13. Primarily it represents Satan. "... the symbol of the seven heads is probably an indication of the dominion exercised by the totality (seven) of evil spirits in the human and physical sphere."[6] When it comes to the horns, Prigent suggests that they represent future kings of the entire earth. He rejects the interpretation that they are to be seen as Parthian satraps.[7]

Kistemaker is not completely satisfied with the preterist approach. Talking about the harlot Babylon first he states that "identifying Babylon with Rome as the great prostitute is by itself restrictive and time-bound.... This scene, therefore, speaks not merely of the overthrow of the Roman empire but rather of the complete and lasting defeat of the entire anti-Christian world."[8] For him the beast is "the Antichrist, who receives authority from Satan...," and the heads are empires representing "ancient Babylonia (Gen 10:8–12), Assyria, Neo-Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greco-Macedonia; Rome is number six, as the one that is during John's lifetime. And then there is another, the seventh one, that has not yet come."[9]

A futuristic approach is taken by Walvoord who seems to follow Seiss in understanding the five heads that are fallen as Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and Greece and the one that is as Rome. "The final form of world government, symbolized by the eighth beast itself, is the world empire of the great tribulation time. The revived Roman Empire which will be in sway immediately after the rapture of the church is apparently indicated by the seventh head ...."[10] Thomas follows Walvoord and basically accepts the just mentioned identification of the seven heads. According to him the seventh head is the future kingdom of the beast. He comes "to the conclusion

5 Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 317; cf. Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, 948. While Frederick J. Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon: The New Testament in Context* (Harrisburg: Trinity, 1998), 361, argues for a symbolic understanding of the number seven, he still identifies the sixth head with Domitian.

6 Eugenio Corsini, *The Apocalypse: The Perennial Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1983), 325. See also pages 322–24. Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 469, when trying to identify the beast of Rev 17 seems also to vacillate between the first beast of Rev 13 and Satan. Jon Paulien, "Revelation 17 and the Papacy," in *Endtime Issues Newsletter* No. 131: 27. [Cited 25 March 2007] Online: www.biblicalperspectives.com, suggests that the dragon of Rev 12, the sea beast of Rev 13, and the beast of Rev 17 form different stages of the same beast.

7 Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 494.

8 Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 460.

9 Ibid., 469, 472.

10 John F. Walvoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Chicago: Moody, 1966), 254.

that the perspective of this description of the beast is entirely future, at a point just before the beast of the sea begins his three and a half year reign."[11] Obviously, both presume a secret rapture[12] based on the gap theory, which separates the seventieth week of Dan 9 from the 69 weeks of the 70-week time span, place it in the future, and find references to half of the final seventieth week in Revelation.

Wall may favor an idealist approach maintaining that "Whether or not this vision predicts Rome's fall is unimportant; its critical purpose is to transmit timeless truth about the structures and ruling elite of the social order in any age."[13]

Like the preterists, historicists oftentimes link the beast of Rev 17 with the sea beast of Rev 13.[14] While preterists interpret the beasts of Rev 13 and 17 as the Roman Empire, historicists understand them primarily as the Roman church, that is, ecclesiastical Rome through the centuries until today. Some of them hold that the "was" phase of the beast in Rev 17 represents pagan Rome, the "is not" phase the interim between pagan and papal Rome, and the "will come" phase papal Rome.[15] "Others equate the 'was' period with that represented by the beast and its seven heads, the 'is not' period with the interval between the wounding of the seventh head and the revival of the beast (Rev 13:3) as 'the eighth', and the 'yet is' ['will come'] period with the revival of the beast when it becomes 'the eighth.'"[16] In this case the "was" period would probably stand for papal Rome and the "will come" phase for its revival after the healing of the deadly wound. Both interpretations would somehow associate the beast with Rome. Reynolds, taking a different approach, argues that the beast of Rev 17 represents Satan.[17]

11 Robert L. Thomas, *Revelation 8–22: An Exegetical Commentary* (Chicago: Moody, 1995), 293, 297.

12 Ibid., 366.

13 Robert Wall, *Revelation* (NIBCNT; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 202. On pages 207–8 he continues: "Any historical construction of John's comment is fraught with enormous difficulty; and he has consistently employed seven as a symbol of totality or completion."

14 Cf. Ranko Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ: Commentary on the Book of Revelation* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2002), 402–4. Although Stefanovic may not be a historicist in the strictest sense of the word, he also uses among others the historicist approach to the interpretation of the Apocalypse (ibid., 12).

15 Cf. Francis D. Nichol, ed., *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (7 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1957), 7:853.

16 Ibid.

17 Edwin Reynolds, "The Seven-Headed Beast of Revelation 17," *Asia Adventist Seminary Studies* 6 (2003): 103.

When it comes to the seven heads, historicists tend to agree that they represent empires rather than individual kings. However, different starting points are used. One suggestion is to interpret the five heads as the beasts of Daniel 7 plus the little horn power, that is, Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, the Roman Empire, and the Roman church. However, with regard to the sixth and seventh heads opinions vary. Some understand the sixth head as the beast out of the abyss in Rev 11, that is, the French Revolution, while others see it as the beast out of the earth (Rev 13), namely the United States of America. The seventh head could then be a world organization or restored Papacy.[18] In a similar vein, Maxwell and Doukhan suggest that the heads are Babylon, Persia, Greece, pagan Rome, Christian Rome, wounded Christian Rome, and revived Christian Rome/the reinstituted church.[19] Such an approach, that is starting with Babylon, hardly allows for the sixth head to be placed in John's time, namely the first century A.D. It links one phase of the beast of Rev 17 and the sixth head of this same beast with the deadly wound of the head and beast of Rev 13[20] and places the affliction of the wound in the year A.D. 1798.

Another proposal, put forth for instance by Strand, Stefanovic, and Paulien, considers the five heads that are fallen to be the world empires Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Medo-Persia, and Greece, the sixth head as pagan Rome and the seventh as papal Rome.[21] This approach locates the sixth head in the first century A.D. Reynolds agrees with the first five empires but differs with regard to the last two. He suggests understanding the sixth head as Rome in both pagan and papal form. The seventh head would then be the beast coming out of the earth (Rev 13:11).[22]

According to Doukhan, "the 10 kings represent the last political world powers. Having already encountered them in Rev 16 in the context of Ar-

18 Cf. Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7:854–55.

19 Cf. C. Mervyn Maxwell, *God Cares: The Message of Revelation For You and Your Family, Vol 2* (Boise: Pacific Press, 1985), 471–75; and Jacques B. Doukhan, *Secrets of Revelation: The Apocalypse Through Hebrew Eyes* (Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 2002), 161–63.

20 Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), 438, rejects this position: "The view that the healing of the beast's mortal wound in chapter 13 is the same event as the beast's reemergence from the abyss in chapter 17 has, in any case, grave difficulties of its own."

21 Cf. Kenneth A. Strand, "The Seven Heads: Do They Represent Roman Emperors?" in *Symposium on Revelation. Book 2* (Daniel and Revelation Committee Series 7; ed. Frank B. Holbrook; Silver Spring: Biblical Research Institute, 1992), 191; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 512; Paulien, "Revelation 17 and the Papacy," 37; Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7:854–56.

22 Cf. Reynolds, "The Seven-Headed Beast of Revelation 17," 104–6.

mageddon (Rev 16:12), we shall meet them again in chapter 18 in which they fight the last battle of Armageddon (Rev 18:9)."[23]

3. Context and Time Frame of Revelation 17

Rev 15 contains an introduction to the seven last plagues. They are executed in chapter 16. With them the wrath of God is completed (Rev 15:1). The plagues form a climax when compared to the other numbered series of sevens of the apocalyptic part of the book—the seals and the trumpets—because instead of a fourth (Rev 6:8; fourth seal) and a third (8:7–12; 9:15, 18; trumpets) of humanity or elements of nature being affected the plagues seem to have a universal scope. The sixth plague describes the drying up of the river Euphrates (the river of Babylon), the coming of the kings from the east (which may point to Jesus and his heavenly host),[24] and Armageddon. The seventh plague depicts the judgment on Babylon and the time when it is divided into three parts.

From Rev 17 onward this judgment is described in more detail. The connection of the plagues with the subsequent chapters is evident. In Rev 17:1 one of the seven angels with a bowl introduces John to the judgment on harlot Babylon which is described in chapters 17–19. In chapter 17 Babylon is primarily seen as a harlot and in chapter 18 as a city. The coming of the rider on the white horse with his heavenly army in Rev 19 ends with the sea beast and the false prophet being cast into the lake of fire and the others being killed with the sword. The judgment on Satan and apostate humanity follows in Rev 20. Again one of the angels with a bowl appears. In a more detailed manner he introduces John to the bride of the lamb (Rev 21:9–22:6), the New Jerusalem mentioned already in Rev 19 and further explained in

[23] Cf. Doukhan, *Secrets of Revelation*, 164. For further discussions on the horns see below.

[24] The text seems to reflect on the fall of ancient Babylon, the "drying up" of the Euphrates river through Cyrus (according to tradition), who as a Persian had come from the east and was called God's anointed one (מָשִׁיחַ [Isa 45:1]), and the deliverance of God's people (Isa 44:28; Ezra 1:1–8). It seems to reapply this fall of ancient Babylon in a typological way to end time Babylon and its destruction through the Messiah Jesus Christ. That it is best to see Jesus and his heavenly army in the kings from the east is suggested within the same description of the plague, namely the coming of Jesus in Rev 16:15. This is further substantiated in Rev 17 where Jesus wins the war against demonic powers and in Rev 19 where he is described as the rider on the white horse followed by the armies of heaven successfully waging war against evil powers—a more detailed description of Armageddon. According to Matt 24:27 the coming of Jesus is compared to lightning flashing from east to west. Cf. Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7:844.

Rev 21 and 22. The two women figures, harlot and bride, are juxtaposed, and humans must choose to which of the two women they want to belong.[25]

This short survey indirectly points out that starting with Rev 15 the visions of the Apocalypse appear "to be purely eschatological in nature," although they contain historical flashbacks, while the first part of Revelation covers events which "take place in historical time, since they pertain to the historical future and culminate with eschatological events associated with the Parousia."[26]

Rev 17:3, 8–12 must be interpreted in this end-time context of judgment. It is from the perspective of the judgment on Babylon, the judgment under the sixth and seventh plagues which points to the final destruction of Babylon in connection with Christ's second coming, that the events in Rev 17 must be understood.

Before we venture into a detailed discussion of the beast on which Babylon sits, the question should be raised, Who is Babylon? Revelation 12–14 introduces the satanic trinity: the dragon, the sea beast, and the beast from the earth. In the same vision suddenly Babylon is mentioned without further explanation or definition. It occurs in the second angel's message (Rev 14:8), whereas the third angel's message returns to the sea beast and the beast from the earth (Rev 14:9–11). This arrangement suggests that a connection exists between the satanic trinity and Babylon. Obviously, John intended to communicate to his audience that end time Babylon is a combination of the evil powers portrayed in Rev 12–13, the dragon and the two other beasts.[27] A relation between the satanic trinity and Babylon is also found in the plagues. In the sixth plaque the river Euphrates, the river of Babylon, is juxtaposed with the satanic trinity (Rev 16:12–13). Under the seventh plague Babylon seems to disintegrate into her three original parts (Rev 16:19).

25 Cf. the list of similarities and differences provided by Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (New Testament Theology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 131–32.

26 Reynolds, "The Seven-Headed Beast of Revelation 17," 93–94; cf. Kenneth A. Strand, "The Eight Basic Visions," in *Symposium on Revelation. Book 1* (Daniel and Revelation Committee Series 6; ed. Frank B. Holbrook; Silver Spring: Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 35, 48–49.

27 Cf. Ángel Manuel Rodríguez, *Future Glory: The 8 Greatest End-Time Prophecies in the Bible* (Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 2002), 132–33; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 448, 497. Adventists have often associated the dragon with demonic-spiritualistic elements or paganism, the Papacy, and apostate Protestantism. Cf. Don F. Neufeld, ed., *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (2nd rev. ed.; 2 vols.; Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 1996), 1:148–50.

4. The Structure of Revelation 17

Although this study is interested in the beast of Rev 17 and mentions the harlot Babylon in passing only, it is necessary to look at the entire chapter. Rev 17 can be outlined in the following way:[28]

1.	Narrative: John is approached by one of the angels with a bowl (1a)	
	Angelic Speech 1 (1b–2):	*(He said:) Judgment on the harlot*
2.	Narrative: John is taken into the desert (3a)	
	Vision 1 (3b–5):	*(I saw:) The harlot on the beast with seven heads and ten horns as the mother of harlots, Babylon the Great*
	Vision 2 (6a):	*(I saw:) The harlot and the saints*
3.	Narrative: John wonders (6b)	
	Angelic Speech 2 (7–14):	*(He said:) The beast, the heads, the horns and the future battle against the lamb, the faithful ones*
	Angelic Speech 3 (15–18):	*(He said:) The waters, the horns' and the beast's battle against the harlot, the harlot as the great city*

Table 1: The Structure of Rev 17

In apocalyptic literature a vision is often followed by an explanation.[29] After an initial angelic speech in the beginning of Rev 17 we find two short visions followed by two longer speeches separated by short pieces of narrative.[30] The distinction between visions and angelic speeches is important. In a vision a prophet may move freely in time and location.[31] He may be in the future, which he may observe as if it were the present. The interpretation of a vision, however, has to relate to the prophet's time and place in order to make sense to human beings and allow them to know in which time to locate the predicted events.

In his first speech the angel promises John that the judgment on the harlot will be shown to him. However, the next two short visions (Rev 17:3b–5 and Rev 17:6a) do not spell out this judgment but furnish additional information on the harlot and her activities and mention the beast with seven heads and ten horns. The following two angelic speeches do not only explain most of the powers mentioned before—with the exception of the beast—but also elaborate on the judgment referred to in the first angelic speech. They portray the beast and the horns in their final battle against the

[28] For a syntactical diagram of Rev 17 see Ekkehardt Müller, *Microstructural Analysis of Revelation 4–11* (AUSDDS 21; Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1996), 621–24.

[29] Cf. Dan 7:1–15 and 7:16–28 or Rev 1:16 and 1:20.

[30] Cf. Walvoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 243.

[31] See Rev 4:1 where John enters heaven.

lamb, and in their battle against the harlot which is her judgment. Thus, they provide additional information not contained in either of the two visions. Therefore, these angelic speeches are not just an explanation of the visions but furnish new insights.

The first vision stresses the harlot as "Babylon the Great," whereas the last speech calls her "the great city" preparing for Rev 18 in which the destruction of the great city will be shown. The universal influence of Babylon (17:1, 15), the dependence on her of the kings (17:2, 18; 18:3, 9–10), the merchants (18:3, 11–15), and the seafarers (18:17–19), her royal claims (18:7; 17:18) as well as her tremendous wealth and luxury (17:4; 18:3, 7, 9, 15, 17, 19) indeed justify calling her the great or the strong city. In the second vision persecution of the saints is implied, because the harlot is drunk with their blood. In the second speech these believers triumph with the lamb. A judgment on the beast is indicated in the second angelic speech (17:8, 11). It has not been mentioned in the first speech which referred to the judgment of the harlot only. However, in the case of the beast, details about its judgment—apart from the reference to its destruction—are not mentioned. They may be reserved for later in the book of Revelation. Nevertheless, all angelic speeches of Rev 17 deal with judgment. While the vision scenes refer to events prior to the judgment of the harlot, the speeches inform John and his audience that at one point in the future the allies of the harlot will turn against her and destroy her.

With regard to these final activities we find a stronger emphasis in Rev 17 on the horns and the beast than on the heads. The heads are not directly mentioned as being involved in the final battle, which may indicate that the heads are related more to the flow of history, whereas the horns in conjunction with the beast play an important role in the decisive battle against Jesus and in the battle against the harlot (Rev 17:12–14, 16–17). This distinction is also evident when one looks at the use of tenses and the description of the appearance of the horns. A number of verbs employing the future tense describe the future activities of the horns. These horns will come to power in the future only, collaborating with the beast "for one hour."[32]

The following outline focuses on speeches 2 and 3 in a more detailed way.

[32] Verse 12 states that the horns, which are kings, have not yet received a kingdom, but "receive" power as kings with the beast for one hour. Although λαμβάνουσιν "they receive" is used in the present tense it points to the future. It is translated with the future tense or the construction "are to" by the The Douay-Rheims American Edition (DRA), the ESV, The Geneva Bible (GNV), NIV, NJB, NRSV, and others. A similar construction with οὔπω in Rev 17:10 requires also a future meaning. In verse 13 present tenses are used again. However, the context requires again a future meaning. Verse 14 employs future tenses, one in connection with the horns. In verse 15 four verbs in the indicative future describe the actions of the horns.

Second Speech of the Angel (7–14):		
Introduction (7)		
a. The beast (8–9a)		
	Which you have seen	—
b. The heads (9b–11)		
	—	The heads **are** seven mountains and seven kings
c. The horns (12–14)		
	Which you have seen	The horns **are** ten kings
Third Speech of the angel (15–18):		
a. The waters (15)		
	Which you have seen	The waters **are** peoples, multitudes, etc.
b. The ten horns and the beast (16–17)		
	Which you have seen	—
c. The harlot (18)		
	Which you have seen	The harlot **is** the great city

Table 2: The Second and the Third Angelic Speeches

The second angelic speech contains (1) information about the beast, (2) identification of the heads plus further information about them, and (3) identification of the horns plus further information about them with a strong emphasis on future activities. The third angelic speech comprises (1) an identification of the waters, (3) information about future activities of the horns and the beast, and (3) an identification of the harlot.

In effect then, the harlot, the waters, the heads, and the horns are identified. In each case the same phrase is used.[33] The only entity which is not directly identified is the beast (Rev 17:8–9a). There is another section in the third angelic speech dealing with the beast and horns, in which their identification is missing (Rev 17:16–17). But the horns have already been explained previously. Therefore, it is again the beast which is not identified with another symbol or with a literal power.[34] Although we hear about its activities or phases, beyond that the beast is not further explained. This fact may be important for the understanding of the beast. Whereas the judgment on the harlot is described in great detail in Rev 17–19, a detailed description of the judgment on the beast is not found in Rev 17.

[33] This is the phrase "The heads/horns/waters/harlot *are/is*...."

[34] While the beast is singled out as the symbol which is not unlocked, the heads are singled out in another way. The second speech deals with the beast, the heads, and the horns; the third with the waters, the horns and the beast, and the harlot/woman. In these six sections five times the phrase "which you have seen" is applied. It is found with all entities except the heads. The lack of the formula "which you have seen" is to a certain extent made up by a double characterization of the heads. The seven heads are seven mountains. They are also seven kings.

5. Interpretation of the Beast of Rev 17 Including Its Heads and Horns

One of the major problems which expositors of Revelation encounter is that the harlot and the beast seem to point to the same historical entity. Whether interpreted as the Roman Empire or papal Rome students of the Apocalypse notice that the harlot Babylon may somehow be related to Rome, but so may also the beast on which she sits. In addition, sometimes one or more of the heads are even identified with Rome.[35] Since at the end of chapter 17 this very same beast and its horns kill the prostitute, the paradoxical situation arises that Rome seems to bring about the downfall of Rome, that is, Rome kills herself. This may not be very likely, because the text does not indicate suicidal thoughts or behavior on the part of the beast, the prostitute or the heads. On the contrary, each entity seems to be vigorous and active in pursuing their goals once they are set.

Corsini, having observed this problem, writes: "It is important to ease this confusion [namely the identification that the woman and the beast upon which she sits represent one thing] by distinguishing between the woman and the beast, even if they are united in a monstrous intimacy."[36] To suggest, for instance, that the political power of the Papacy will make war against the spiritual power of the Papacy may strain the passage unnecessarily.[37]

5.1. The Beast Out of the Abyss

5.1.1. A Parody of God

The description of the beast in Rev 17:8b as "was, and is not, and will come" reminds us of God the Father, who is called "He who was and who is and who is to come" (Rev 4:8, cf. 1:4, 8).[38] It portrays the beast of Rev 17 as a counterfeit, parody, and opponent of God.[39] Although God the Father and Jesus Christ share a number of titles in the Apocalypse such as Alpha and Omega (Rev 1:8; 21:6; 22:13), Lord (Rev 1:8; 11:8), and King (Rev 15:3; 17:14),

35 See the above discussion concerning the different interpretations.

36 Corsini, *The Apocalypse*, 322.

37 Cf. Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7:851.

38 A shortened form is found in Rev 11:17 and 16:5. In these texts the last element, the one talking about his coming, is missing. A reason may be that, at the time to which the text refers, either God will have come to live with redeemed humanity or his coming is imminent.

39 Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 435–36; Farmer, *Revelation*, 114; Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 314.

the words "He who was and who is and who is to come" is applied to God the Father only. While the beast of Rev 17 imitates God the Father, the sea beast of Rev 13 is an imitation of Jesus Christ.[40]

The phases of the beast resemble closely the three elements in the title of God, although only the segment "he was" is completely identical on the literary level (Rev 17:11). Obviously the beast attempts to replace God. "The beast strives to be like God...."[41] Yet it is not able to achieve its goal. That the imitation of God does not work becomes obvious with the second element, when the word "not" is added to the beast's existence. The beast "is not." While God does not experience any time or state in which he does not exist, the beast will experience nonexistence.

In order to clearly see the differences between the beast and God, the beast is not only described with three elements (Rev 17:8b), but is actually introduced with four (Rev 17:8a) and later depicted with five which, however, point to four phases (Rev 17:11). The fourth phase is the complete destruction of the beast. Although the beast may in some respect resemble God, the great difference between God Almighty and the beast becomes evident when it forever disappears from the stage of history, while God remains forever and ever carrying out his plans. At the end Christ and his followers will triumph.

5.1.2. The Beasts and the Dragon in Rev 12, 13, and 17

Another issue is the resemblance between the beasts of Rev 13 and 17 and the similarities between the dragon and this scarlet beast. Common elements between the sea beast and the scarlet beast are the following: (1) Both have seven heads and ten horns (13:1; 17:7). (2) The sea beast has a "mouth speaking... blasphemies" (13:5; cf. verses 1 and 6), while the other beast is "full of blasphemous names" (17:3). (3) Both are powers opposed to God/Jesus and the followers of Christ (13:6–8; 17:14). (4) Both are called

[40] The sea beast of Rev 13 is a parody of the Lamb, Jesus: (1) The lamb looks as though it had been slaughtered (Rev 5:6, 12). One of the heads of the sea beast looks as if it had been slaughtered (13:3). (2) Jesus has come to life (2:8; 1:18). The sea beast has come to life (13:14). (3) God the Father granted Jesus authority and participation in his throne (2:27; 3:21). The dragon gives his throne to the sea beast (13:2). As there is a close connection between God the Father and Jesus, so the dragon and the sea beast are linked together. (4) Jesus has power and authority (12:10). The dragon gives his power and authority to the beast (13:4). (5) Jesus is worshiped by heavenly beings and by the entire creation (5:9–14). The beast receives worship from those who dwell on earth (Rev 13:4; 12). Cf. Mathias Rissi, *Die Hure Babylon und die Verführung der Heiligen: Eine Studie zur Apokalypse des Johannes* (BWANT 7/16; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), 33; and Rodríguez, *Future Glory*, 106.

[41] Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 469.

"beasts." (5) In both instances people wonder (13:3; 17:7). However, while "the whole earth" was amazed at the sea beast, it was John who wondered at the scarlet beast. The additional similarity produced through the word ὧδε is weak, because the usage in Rev 17:9 differs from the phrase ὧδέ ἐστιν in Rev 13:10, 18 and 14:12.[42]

Although they share some common elements, there are also differences: (1) The sea beast has crowns on its horns (13:1), the beast of Rev 17 has no crowns.[43] (2) The color of the sea beast is not mentioned, but the other beast's color is scarlet (17:3). (3) The sea beast comes out of the sea (13:1) but the beast, on which Babylon rides, comes out of the abyss (17:8), which is not necessarily the same location. (4) Time elements are mentioned with both beasts. However, they differ substantially.[44] (5) The sea beast receives its power from the dragon and is therefore dependent on the dragon. No such thing is said about the scarlet beast. (6) The sea beast is an imitation of Christ, while the scarlet beast is a parody of God the Father.[45] This suggests that although these beasts share some characteristics and pursue similar goals, they are distinct.

Common elements between the dragon of Rev 12 and the beast of Rev 17 are: (1) the seven heads and ten horns (12:3; 17:7); (2) a similar color (12:3; 17:3);[46] (3) opposition specifically to Jesus—the male child and Michael[47] of

[42] In addition, Rev 13:18 is closer to Rev 17:9 than 13:10 is, because it contains both ὧδε and σοφία.

[43] The dragon has crowns on his heads. The shifting of the crowns from the heads to the horns and the disappearance of the crowns with the scarlet beast may point to progress in time without necessarily implying that the different entities are the same power. Cf. Strand, "The Seven Heads," 183–84.

[44] The same is true for the dragon and the scarlet beast. This may be due to the fact that with the dragon and the sea beast historical time is implied, while the major activity of the scarlet beast in Rev 17 is linked to an end-time scenario. We accept the year-day principle for the prophetic time spans in Rev 12 and 13. Cf. Gerhard Pfandl, "The Year-Day Principle," *Reflections: A BRI Newsletter* April (2007): 1–3.

[45] See the above discussion including footnote 40.

[46] Reynolds, "The Seven-Headed Beast of Revelation 17," 102, states that the difference of color between dragon and beast "is a difference only in hue, not in basic color." Wall, *Revelation*, 206, writes: "...the scarlet beast, is linked by its red color to the 'enormous red dragon' (12:3), Satan...."

[47] Although Michael is called archangel, this does not exclude him from being a divine person. Scripture knows of one archangel only. In the OT the angel of the Lord (YHWH) is repeatedly identified with the Lord (e.g., Gen 16:7–13; Exod 3:2–6; Judg 6:11–26). In Dan 10:21; 12:1 Michael is the prince of his people Israel. Jesus had declared that the dead would hear the voice of the Son of Man, which is he himself, and would come forth from the graves (John 5:28–29). However, according to 1 Thess 4:16 Jesus' second coming and the resurrection of the dead are associated with the voice of the archangel. "It thus seems clear that Michael is none other than the Lord Jesus

Rev 12, and the King of kings in Rev 17—but also to his people (12:4–17; 17:14); (4) contact with a woman—the pure woman and the harlot—which was/will be harassed and, in the case of the harlot, will be killed after an initial alliance; and (5) a reference to the desert (12:6, 14; 17:3).

Differences between the dragon and the scarlet beast are: (1) While the scarlet beast comes out of the abyss (Rev 17:8), the dragon is somehow related to heaven and is actually cast out of heaven (Rev 12:3, 10). However, coming out of the abyss is only a later phase of the beast's career. Originally, it is stated just that the beast "was." (2) The dragon has seven crowns on his heads (Rev 12:3); the scarlet beast has no crowns. Crowns on the heads, the horns or no crowns at all may point to different eras of historical development. (3) The dragon is also called "serpent" (Rev 12:9) but not θηρίον "beast" as the scarlet beast is (Rev 17:3).[48]

Paulien suggests: "...the dragon of chapter 12, the sea beast of chapter 13, and the scarlet beast of chapter 17 manifest three different stages of one and the same beast."[49] However, it seems that the links between the dragon and the scarlet beast are stronger than those between the sea beast and the beast from the abyss. In addition, it is probable that the differences between the two can be explained more easily than the differences between sea beast and scarlet beast. We now turn to the abyss.

5.1.3. The Abyss

The beast of Rev 17 comes out of the abyss. In Revelation the abyss is mentioned seven times, five times in two passages (Rev 9:1–2, 11; 20:1–3). (1) In Rev 9:1 the star fallen from heaven has the key to the abyss. (2) In Rev 9:2 this star opened the pit of the abyss, "the dwelling place of the locust-demons."[50] (3) In Rev 9:11 the king of the locusts is the angel of the abyss called Apollyon. (4) In Rev 11:7 the beast which comes out of the abyss kills the two witnesses. (5) According to Rev 17:8 the beast on which the great

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Himself.... The name Michael appears in the Bible only in apocalyptic passages (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; Jude 9; Rev 12:7). Moreover, it is used only in instances where Christ is in direct conflict with Satan. The name in Hebrew, signifying 'who is like God?' ... is a most fitting one for Him who has undertaken to vindicate the character of God and disprove Satan's claims." Cf. Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 4:860. Compare also in more detail Michael Onyedikachi Akpa, "The Identity and Role of Michael in the Narrative of the War in Heaven: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Revelation 12:7–12" (Ph.D. diss., Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 2007).

48 This issue will be discussed later in this study.

49 Paulien, "Revelation 17 and the Papacy," 27.

50 Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 526. Later, on the same page, he calls these beings "demons" only.

prostitute sits "was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss and goes to destruction." (6) In Rev 20:1 an angel comes from heaven with the key to the abyss. (7) This angel binds Satan for one thousand years in the abyss—20:3. After this period Satan will be released. The first four references are part of the trumpet vision (Rev 8:2–11:18), the last three belong to the final showdown.

The Hebrew תְּהוֹם, rendered as the deep, the waters of the deep or the flood[51] is almost always translated with the Greek term ἄβυσσος. This term is found 37 times in the canonical books of the LXX.[52] The deep occurs for the first time in Gen 1:2, where it describes the situation when the sea was not yet separated from the dry land. "Darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the Spirit of God was moving over the surface of the waters [ὕδατος]." "'Over the surface of the deep' parallels 'over the surface of the water' in the subsequent clause.... On the second and third days these waters are eventually separated from the expanse and land masses when the waters are called 'sea' (vv. 6–10)."[53] After the separation sea [θάλασσα] and earth [γῆ] become visible. It is precisely from these two areas that the two beasts of Rev 13 came forward, the sea beast and the beast out of the earth.

It is true that in the LXX the abyss is associated with water, the flood, or the sea in the vast majority of the cases and occurs in the singular as well as the plural (e.g., Gen 7:11; Ps 32:7, LXX; Jonah 2:5). However, there are also texts in which the abyss may be contrasted with the sea (Ps 134:6, LXX) or is described as the "depths of the earth" (Ps 70:20; LXX)[54] from which the Psalmist hopes to be brought up again. Ps 148:7 associates dragons[55] and all ἄβυσσοι.

When it comes to the NT a shift of meaning occurs. ἄβυσσος is found nine times in the NT, seven times in Revelation, once in Luke and once in Romans. In Rom 10:7 the abyss is a symbol of the realm of death. According to Luke 8:31 demons ask Jesus not to be sent to the abyss. Thus here the abyss is linked to satanic agencies and is the place where demons may dwell. Westermann has already noted: "Early Judaism and the NT shift the

[51] Cf. Claus Westermann, "תְּהוֹם *t'hôm* flood," *TLOT*, 1412–13.

[52] This includes Dan 3:55 which is an addition to the MT text.

[53] Kenneth A. Mathews, *Genesis 1–11:26* (NAC 1A; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996), 133.

[54] In Ps 135:6 heaven seems to be contrasted with the earth, the sea with the deep, but also the earth with the sea and consequently heaven with the deep. The deep is not necessarily a synonym of the sea.

[55] In Exod 7:10, 12 the dragons are serpents; in Ps 73:13–14 (LXX) they are sea monsters. However, it is not only the abyss that is associated with the dragon, the sea is too (Job 7:12; Ezek 32:2).

meaning of תְּהוֹם and ἄβυσσος to the depths of the earth as the prison of spirits and as the world of the dead...."[56] Furthermore, in the NT the term is used in the singular only, while in the OT the plural is used in about one third of the cases (i.e., eleven times). The sea is not specifically linked to the abyss in the NT or in the Book of Revelation.[57]

5.1.3.1. Revelation 9:1–2

The fallen star (ἀστήρ) mentioned in Rev 9:1–2, who is able to open the pit of the abyss and bring about disaster, suffering, and torture, has been interpreted as a positive power, e.g., "an angel dispatched on a divine mission"[58] or the angel mentioned in Rev 20:1,[59] because it is held that (1) "fallen" can mean "descended;" (2) "this would be the only place in Revelation where God used an evil angel to execute his will;"[60] and (3) there is a close parallel to the positive angel in Rev 20:1–3. The fallen star has also been understood as a negative power, predominantly as Satan.[61] If the star is seen in a positive way it is distinguished from the angel of the abyss in 9:11. Those who understand the fallen star and the angel of the abyss as the same entity prefer to see the star as an evil power. In spite of these differences, there seems

56 Westermann, "תְּהוֹם *t'hôm* flood," 1414. Cf. J. Jeremias, "ἄβυσσος," *TDNT* 1:9–10.

57 In Revelation the sea is either associated with God (Rev 4:6; 15:2 [2×]) or mentioned together with the earth (Rev 5:13; 7:1, 2, 3; 10:2, 5, 6, 8; 12:12; 14:7). It is the place where the fish, the ships, and the sailors are (Rev 8:8, 9; 16:3 [2×]; 18:17, 19). These are the majority of the usages of the term "sea" in Revelation. The term also occurs in some other contexts. You can throw a stone into the sea (Rev 18:21). The multitudes are like the sand of the sea (Rev 20:8), the sea gave up the dead (Rev 20:13), and on the new earth there will no longer be sea (Rev 21:1). In Rev 12:18 Satan stood at the sea, and in Rev 13:1 the sea beast came out of the sea. The last two references may refer to the multitudes associated with or represented through the term "sea" (cf. Rev 17:15 where, however, "the waters" are identified with the multitudes). In most of the cases it is difficult or even impossible to read into the term the notion of an abyss. Therefore, it is better to keep the two terms separate.

58 Thomas, *Revelation 8–22*, 27; cf. Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 525; George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 129; Jürgen Roloff, *Revelation* (CC; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 114; Stephen Smalley, *The Revelation of John: A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Apocalypse* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2005), 225.

59 Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 108; Osborne, *Revelation*, 362. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 185, is not dogmatic but favors the view that the angel is a divine agent and probably the one found in Rev 20:1.

60 Osborne, *Revelation*, 362.

61 Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 491–92; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 285; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 300, 302; Walvoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 159.

to be general agreement that the abyss is the dwelling place, realm or place of detention of demons,[62] "the preliminary place of incarceration for fallen angels."[63]

A number of OT and NT texts, which point to the concept of stars and the process of falling or the state of having been fallen, may form the background for this passage. According to Job 38:7 (MT) the "sons of God" are called morning stars. The LXX changes the parallelism to stars and angels. In other words, these stars are angels. Job 1:6 describes how Satan among these sons of God (MT) or angels (LXX) approached God. A fallen morning star occurs in Isa 14:12.[64] The Babylonian king is addressed with language that sets him apart "from ordinary mortals" but, according to Watts, the poem "is a simile to picture the fall and disgrace of the tyrant" and "not specifically tailored for the king of Babylon."[65] The NT uses concepts found in this verse to point to Satan, as do church fathers.[66] Kaiser points to Luke 10:18; 2 Cor 11:14, and Rev 20,[67] and Keil suggests 2 Thess 2:4.[68] 2 Cor 11:14 reports that Satan disguises himself as an angel of light. According to Luke 10:18 Jesus saw Satan falling from heaven and may have alluded to Isa 14:12 deliberately. Grogan suggests: "To interpret v. 12 and the following verses in this way means that the passage points to Satan, not directly, but indirectly, much like the way the kings of the line of David point to Christ."[69] Witherington furnishes additional biblical texts that indirectly or directly describe fallen angels. They include Isa 24:21–22; 1 Pet 3:19–20; 2 Pet 2:4; and Jude 1:6.[70] He states: "For our purposes, it is only necessary to

62 Cf. Walwoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 159; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 493; Osborne, *Revelation*, 363.

63 Thomas, *Revelation 8–22*, 28.

64 The Vulgate has translated the term as *lucifer* from which our designation of Satan derives. Since Jesus is also called the morning star (Rev 22:16), this star is a rival of Christ. Cf. Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 4:170.

65 John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC 24; Waco: Word, 1985), 210, 212.

66 Cf. Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), 1:441.

67 Otto Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja Kapitel 1–12* (ATD 17; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 36.

68 C. F Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament, vol. 7* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, reprint 1982), 312. He states: "A retrospective glance is now cast at the self-deification of the king of Babylon, in which he was the antitype of the devil and the type of antichrist (Dan. xi. 36; 2 Thess. ii. 4), and which had met with its reward."

69 Geoffrey W. Grogan, "Isaiah," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* (ed. Frank E. Gaebelein; 12 vols.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979), 6:105.

70 Ben Witherington III, *Revelation* (The New Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 151–52.

say that the powers and principalities and indeed Satan himself were believed to inhabit the realm between heaven and earth."[71]

Fallen stars as demons or Satan are found in extra-canonical literature, e.g., in *1 En.* 86; 88; 90:24 and *T.Sol.* 20:14–17. In *1 Enoch*, the abyss occurs in connection with fallen stars (*1 En.* 90:24). An allusion to fallen stars may be found in *1 En.* 10:4–6. Although the context differs from that of Revelation, the concept that these fallen stars are evil powers which have to undergo judgment is similar to the one found in Revelation.

In Revelation, stars are (1) the angels of the seven churches (Rev 1:16, 20; 2:1; 3:1), (2) the morning star of Rev 2:28 and Jesus, the bright morning star of Rev 22:16, (3) the stars that fell to the earth in connection with the mention of heavenly bodies such as the sun and the moon (Rev 6:12–13; 8:12), (4) the great star wormwood that fell from heaven (Rev 8:10–11) and the star that had fallen from heaven (Rev 9:1), (5) the twelve stars in the crown of the woman clothed with the sun (Rev 12:1), and (6) a third of the stars of heaven that were swept away by the dragon's tail (Rev 12:4). Since early in the Apocalypse stars are referred to as angels and the biblical background points in the same direction, we might assume that stars represent angels—whether human or angelic messengers—in the rest of the book, at least in those cases in which they perform actions that are normally executed by living beings. For instance, the key to the abyss was given to the fallen star and he opened it (Rev 9:1–2).

How is the term πίπτω "to fall" used in the Apocalypse? The verb occurs 23 times in Revelation. Nine times it refers to falling down and worshiping God or mistakenly worship an angel (Rev 1:17; 4:10; 5:8, 14; 7:11; 11:16; 19:4, 10; 22:8), having positive connotations when the worship is directed toward God. In addition to worship, the term is associated with the fall of stars (Rev 6:13; 8:10 [2×]; 9:1), mountains (Rev 6:16), the sun and heat (Rev 7:16), cities (Rev 11:13; 16:19), Babylon (Rev 14:8 [2×]; 18:2 [2×]), and the five heads of the beast which comes out of the abyss. In Rev 2:5 Jesus criticizes the church in Ephesus for having fallen away from its first love. Obviously in Revelation the term has negative connotations and is found in judgment contexts when the issue is not associated with worship. Consequently, "having fallen" in Rev 9:1 should also be understood as a judgment setting.[72]

The argument that this would be the only place in Revelation, where God uses an evil angel to execute his will, is based on the use of the Greek

[71] Ibid., 153.

[72] Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 492, clearly distinguishes between καταβαίνω and πίπτω stating: "Commentators have not adduced one example where a falling star metaphor is applied to a good angel."

term ἐδόθη "it was given" in Rev 9:1, an aorist passive of the verb δίδωμι "to give" which is normally employed to point to God as the one who is actively, yet behind the scenes, involved in human history or who allows things to happen. He is the ultimate source of authority. This term is found 21 times in Revelation. However, the word is not only applied to God's allies such as the martyrs under the altar (Rev 6:11), God's angel in Rev 8:3 or the bride of the Lamb (Rev 19:8), but also to destructive and evil powers (Rev 6:4, 8; 13:5, 7, 14, 15). In our immediate context power was given to the locusts to torment humanity (Rev 9:3, 5), a negative group often associated with demons. Why then should it be ruled out that the fallen star is a negative power? Kistemaker states:

> If we identify this star with Satan, the prince of the demons cast out of heaven to reside in the Abyss [...], we need to understand that God is in complete control. Either Satan or one of his underlings receives the key to the Abyss, not in the sense of permanent possession but of momentary power. God allows the evil spirits temporary freedom to do their destructive deeds that are described in the succeeding verses of this chapter. God assigns the countless fallen angels to the Abyss, where they are awaiting the Judgment Day (Luke 8:21; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6). He decrees the time of opening and closing of this place. He is sovereign.[73]

Concerning the suggestion to identify the star of Rev 9:1 with the angel in Rev 20:1–3 Farmer perceptively observes discontinuity instead of continuity. He talks about "the remarkable contrast between this star's action and that of the angel in 20:1–3 who also held the key to the abyss. The angel locked the deceptive dragon in the abyss; the fallen star unlocked the abyss unleashing a demonic hoard."[74]

In Rev 9:1 we hear about only one fallen star which, according to Rev 8:10, is a great star[75] whose actions bring about extremely negative effects. It seems best to understand this star as Satan who, according to Rev 12:7–9, was cast out of heaven.[76] Satan is connected to the abyss, which seems to fit best the OT and NT data as well as the language and context of Revelation.

5.1.3.2. Revelation 9:11

Rev 9:11 is part of the fifth trumpet, which began with the star fallen from heaven. In this text we encounter the king of the locusts, who at the same time is the angel of the abyss, also called Ἀβαδδών / Ἀπολλύων or de-

[73] Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 285.

[74] Farmer, *Revelation*, 83–84. Cf. G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (Harper's New Testament Commentaries; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 117–18.

[75] Cf. Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 292–93; Corsini, *The Apocalypse*, 175, 324.

[76] Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 492; Corsini, *The Apocalypse*, 179.

stroyer. The majority of the expositors interpret this angel as Satan[77] or one of his sub-leaders.[78] Others suggest the possibility of an allusion to the god Apollo in this verse.[79] Still others propose that this king represents the emperor of Rome.[80]

The king and angel of the abyss is called Ἀβαδδών and Ἀπολλύων. Although the terms are quite similar, they are not completely interchangeable.[81] The Hebrew term Ἀβαδδών appears seven times in Scripture, while the Greek Ἀπολλύων is found in Rev 9:11 only. Ἀβαδδών is frequently associated with death, שְׁאוֹל, and the grave (Job 26:6; 28:22; Ps 88:11; Prov 15:11; 27:20).[82] In Revelation ᾅδης, the Greek equivalent of שְׁאוֹל, and death are personified. While Jesus has the keys to death and Hades (Rev 1:18), Death and Hades follow the rider on the ashen horse (Rev 6:8). According to Rev 20:13, death and Hades will give up the dead that are in them. They will be thrown into the lake of fire and will no longer exist. Heb 2:14 reminds us that it is the devil who has the power of death. Furthermore, in Eph 6:12 Paul reminds us that our struggle is "against the rulers, against the powers, against the world forces of this darkness, against the spiritual forces of wickedness in the heavenly places," especially against the evil one (Eph 6:16).

A strong possibility is that Ἀπολλύων is derived from the noun ἀπώλεια "destruction." The beast of Rev 17, which will wage war against the Lamb (Rev 17:14) and destroy the harlot (Rev 17:16), will "go to destruction." In other words, a great reversal will take place. In 2 Thess 2:3 "the

77 Cf. Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation*, 111; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 291–92; Osborne, *Revelation*, 373; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 305.

78 Cf. Thomas, *Revelation 8–22*, 38–39; Smalley, *The Revelation of John*, 233.

79 Cf. Roloff, *Revelation*, 115; Ulrich B. Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 19; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1984), 195; Witherington, *Revelation*, 134. Leon Morris, *Revelation* (TNTC; rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 128, speaks about the possibility that this is "a derogatory allusion to the god Apollo. What the Greeks worshiped as a god was no more than a demon."

80 Cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation* (The New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 162–63. Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation*, 111, suggests that the terms are synonymous.

81 Cf. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 162.

82 Cf. Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 534. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 120, states: "John has personified Abaddon, just as earlier he personified Death and Hades, and the three are all variations on a single theme." Corsini, *The Apocalypse*, 180, observes: "There is a clear link between these two names [Ἀβαδδών and Ἀπολλύων], and the two names, 'Death and Hades,' which came at the end of the four horsemen of the seals. The action of Satan against men begins in hell (the bottomless pit) and finishes there."

man of lawlessness" and "son of destruction" seems to be Satan and a power that he uses.[83] The destruction that Satan brings along or intends to afflict is described in Rev 12 where Satan's fall is also depicted (cf. also Rev 17:8).

As indicated above the question is whether or not the fallen star should be identified with this angel of the abyss. We would suggest that the parallelism of concepts and the literary structure of the fifth trumpet[84] support the interpretation of the fallen star as the angel of the abyss.[85] As we have seen, stars stand for angels in Revelation. The fallen star of Rev 9:1 is an angel. At the end of the fifth trumpet, without forewarning, the angel of the abyss and king of the locusts is introduced. He is a destroyer whose demonic army attacks humanity. But so is the star fallen from heaven that opened the shaft of the abyss and released the demonic army.[86] It is appropriate to see in him Satan. Indeed it was Satan who tried to destroy the male child, the woman, and the church in Rev 12.

5.1.3.3. Revelation 11:7

In Rev 11:7 the beast, which comes out of the abyss, temporarily kills God's two witnesses. Ladd points out: "The abyss or 'bottomless pit' from which the beast ascends was the source of the demonic plagues of the fifth and sixth trumpets. The beast too is of satanic origin and power, and derives his authority from the demonic realm."[87] Obviously it is the same beast as the one described in Rev 17.[88] This beast differs from the beasts in Rev 13 for it does not come forth from the sea or the earth, but from the abyss. In addition the sea beast receives a deadly wound after 42 months of activity (Rev 13:3, 5).[89] The beast out of the earth begins its deceptive activity around the

83 Cf. Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7:271; Earl J. Richard, *First and Second Thessalonians* (SP 11; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), 331. According to John 17:12; Judas is the son of perdition but it was Satan working through him (John 13:27).

84 Osborne, *Revelation*, 362, mentions a possible *inclusio*.

85 Cf. the structure suggested by Müller, *Microstructural Analysis of Revelation 4–11*, 342–43; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 305.

86 Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 503.

87 Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John*, 156–57. Cf. Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation*, 125; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 350.

88 Cf. Kistemaker, *The Apocalypse*, 332; Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon*, 358.

89 The sections Rev 13:1–4 and 13:5–8 seem to be parallel instead of the second following the first in chronological order. In both parts mouth, blasphemy, power, and worship are mentioned in similar order. The description of the universal worship forms the concluding phrase of both sections. Cf. William H. Shea, "Time Prophecies of Daniel 12 and Revelation 12–13," in *Symposium on Revelation. Book I* (ed. Frank B. Holbrook; Daniel & Revelation Committee Series 6; Silver Spring: Biblical Research Institute General, Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 354–59.

time that the sea beast's deadly wound is healing (Rev 13:12, 14). However, the beast of Rev 11 does not receive a deadly wound after the 42 months or 1,260 days (Rev 11:3), rather it inflicts such a wound on the two witnesses.[90]

The two witnesses of Rev 11 should be understood as the Scriptures of the OT and NT[91] which historically suffered during the French Revolution.[92] The beast of Rev 11 is best seen as Satan using political powers to oppose the cause of God. The same happens in chapter 12 when the dragon uses the Roman Empire in his attempt to kill the Messiah. There is no good reason to link the abyss of Rev 11, part of the same trumpet vision, to a person other than Satan. Corsini holds: "In fact, John says that it is the beast which ascends from the bottomless pit which kills them (11:7), an expression which clearly refers to Satan here."[93]

5.1.3.4. Revelation 20:1–3

Rev 20 is another difficult text in Revelation. Scholars have followed different systems of interpretation. Amillennialists[94] suggest that Rev 12:7–12 and Rev 20:1–3 with their fourfold mention of designations of Satan refer to the same event and that Rev 19–21 should not be understood chronologically. The Millennium describes the time between Jesus' ascension and the end.[95] Premillennialists point out: (1) Progression is taking place and that Rev 19–21 must be understood chronologically. At the end of Rev 19 the first two members of the satanic trinity, the sea beast and the false prophet, are thrown into the lake of fire (Rev 19:20). In Rev 20 the remaining member of the satanic trinity, Satan himself, is being judged and cast into the lake of fire (Rev 20:10). (2) Rev 12:9 and Rev 20:1–3 do not describe the same situation, because in chapter 12 Satan is thrown out of heaven and attempts to deceive humanity (Rev 12:12 and ch. 13), while in Rev 20 Satan is cast into the abyss

90 Seventh-day Adventists take the 42 months as 1260 years reaching from A.D. 538–1798. Cf. Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7:809.

91 Cf. Kenneth A. Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3–12," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 127–35; idem, "The Two Olive Trees of Zechariah 4 and Revelation 11," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 257–61; Ekkehardt Mueller, "The Two Witnesses of Revelation 11," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 13.2 (2002): 30–45.

92 Cf. Nichol, *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7:802–3.

93 Corsini, *The Apocalypse*, 200.

94 Amillennialism and postmillennialism expect Christ's second coming to take place after the Millennium, while premillennialists believe that the Second Coming precedes the Millennium. Eric Claude Webster, "The Millennium," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology* (ed. Raoul Dederen; Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 2000), 935–42, furnishes a brief description and history of amillennialism, premillennialism, and postmillennialism.

95 Cf. Farmer, *Revelation*, 123, 125; Smalley, *The Revelation of John*, 504–5.

and is unable to deceive humanity for a thousand years.[96] (3) The Jewish background of Rev 20 suggests that the events described there will take place at the end of human history only.[97]

A premillennialist, yet not dispensationalist reading of Rev 20, follows the flow of arguments and the development from Rev 15 through Rev 22, takes seriously the immediate context, and avoids a mystical or purely spiritualized interpretation.

With Rev 20:1–3 the great reversal takes place. At the end of human history Satan's power to open the abyss is taken from him. This power was given to him by God (Rev 9:1), who always is in control.[98] Now Satan himself is bound by an angel and confined to the abyss for one thousand years. It seems that Rev 17:8 points to this very situation and that Rev 20:1–3, 7–10 explains the cryptic sayings about the beast in Rev 17. The beast which "was, and is not, and will come out of the abyss and goes to destruction" is Satan, who was presented as the great red dragon in Rev 12.[99]

5.1.3.5. Summary

In the NT the abyss is the place of the dead and the dwelling place of demons. In Revelation the abyss is linked to demonic agents and especially Satan. The fallen star, the angel of the abyss, and the beast out of the abyss, all seem to point to Satan. Most clearly, the connection between Satan and

[96] Cf. Alan Johnson, "Revelation," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* (ed. Frank E. Gaebelein; 12 vols.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 12:581; Hans K. LaRondelle, *How to Understand the End-time Prophecies of the Bible* (Sarasota: First Impressions, 1997), 446–47; Witherington, *Revelation*, 245; Theodor Zahn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (repr., Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1984), 592.

[97] Cf. Witherington, *Revelation*, 245, 247. He states: "In John's theology Christ has now paid the price on the cross. Since that event, Satan no longer has a legitimate place in the heavenly council. He will be cast into the abyss once the Parousia transpires, and he will be cast into the lake of fire once the millennium is over. His fall is threefold" (247).

[98] Cf. Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation*, 209, stresses that the power over Satan and the abyss belongs to God. He also calls the angel of the abyss (Rev 9:11) Satan. However, for him, the fall of Satan in Rev 12 and the binding of Satan in Rev 20 are the same event. Therefore, he comes to the conclusion that the Millennium begins with Christ's incarnation (209–11).

[99] Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 865, has noticed the parallelism with Rev 20: "The threefold formula corresponds to the career of Satan in Rev 20:1–10." He also states on the same page: "The beast's origin, the abyss, both here [Rev 17:8a] and in 11:7, suggests the demonic origin and powers of the beast (as in 9:1–2, 11; cf. 20:1–3, 7)." But he does not identify the beast as Satan. Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 554–55, points to parallels between Rev 20 and other parts of Revelation and apart from Rev 12–13 also mentions Rev 17.

the abyss is spelled out in Rev 20. Therefore, the beast on which Babylon sits, i.e., the beast of Rev 17 which is associated with the abyss and which differs from the beast in Rev 13, is best understood as Satan who works through political powers.[100]

6. Conclusion

The depiction of the scarlet beast in Rev 17 raises many questions. This study has introduced the issues under discussion as well as various approaches for solving them. Although it seems that a historicist reading as the overall approach to Revelation is the preferable method,[101] the context of Rev 17 is eschatological in nature. It is the end-time context of judgment. The structure of Rev 17 shows an alternation between angelic speeches and visions. The emphasis is on the beast and the horns which will destroy the harlot.

The interpretation of the beast has so far shown that it is a parody of God. Although it shares common elements with the sea beast, its differences indicate that it can be interpreted as a power not identical with the sea beast. The beast comes out of the abyss. Since the abyss is connected with Satan, it seems best to identify the scarlet beast as Satan working through political systems.

Part two of this article will focus on the phases and various characteristics of the beast. It will also briefly discuss the heads and the horns.

[100] Walvoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 249–50, notes: "There is a confusing similarity between the descriptions afforded Satan who was apparently described as the king over the demons in the abyss (9:11), 'the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit' (11:7), the beast whose 'deadly wound was healed' (13:3), and the beast of 17:8. ... Only Satan himself actually comes from the abyss."

[101] See Rev 12–14 as the paradigm, reaching from the birth of the Messiah to the Second Coming of Jesus.

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British Roots in American Millennialism: Edward Irving and the Millerite Movement

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Edward Irving has been recognized as one of the most remarkable figures of nineteenth century British premillennialism. Yet, despite this recognition, towards the end of his life he had become an embarrassment to evangelical Christians. Among the reasons for his tragic end were doctrinal and ecclesiastical issues. However, some years later the foremost American premillenarian movement, namely Millerism, would almost entirely replicate his understanding of eschatology, the latter rain, and the concept of Babylon. The particular extent of the influence of Irving on Millerism is intriguing and has not been thoroughly evaluated in the relevant literature. This study suggests that some of the teachings of Millerism were rooted in Edward Irving's ideas.

Key Words: Edward Irving, William Miller, premillennialism, eschatology, latter rain, Babylon

1. Introduction

Edward Irving, the famous Scottish preacher of the Regent Square Caledonian Church in London, has always been a controversial figure.[1] His name is associated with fringe theological ideas and charismatic excesses. People of his generation were divided in their opinion about his person.[2] However,

1 Juanita S. Carey, *E. W. Bullinger. A Biography* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2000), 105.

2 In 1828, during a trip to England, the well-known American clergyman and biographer William Sprague met Edward Irving. His first encounter with him was in church. After the sermon Irving invited him to visit his home in the coming week. After an hour of dialogue he left his house with the following impression: "Everybody knows that Edward Irving's singular character and history have given occasion to much speculation. There are not wanting those who believe that he was originally a mere actor, practising upon the credulity of the people, and that God, in judgement, gave him up to the delusion which he had thus courted. ... But such, I believe, is not the more common opinion." See William B. Sprague, *Visits to European Celebrities* (Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1855), 19. In the same vein in 1863, the anonymous reviewer of the just published biography of Edward Irving (published by Margaret Oliphant) stated: "We, of course, are aware that many sketches of Irving, of more or less merit, exist. Besides,

it was his personal influence and prophetic legacy, which led Ernest Sandeen to assert that "if early nineteenth-century millenarianism had produced a hero, it would have been Edward Irving."[3] On the other hand, the extent of his influence which spread far beyond the shores of Great Britain is something that the scholarship has not yet addressed adequately. The purpose of this study is to suggest that some of the teachings of the "most famous millenarian [movement] in American history,"[4] namely Millerism, had its roots in Edward Irving's millenarian ideas. The first section of this study provides some important biographical details about Irving. The second part concentrates on three of his key teachings that would later be integrated into the ranks of Millerism and further on one of its branches, i.e., sabbatarian Adventism.[5]

2. Edward Irving: The Person

Edward Irving was born "in the autumn of the eventful year 1792" amid fearsome revolutionary events in Europe.[6] Adam Hope was his schoolmaster, to whom he subsequently ascribed [his] education.[7] Having finished the school in Annan at thirteen, Edward Irving began his studies at Edinburgh

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the articles in biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias which, so far as we are acquainted with them, repeat with a dull monotony the same distorted opinions of the man." See Anonymous, "The Life of Edward Irving," *The Christian Remembrancer: A Quarterly Review* 44 (1863): 291.

3 Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Evangelicalism, 1800–1930* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1970), 14.

4 Ibid., 50.

5 These teachings included: (1) his eschatology; (2) his understanding of the latter rain; and (3) his concept of Babylon.

6 [Margaret] Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving: Minister of the National Scotch Church, London: Illustrated by His Journals and Correspondence* (2 vols.; London: Hurst & Blackett, 1862), 1:1.

7 Thomas Carlyle pointed out this influence when he said: "One of the circumstances of Irving's boyhood ought not to be neglected by his biographer—the remarkable schoolmaster he had. 'Old Adam Hope,' perhaps not yet fifty in Irving's time, was all along a notability in Annan." Cf. Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1881), 75. See also *Lives of the Industrious: The Biographical Magazine Vol.* 2 (London: Partridge & Co., 1856). Cited 16 October 2006. Online: http://books.google.com/books?vid=0JIH6XyvM5BUDYlB9Ba&id=-rW7XsCyRUMC&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=Lives+of+the+Illustrious&as_brr=1. The biography of Edward Irving in this book was written by Washington Wilks. Two years later he published a complete book on Edward Irving in which he refers to this previous publication of Irving's life. See Washington Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography* (London: W. Freeman, 1854). The influence of Adam Hope in Irving's life is something that should not be ignored.

University where "he so excelled in mathematics" that he was appointed as a mathematics teacher at the young age of eighteen in an academy in Haddington.[8] Through this appointment he worked his way through college to become a minister of the Church of Scotland. Two years later he was appointed the head of a "newly-established academy in Kirkcaldy."[9] At the same time he studied divinity, "making his appearance at college to go through the necessary examinations, and deliver the prescribed discourses; but carrying on his intermediate studies by himself, according to a license permitted by the Church."[10]

After completing his theological studies Irving could not easily find a pastoral assignment in the Church of Scotland, probably because of his preaching style.[11] He was nearing his thirties and no official call had come from the presbytery. In 1819, tired and frustrated, Irving left Kirkcaldy and decided to become a preacher among the heathen.[12] He was on the way to accomplish his plan when he received an invitation to preach for Dr. Andrew Thomson in Saint George's church, Edinburgh. When the day for delivering his sermon came, among his hearers was Dr. Thomas Chalmers who was looking for an assistant minister "in the splendid labors he was beginning in Glasgow."[13] Shortly afterwards he became Dr. Chalmers' assistant minister. "His memory was cherished by the poor of Glasgow" for a long time after his departure from the city.[14]

In 1822 Irving moved to London as the minister of the Caledonian Asylum Chapel in Hatton Garden,[15] where he created quite an unprecedented

8 Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:34.

9 Ibid., 1:49.

10 Ibid., 1:35.

11 See Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 8, who also makes this point: "It seems, in truth, that whenever his preaching gift had been exercised, it was so much to the discontent of the hearers, that he got no second invitation." He follows by saying that "he had fed his soul with the word of Chrysostom, the Christian Plato—of Jeremy Taylor, the English Chrysostom—and of Hooker, the Bacon of the church—till he had come to regard, as of mean speech and feeble thought, all living preachers and theologians. ... he had consorted with the shades of Hildebrand and Knox till he had become of such heroic mood."

12 Ibid., 9.

13 Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:92.

14 *Lives of the Industrious*, 314.

15 Robert Walsh, Eliakim Littell, and John J. Smith, *The Museum of Foreign Literature* (Science and Art 2; Philadelphia: E. Littell, 1836), 368. Cited 22 September 2006. Online: http://books.google.com/books?vid=OCLC03831287&id=ZSGKnU8pWmEC&pg=PA370&dq=Edward+Irving&as_brr=1. The entry on Irving has been signed by Walsh. Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 30, affirms that Irving started his career one month before. He points out that "on the second Sunday of July,

sensation. People of all ranks in London's society wanted to hear the Scottish preacher.[16] Some years later, he would be pointed out as one of the most eloquent men of the century.[17]

1822 ... Irving entered on his new ministry." Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:150, also gives July as the beginning of his ministry. She writes: "'On the second Sabbath of July, 1822,' Irving began his labors in London." It seems that she based her conclusion on the work of Wilks. Walsh argues that Irving preached in the Caledonian church for four successive Sabbaths. During this time he confirmed his calling among those who had invited him there. However "a difficulty [...] remained to be overcome; a parliamentary grant had been made to the Caledonian Asylum, to support a clergyman who could preach in Gaelic as well as in English, and the diverting of the grant, as the appropriation of the pulpit, from that specific purpose to any other, could be sanctioned only by act of parliament. The friends of Mr. Irving now found necessary to interest in his cause the Directors of the Asylum; and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, as President of that national institution, condescended to honour the candidate with his presence. The permission of the legislature was consequently obtained and in August, 1822, Irving began officially his ministry in London." See Walsh, Littell, and Smith, *The Museum of Foreign Literature*, 367–68.

16 Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 31, affirms: "In the first quarter, it is recorded, the seat-holders at the Caledonian Asylum Chapel had increased from fifty to fifteen hundred." During the first years of his ministry in the metropolis the impact of his preaching was powerful. People of all ranks came to hear him. Just two years after his death Walsh, in an early biography of Irving published in 1836, refers to his impact in London. He writes: "He soon attracted very large congregations by the force and eloquence of his discourses, and the singularity of his appearance and gesticulation. The greatest orators and statesmen of the day hurried to hear him; the seats of the chapel were crowded with the wealthy and the fashionable, and its doors were thronged with carriages. It became necessary to exclude the public in general and to admit only those who were previously provided with tickets." See Walsh, Littell, and Smith, *The Museum of Foreign Literature*, 368.

17 Fish suggests that it was a "most remarkable combination of powers, physical, moral and mental that won his unprecedented popularity." See Henry C. Fish, *History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence. Volume 2* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1856). Cited 24 October 2006. Online: http://books.google.com/books?vid=OCLC08037818&id=D2m_b2NL6c0C&pg=RA1PA336&vq=Edward+Irving&dq=Edward+Irving&as_brr=1. This is also confirmed by Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 31, who states that "the genuineness of his genius, and the unfeignedness of his virtue were admitted by the most cynical of his critics, and the bitterest of his theological detractors." Thomas Carlyle, a good friend from the boyhood years, also refers to the virtues of the Scottish preacher. He asserts that at the beginning of his ministry "bodily and spiritually, perhaps there was not ... a man more full of genial energetic life in all these Islands." See Thomas Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays: Collected and Republished* (4 vols.; Boston: Brown & Taggard, 1860), 3:404. All of these statements are sharply contrasted with Sandeen who, when referring to Irving's oratory skills, affirms that he had the "ability to assume a role so completely as to forget that he was wearing a mask made him seem like a poser to many—which he was not. It does, however, reflect the chief weakness of his character. He was a ship without a keel. Although he was earnest and serious in

Edward Irving was a person who polarized people. Walsh affirms that early in his ministry in London he "threw down the gauntlet and commenced open hostilities with preachers of every class and description."[18] He continues saying that "the imposing attitude which he assumed was that of 'John the Baptist risen from the dead.'"[19]

Irving's preaching focused on sharing hope with those in trouble. Wilks affirms that the secret of his attraction "lay in the tenderness with which he bound out the wounds of the poor humanity, rather than in the skill with which he proved them."[20] His theological emphasis centered on God's love. His most frequent theme was "the fatherhood of God and the filial going forth of the human heart." And "the parables and miracles of Christ [were] his abounding inspiration."[21]

He was the kind of person who was in a continuous process of learning. It is in this sense that his peculiar acquaintance with the poet Samuel T. Coleridge[22] might be understood.[23]

Irving was the kind of person who was always ready to challenge religious ideas that were based mostly on the tradition of the church. His

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every pursuit, he swung around in each new breeze until he was blown over." See Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 15

18 Walsh, Littell, and Smith, *The Museum of Foreign Literature*, 368.

19 Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 32, affirms that Irving's popularity did not denote "unanimity of admiration." He continues on the same page: "Never was opinion more divided on the merits of a public character. And, as usually happens, on the point most open to observation, the controversy was hottest."

20 Ibid., 34.

21 Ibid.

22 Samuel T. Coleridge (1772–1834) was an English poet, critic, and philosopher and one of the founders of the Romantic Movement in England. He was born in Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, in England. His father was a well known vicar priest in Ottery St. Mary. He is probably best known for his poems "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan," as well as his major prose work *Biographia Literaria*. It is said that he was an authentic visionary in anticipating modern existentialism. For biographical details see James Gillman, *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge Vol. 1* (London: William Pickering, 1838). Cited 5 November 2006. Online: http://books.google.com/books?vid=OCLC04384177&id=Ytru Uj2MIw QC&pg=PR3&dq=Samuel+T.+Coleridge&as_brr=1. Unfortunately at the time of this research the second volume of Gillman's biography was not yet available online.

23 Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 16, points out that "Coleridge may seem like strange company for a minister of the Scottish irk and an evangelical at that." However, as Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:189, affirms: Irving "in his own consciousness was always learning." This can be evidenced in all the generous dedicatory addresses of his books.

commitment to the truth of the Bible is clear.[24] He liked to analyze new spiritual ideas from an unusual perspective. Dr. Chalmers in his notes of May 1827 refers to a meeting he and Irving had had with Coleridge. After the meeting he told Irving that he found some of the affirmations of Coleridge mysterious. Chalmers stated that "he liked to see all sides of an idea before taking up with it." In reply Edward Irving said: "You Scotsmen would handle an idea as a butcher handles an ox. For my part, I love to see an idea looming through the mist."[25] This interest for new ideas should not be understood necessarily as something wrong.[26] Irving had what Wilks

[24] Scriptural authority was a vital element in Irving's ministry. Oliphant points out: "His Bible was not to him the foundation from which theology was to be proved, but a Divine Word, distinct with meaning, never to be exhausted, and from which light and guidance—not vague, but particular—could be brought for every need. And the weight of his 'calling' to instruct was never absent from his mind." In a letter to his wife he refers to his activities in Caledonian church by saying: "My lecture was upon the ministry of women in their proper sphere in the Church, which I drew out of the Scriptures by authority." Cf. Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:222–23, 337. His high view of God's word can also be seen during his defense before the Presbytery of London when he made the following appellation: "I entreat you to set up the Holy Scriptures as the only basis of faith and practice; to look as ministers, and to look as people, to them alone; and I know this, that if you throw the Bible aside, you will not look to much else that is good. You may talk about standards as you please, but I know there will be little reading of the standards or other good books if there be not much reading of the Scriptures." *Speeches of Irving before the Presbytery of London, March, 1832*; quoted in ibid., 2:462.

[25] *Lives of the Industrious*, 322.

[26] Regarding Irving's statement of loving "to see an idea looming through the mist," Sandeen points out: "Irving loved the mysterious. ... And once captured by such an idea, once seized by its mystery, he would become its slave, never asking what contradictions or complications might follow." Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 16. It seems that it was not the mysterious that he loved so much as acquaintance with new ideas. Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:224, affirms: "When any subject was presented to him, his mind immediately carried it away out of the everyday atmosphere into a world of thought and ideal truth, where practicabilities, much more expediencies, did not enter; interrogated it closely to get at its heart; expounded it so from the depths, from the heights, from the unseen soul of the matter, that people, accustomed to look at it only from the outside, stood by aghast, and did not know the familiar doctrine which they themselves had put into his hands. This will be found the case in almost every thing he touches." In his reflection on the importance of the Ten Commandments for the Scottish nation it is possible to see an example of what "looming" could have been for him. It seems that it was related to the way or focus with which he attempted to apply the Bible's truth to practical life. In talking on God's law he said: "My notion is, that the Ten Commandments contain the ten principal of these mother-elements of a thriving soul—these laws of laws, and generating principles of all institutions. These also, I think, ought to be made the basis of every system of moral and political philosophy. *But all this is but looming upon my eye*, and durst not be spoken in

calls "a usual ingenuousness and noble-minded simplicity,"[27] that made him to stand often, unashamedly, on the side of those who were ready to learn. He was convinced that a man called to be a minister needs to be committed solely to the Bible.[28] Thomas Carlyle in his posthumous writing on the death of Edward Irving affirmed:

> To the Bible he more and more exclusively addressed himself. If it is the written Word of God, shall it not be the acted Word too? Is it mere sound, then; black printer's-ink on white rag-paper? A half-man could have passed on without answering; a whole man must answer. Hence Prophecies of Millenniums, Gifts of Tongues, whereat Orthodoxy prims herself into decent wonder, and waves her, Avaunt! Irving clave to his Belief, as to his soul's soul; followed it whithersoever, through earth or air, it might lead him; toiling as never man toiled to spread it, to gain the worlds ear for it,—in vain.[29]

As Carlyle pointed out, for Irving the Bible was not just a book to be believed. It was a book to be acted upon. It is in this sense that his millenarianism ought to be understood. His conviction that the Bible was God's complete word for his people in the last days determined his approach to eschatology and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and consequently his understanding of the church.

3. Edward Irving as a Forerunner of Millerite Ideas

The popularity Irving gained in London through his preaching in Regent Square increased through his preaching and writings on prophetic topics. In these prophetic studies it is possible to find some surprising coincidences with later American Millenarianism. We will now turn our attention to them.

Scotland, under the penalty of high treason against their laws of logic and their enslaved spirit of discourse." See ibid., 1:286–87 [emphasis supplied].

27 Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 178.

28 Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:224–25, follows by saying: "No sooner does he apply himself to the special consideration of any point than all its hidden, spiritual meanings come gleaming upon his mind. ... Men enough there are in all times—in our time, perhaps, too many—who can expound the practicable. Irving's vocation was of a totally different nature: it was his to restore to the enterprises and doctrines of universal Christianity—without consideration of what was practicable or how it could be realized."

29 Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 3:405.

3.1. Irving's Eschatology

Millenarian ideas came to Irving's life in two different ways. The first channel was—as he mentions in the preface of his work *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God*—from his acquaintance with James Hatley Frere.[30] Oliphant affirms that when Frere met Irving for the first time he said: "Here is the man!" She follows by pointing out that in Irving Frere gained a "disciple and expositor."[31]

The second source, and probably the most important one, came as a result of his reading and translation of Lacunza's work *La venida del Mesías en gloria y majestad*.[32] L. E. Froom affirms that "though interested earlier in the prophecies concerning the advent, Irving's entire absorption in them dates from 1826, when he became acquainted with Lacunza's book."[33] In Lacunza he discovered "the chief work of a master's hand." In his acquaintance with Lacunza's work he saw the action of God's providence "for the love of His Church."[34] It was this conviction, which led him to become the translator of

30 The sequence of events that culminated in the publication of this book started in 1824 when Frere, a man with a especial interest in the books of Daniel and Revelation, approached Irving. In the introduction to his book *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God: A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse which relate the Second Advent* (2 vols.; Glasgow: Chalmers & Collins, 1826), Irving recounts the way in which his thoughts were brought to prophetic studies. Cf. Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 178–79, and Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:226.

31 Ibid., 1:221. Along the same line, Froom wrote: "Frere's greatest acquisition was the winning of Edward Irving, one of the most celebrated preachers of London. Irving's studies with Frere opened a whole new world to him, with prophecy becoming the central theme of his thoughts, speech and writings." Cf. LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1946–1954), 3:275, 386.

32 Thomas Carlyle does not make any reference to the influence of Frere on Irving. Rather, he believes that his thoughts were "nourished and corroborated" specially by the work of Lacunza, *The Coming of the Messiah*, and by his acquaintance with Coleridge. He writes: "Soon after the opening of Irving's new church in Regent Square in 1827 his great popularity began to subside. It is thought that this fact, which had been a serious blow to his self-esteem, had only confirmed his belief that the world was not to improve and turned him toward supernaturalism. Aben [sic] Ezra's *Coming of the Messiah* and all that is mystical in Coleridge both nourished and corroborated his long-held beliefs in prophecy and the impending approach of the second coming." Cf. Thomas Carlyle, Alexander Carlyle, and Edwin W. Marrs, *The Letters of Thomas Carlyle to his Brother Alexander, with Related Family Letters* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), 289, quoted in George P. Landow, "Edward Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church." Cited 25 January 2007. Online: http://victorianweb.org/religion/apocalypse/irvingite.html.

33 Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 3:515–16.

34 Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 1:380–86.

Lacunza into English and the mouthpiece of his ideas in the Anglo-Saxon world.[35]

It should be noted that he was not alone in his millenarianism because at that time—in the middle of the 1820s—"the subject was exciting very general interest among religious people."[36] It is in that context that millenarian ideas would become the main topic of the discussions among the participants in the extremely influential Albury Park meetings.[37]

35 Aecio E. Cairus has made an important contribution in clearing up several misconceptions regarding the work of Manuel Lacunza. One of those has to do with the role Lacunza played in the Advent Awakening. He suggests that while it is clear among historians of Adventism and Dispensationalism that Lacunza exerted a wide influence in Europe and the Americas it is not clear enough that "he was not merely a part of the Advent Awakening, but one of its initiators." He continues: "Though premillennialism has a long history in Christianity, the Advent Awakening ... shows from the beginning the pervasive influence of the work of Lacunza." See Aecio E. Cairus, "History of the S.D.A. Church: Early Seventh-day Adventism" (Silang: Seminary Productions/Class Notes, 2006), 9. Manuel Lacunza or Juan Josafat Ben Ezra was born in Santiago, Chile, on July 19, 1731. His parents gave him a careful religious education in literature, Latin grammar, and rhetoric at the Jesuit Colegio Máximo in Santiago. In 1747, at the age of sixteen, he was admitted on probation status into the Jesuit Order. Completing his two-year vows in Bocalemu and having finished his secondary school, he studied philosophy and theology in the Colegio Máximo, which he finished with honors. As the third year ended, he received sacred orders and he was given instructional and spiritual supervision of the younger. In 1766, Lacunza took the four vows of the Jesuits. In the next year, in the autumn of 1767, he was expelled from Chile, with all the members of the order. This was due to a decree of Charles III of Spain which was applied in all Spanish dominions. Lacunza went first to Cádiz, Spain, and then moved to Imola, Italy. There he resided until his death in 1801. It was in that city that his monumental work *La venida del Mesías* under the pseudonym of Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra was produced. For further biographical and historical data concerning Manuel Lacunza see Miguel Rafael Urzúa, "La venida del Mesías en gloria y majestad: el R. P. Manuel Lacunza." Cited 26 July 2006. Online: http://www.abcog.org/lacunza.htm. See also Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 3:303–24.

36 *Lives of the Industrious*, 321.

37 The Albury Park Conferences were a number of meetings in which twenty people "lay and clerica, of various communions, but all united by one common curiosity about the hidden things of prophecy and the Apocalypse" participated for the first time "in Advent 1826 for prophetical studies." These meetings were held under the auspices of Henry Drummond in his residence in Albury Park, Surrey. He was a banker, politician and writer who supported Irving's teachings and he was one of the founders of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Among the participants of these conferences were Joseph Wolff, Hugh McNeile, Vaughan of Leicester, Lewis Way, Dodsworth and Henry Drummond. See anonymous, "The Life of Edward Irving," 304–6.

The core of the ideas presented in his work *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed* was reviewed in *The Baptist Magazine* in the same year.[38] The author states: "Mr. Irving's theory is briefly this: he considers the prophecies of Daniel to have respect to the same periods and events as the Apocalypse."[39] In his understanding, the book of Revelation "is not a prophetic narrative in chronological order, which is to be forced to apply to the order of history, or history forced by arbitrary divisions to apply to it."[40] He understood that the visions of the Seven Seals, the Seven Trumpets and the Little Book point not to "successive, but [to] contemporaneous and synchronical"[41] events. It is this idea which is the core of the system he and Frere exposed.[42]

Edward Irving's commitment to the study of prophecy enabled him to see in the development of secular history the background of prophetic realities. Walsh affirms that "none of Mr. Irving's numerous predecessors in the bold undertaking of unraveling the web of prophecy, had ventured to fix the application of particular predictions to the events that were produced by the late revolution in France which Mr. Irving has done."[43] Making use of the year-day principle Irving fixed the beginning of the prophecy of 1,260 years[44] in A.D. 533 when the code of Justinian,[45] "which greatly enlarged and

38 "Review of *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*," *The Baptist Magazine* 18 (1826): 317–20. Cited 21 November 2006. Online: http://www.google.com/books?vid=LCCNsn95016139&id=auoRAAAAIAAJ&pg=RA11PA318&lp=RA11Infidelity&as_brr=1#PRA11-PA317,M1.

39 Ibid., 317.

40 Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 179.

41 Referring to his understanding of the Book of Revelation, Irving stated that "neither is it a series of disconnected visions. ... It is not until the fourth chapter that we come to the distinct revelation of the things that are to be; those great future events, of prime importance to the church, which occupy the remainder of the book; in the giving of which, the following method can be distinctly traced: a revelation under the name of SEVEN SEALS; another under the name of the SEVEN TRUMPETS; and a third under the name of the LITTLE BOOK; which are not successive, but contemporaneous, or synchronical." See Irving, *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*, quoted in Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 179–80 [emphasis his].

42 Ibid., 179.

43 Walsh, Littell, and Smith, *The Museum of Foreign Literature*, 369. In referring to the role that the French Revolution played in prophetic interpretation, Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 181–82, affirms that, in regard to Irving's views concerning the dates and the role of the papacy in the French revolution, "Protestant expositors are generally agreed."

44 See Revelation 11:2–3; 13:5–7. For Irving, this period marks the captivity of the church.

45 The Code of Justinian is the major contribution of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I to the jurisprudence. It consists of four books: (1) *Codex Constitutionum*, which clarified and updated past imperial statutes; (2) *digesta*, or *pandectae*, interpreted and updated past legal decisions; (3) *institutiones*, a handbook for student lawyers; and (4) *novellae*

strengthened the Papal power, was promulgated."[46] His calculations put the end of this prophecy in the year 1793 in the middle of the French Revolution. According to his view the two witnesses of the prophecy are the Old and New Testaments. They "were 'slain' ... when infidelity was established in France, in 1793; and their 'resurrection' took place when freedom of religious worship was restored in that country, in 1797, in which year also the Missionaries were sent to Otaheite [Tahiti], and the Serampore translations were commenced."[47]

Irving expected that the second coming of Jesus would be an event of his own days. By means of a historical reading of the 1,260, 1,290, and 1,335 prophetic periods, Irving concluded that the second coming of Jesus would take place in the year 1868. He writes:

> From the setting up of the Papacy, therefore, there shall be 1,290 days, till something, which is not determined by any event; and there shall be 1,335 days till the term is pronounced, BLESSED; blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to it. There can be no doubt, that this is the commencement of the glorious time, when all men shall be blessed in Christ, and all man shall call him blessed. No other epoch in holy writ is pronounced blessed. Therefore, we say that in 75 years, over and beyond the 1,260, that is from the year of our Lord 1792, or in 43 years from this time (A.D. 1825), when I now write, the blessed reign of Christ shall have commenced. The Lord lengthen out my life to see one of these days of the Son of Man.[48]

This historical understanding of the prophecies of the 1,260, 1,290, and 1,335 years as related to the end of the world was something that some years

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constitutiones post codicem, a collection of Justinian's laws that were issued after publication of the Codex. The *digesta* was drawn from A.D. 530–533. Through the important assistance of well-known scholars he compiled and gave form to a number of dispersed laws back to the time of Hadrian. See "Code of Justinian." Cited 27 November 2006. Online: http://geoanalyzer.britannica.com/ebc/article-9044217. For a complete reading of the code, see Samuel Parsons Scott, "The Justinian Code from the *Corpus Juris Civilis*." Cited 25 November 2006. Online: http://vitaphone.org/history/justinianc.html. A number of pronouncements of the code established the Catholic religion as the official religion of the state. It is precisely this point which provided Irving with an important clue for dating the year A.D. 533 as the beginning of the 1,260 days prophecy.

46 "Review of *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*," 317.

47 Ibid., 318. It is important to say that, years later, this teaching would be essentially advocated among one of the branches of the Millerite movement, namely the Seventh-day Adventist church. See Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1950), 265–88.

48 Irving, *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*, 1:173, quoted in "Review of *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*," 318.

later, William Miller, would also endorse.[49] Sabbatarian Adventists, one of the main branches of Millerism, essentially inherited Miller's understanding of these prophecies as well. The main difference between Irving's understanding of these prophetic periods and American Adventism is given in the date set for the beginning of them.[50]

This interpretation was something with which Protestant expositors generally agreed.[51] However, Irving went further in his analysis because he brought new insights to the discussions on prophecy and history.[52] A thorough and careful observation of contemporary history led Edward Irving to conclude that the end of the world was at hand. In the tumultuous events of his days he was able to see the role of Islamic powers in prophecy.[53] Wilks observes that he "ventured to trace a correspondence between the events

[49] William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ about the Year 1843, Exhibited in a Course of Lectures, Second Advent* (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842), 95–104, 296–97. See also Alberto R. Timm, "The 1,290 and 1,335 Days of Daniel 12." Cited 20 January 2006. Online: http://www.adventistbiblicalresearch.org/documents/daniel12.htm. At this point it should be said that Miller recognized the importance of Edward Irving for his interpretation. He affirmed that, in his approach to these prophecies, he was in agreement with other expositors of his century. He said: "'Midnight cry' is the watchmen, or some of them, who by the word of God discover the time as revealed, and immediately give the warning voice, 'Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him.' This has been fulfilled in a most remarkable manner. One or two on every quarter of the globe have proclaimed the news, and agree in the time—Wolf, of Asia; Irwing, late of England; Mason, of Scotland; Davis, of South Carolina; and quite a number in this region are, or have been giving the cry." See Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ*, 238.

[50] Since Irving computed the beginning for these three prophetic periods in the same year (A.D. 533) he concluded that Jesus' Second coming would occur in 1868. If he instead, would have chosen the year A.D. 508 as the date that points to the beginning of these prophecies, his conclusion would have matched Miller's, namely, the year 1843. For a better understanding of the teaching of Miller on these prophecies, see ibid., 100–14.

[51] Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 181–82.

[52] Ibid., 182.

[53] The finding of Islamic powers in the Book of Revelation was not something novel to biblical interpretation in Irving's days. Early Bible commentators had referred to it. See Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 2:525, 531. What is really new in Irving's understanding is the timing he set for the events predicted in the sixth trumpet and in the sixth bowl. In 1826 he said: "The Mahommedan, and more especially of the Turkish power, which, we have seen by the Apocalypse, is to wane and waste away, like the streams of a river in times of drought, before the great day of the coming of the Lord. We have shewn from the exact study of prophecy, that within *twenty years from this period* ... that wave be rolled back from off the Holy Land, and the other parts of Christendom which it hath overspread." Irving, *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*, quoted in Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 182 [emphasis supplied].

symbolized by the SIX VIALS, and the events of the French Consulate and Empire—and even to find, in the circumstances of his own day, such as the alleged decadence of the Papacy and the Ottoman Empire, indications of the rapid approach of the final struggle."[54] In 1826, he affirmed: "Now if the Turkish power be thus drying up, and manifestly near its end, it must be that the battle of Armageddon, and the coming of Christ, are also near at hand; for the former is the sixth vial and the latter is the seventh vial, which immediately follows it."[55] His understanding of the political realities both in the West and the East led him to connect historical events with prophecy. He believed that spiritual forces were behind the conflicts of nations and that the battle of Armageddon was there ready to be fought. In his view "the battle of Armageddon [was] ... no less than the last crisis of the strife between good and evil which hath been waged upon the earth since the world began."[56] He saw that it is this final battle for the earth which is to determine "whether Satan or Christ shall have it and hold it for ever."

3.2. Millerite Eschatology

Like Irving, Millerites would also advocate the role the Ottoman Empire would play in prophecy, specifically in the fulfillment of the sixth bowl, which would be followed by the Battle of the Armageddon. In the issue of August 1, 1840, the *Signs of the Times* (a Millerite magazine), published two articles by Josiah Litch. In what seems to be some type of introduction to them the editor affirms that since "there has been much enquiry of late on the subject of the closing up of the day of grace, or probation, we here give the Scriptures on which this opinion is founded, with some remarks and leave our readers to judge for themselves." Then, in referring to Rev 16:12–21, the editor—possibly Joshua Himes—proceeds to connect the fall of the Ottoman Empire with the end of probation. He wrote:

> When the sixth Trumpet hath ceased to sound, the seventh begins, and in the days of the voice of the seventh angel when he shall BEGIN to sound, the mystery of God, or dispensation of grace shall be finished. It would appear from this, that upon the fail of the Turkish empire [sic] which will take place on the closing up of the "sixth vial" and "trumpet," that the day of probation will close.[57]

54 Ibid., 182.

55 Quoted in ibid., 184.

56 See Irving, *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*, quoted in "Irving and Others on the Prophecies," *The Eclectic Review* 27 (1827): 193.

57 [Joshua Himes], "The Closing-Up of the Day of Grace," *Signs of the Times* (August 1, 1840): 69.

This understanding of the role of the Ottomans in prophecy was fully supported by "the foremost personality of the advent awakening"[58] in America, namely, William Miller. He believed that the fifth and sixth trumpets represented the Ottoman Empire. In his view the fifth trumpet pointed to the rising of the Ottomans and the sixth to "the period of domination."[59] It is worth noting how similar his understanding is to Irving's. Miller wrote:

> And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared. The scene has now changed from Europe to Turkey. The "river Euphrates" means, in prophecy, the people of that country bordering on the river, and, of course, refers to the Turkish power, as I have formerly shown in my lecture on the fifth and sixth trumpet. "Water thereof was dried up," is an emblem of the power and strength of that kingdom being diminished, or taken away. This vial was poured out on Turkey, by the loss of a great share of the empire; first, Russia on the north, in her last war with the Turks, took away a number of provinces; then, by the revolt of Ali Pacha; then, by the rising of the Greeks; since, by the Albanians and Georgians, and other distant parts of the empire, becoming disaffected; which, all together, have so wasted the power of the Turks, that, now, it is very doubtful whether she can maintain her power against her own intestine enemies; and, to compare her now with her former greatness, would be like comparing a fordable stream with the great river Euphrates; so that the way now appears to be prepared for the kings to come up to the battle of the great day.[60]

Josiah Litch—the main proponent among the Millerites of the role of the Turks in prophecy—would also connect the presence of "Islamic powers in Revelation" with the end of the world.[61] In the August 1 issue of the *Signs of*

[58] Richard W. Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (rev. ed.; Nampa: Pacific Press, 2000), 29–34.

[59] See "Additional Note on Chapter 9," in *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (ed. Francis D. Nichol; 7 vols.; rev. ed.; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1976–1980), 7:795 For further reading on Miller's interpretation of the fifth and sixth trumpets see Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ*, 116–26.

[60] Ibid., 225.

[61] Josiah Litch, "Fall of the Ottoman Power in Constantinople," *Signs of the Times* (August 1, 1840): 70. Two years before—in 1838—Litch had predicted that the Ottoman Empire would fall in August 1840. He said that this prediction "is the most remarkable and definite of any in the Bible, relating to these great events." Josiah Litch, *The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ About A.D. 1843* (Boston: David H. Ela, 1838), 157–58; quoted in Eric Anderson, "The Millerite Use of Prophecy: A Case Study of a 'Striking Fulfillment'," in *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (ed. Ronald L Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 84.

the Times he stated that this approach to the surrounding historical events "has probably been brought about in a great measure by Brother Miller's lectures; and *other works on the same subject.*"[62] In this article he affirmed that people were especially concerned with events in the East. He said:

> A very general impression prevails at the present time among all classes and in all countries ... that we are on the point of some great revolution both in the political and mortal world. ... The public mind seems at the present time to be directed especially towards the affairs of the east—Constantinople, and the surrounding nations.[63]

He wrote that the events predicted in the sixth trumpet would "end in the 11th of August, 1840, when the Ottoman power in Constantinople may be expected to be broken."[64] Even though apparently nothing special had occurred on this date, early in 1841, Litch confirmed his predictions. In looking back on the events of the summer of 1840, he affirmed that the Ottomans had really fallen and that "since the 11th of August, [they were] entirely under the dictation of the great christian [sic] powers of Europe."[65]

It is not surprising that in this eschatological context Edward Irving in Great Britain, and years later the Millerites in America, would support a new approach of the work of the Holy Spirit. Both, Irving and the Millerites, believed that a special granting of his presence had to be given to the church to preach the last warning to the world. The full range of his teaching would move from the conservative Millerite approach to the provocative one that would emerge from one of its branches, namely, early Sabbatarian Adventism.

3.3. Irving's Understanding of the Latter Rain

Studies related to the work of the Holy Spirit in the frame of prophetic concerns were revived in the nineteenth century.[66] In 1821, Lewis Way, an Anglican priest who ascribed an important role to the Jews before the Second Advent, wrote a treatise entitled "The Latter Rain."[67] Way's main concern in this book was "to prove from Scripture the restoration of Israel, and the

62 Litch, "Fall of the Ottoman Power in Constantinople," 70 [emphasis supplied].

63 Ibid. See also George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise: Pacific Press, 1993), 93–98.

64 Litch, "Fall of the Ottoman Power in Constantinople," 70.

65 Josiah Litch, "The Eleventh of August 1840: Fall of the Ottoman Empire," *Signs of the Times* (February 1, 1841): 162.

66 Andrew Miller, "The Last Chapter." Cited 20 January 2007. Online: http://www.newble.co.uk/writers/Miller/historylast.html.

67 For a better understanding on Way's ideas, see Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 9–14.

consequent glory in the land."[68] Three years later, in 1824, he wrote *Palingenesia,* a poem in which he again applies the expression "latter rain" to the Jewish nation.[69] The use of this expression would have a new understanding and a renewed emphasis in the writings of Edward Irving.

Irving believed that the Reformers did not reach far enough with their Reformation because they "digged [sic] not deep enough in the Holy Scriptures." In his understanding, three important Christian doctrines had been almost completely forgotten: (1) The doctrine of the church; (2) the role of the Holy Spirit as the comforter and endower of spiritual gifts to the church; and (3) the Second Coming of Jesus. In a kind of protest he affirmed:

> But the Reformers were too intent upon the mere negation of Popery, and upon the emancipation of the civil estate of Kings and peoples, upon leagues and covenants constructed for the preservation of what they had made good. They lacked discernment in the truth of God; they digged not deep enough in the Holy Scriptures; they saw not the glorious privileges of the Church, her spiritual gifts and supernatural endowments, the coming and kingdom of the Lord, and the blessed offices of the ever-present Comforter.[70]

He understood that his role as "Christ's minister" was to move the reform toward the "best days" of the church. In his view, these days were in the past. Without dismissing what the reformers had done in previous centuries, he affirmed that his role was to bring the church back to the days of Pentecost:

> I am in no wise fettered by their shortcomings, I have no homage to offer at their shrines, but in my liberty of Christ's free-man, in my prerogative of Christ's minister, I am intent upon the knowledge and faith of all the truth written in His holy word, and do perceive a work arising into view which will far surpass the work of Reformation, and bring back the best days of the Church.[71]

It is on this point that Irving saw new light regarding the expression the "latter rain." He interpreted Joel 2:28–29 in the light of his own days. While others had seen the fulfillment of this promise at Pentecost Irving understood that the promise of Joel is for the Christian church at the end of time. He wrote:

[68] Miller, "The Last Chapter."

[69] Lewis Way, *Palingenesia, the World to Come* (London: Martin Bossange, 1824). Cited 20 February 2007. Online: http://www.books.google.com/books?vid=0TZuX84FwNvMV5P9&id=FPCvz0XMl4EC&pg=RA1PA1&lpg=RA1PA1&dq=Lewis+Way&as_brr=1#PRA1-PA57,M1.

[70] Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving,* 2:498–99.

[71] Ibid., 2:499.

> The passage in Joel [2:28-29] stands remarkably wedged in between the two parts of his prophecy; all before it concerning the destinies of the Jews, all after it concerning the destinies of the Gentiles. . . . The prophet thus discloses the purpose of God in respect to the outpouring of the Spirit upon "all flesh," as well Jew as Gentile; which began in the Jew on the day of Pentecost, and went on spreading abroad to all nations along with the preaching of the everlasting Gospel, and after a long silence hath again been revived amongst us.[72]

For Irving, the revival of the gifts in his own days meant that the church had not been deprived of any of the blessings given at Pentecost. He affirmed: "I cannot find by what writ of God any part of the spiritual gift was irrevocably removed from the Church."[73] He believed that every new Christian at the moment of his or her baptism is endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost for "profiting the Church" with the gift he or she has received. With conviction he stated:

> I do not hesitate to affirm, that all we who have been baptized were baptized unto the fullness of the spiritual gifts, according as it might please God to divide unto every man, whether the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, the gift of healing, the working of miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, divers kind of tongues, or the interpretation of tongues; each one of these being the outward sign of a particular inward operation of the Spirit upon the soul, and qualifying the soul for profiting the Church with that inward gift which is given to it.[74]

His understanding of Christian baptism led him to the conclusion that the presence of the gifts of the Spirit was real in the church because it is not possible to affirm the presence of some gifts and to deny others.[75] He reasoned:

> How any man dareth to take out of this passage [Eph 4:11–13] apostles, evangelists, prophets, and to say that they were only intended for a sea-

[72] Edward Irving, *The Day of Pentecost or The Baptism with the Holy Ghost* (London: Ellerton & Henderson, for Baldwin and Cradock, 1831), 62.

[73] Gavin Carlyle, *The Collected Writings of Edward Irving* (5 vols.; London: Alexander Strahan & Co., 1864), 2:276.

[74] Ibid., 278.

[75] He affirmed that "there is not one passage in which the gifts of the Holy Ghost are mentioned, where they are not mentioned as the property of the whole Church, as the blessing of the whole Church, as needful to the growth of the whole Church, and as designed to continue until that which is perfect is come." He followed: "The body needeth to be edified, and we are not yet come to the measure of the stature of Christ; and I believe the Lord will seal apostles; I believe that the Lord hath sealed prophets; and I believe that the Lord will seal evangelists, and pastors, and teachers, in the power of the Spirit, if only the Church, laying hold of the Word of God, [forsakes] the traditions of men." Cf. Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 2:426–28.

> son, but that the pastor and the teacher were intended always to continue, I never have been able to find a reason. But I hold it to be a daring infraction of the integrity of the Word of God.[76]

Irving held a very high respect for the authority of the Bible. In fact, this submission to its authority led him to conclude that the integrity of God's word supersedes the presence of the gifts of the Spirit in the church. In other words, each one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit had to be tested according to the Bible. In this context he pointed out "that the speaking with tongues was only a *method* of prophecy, and subsidiary thereto. ... [It is] a new form of prophecy."[77] Referring to those that prophesy he asked: "And does this living voice supersede the Scriptures?' No, by no means. 'And can it contradict the Scriptures?' Never. If it should, then say, it is not the Spirit of God, but an unclean spirit which hath spoken."[78]

Irving understood that one of his responsibilities as a minister was to proclaim "aloud what invaluable gifts of God the Church of Christ, since the day of Pentecost, hath been fraught with, and is still fraught with."[79] However, this conviction did not hinder him from seeing an eschatological fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel 2:28–29.

In 1833, Irving replied to a letter from South America from somebody who "had been a partaker in the gift of prophecy." It seems that this member of the church was requesting a missionary to those lands. Irving's reply to his demand is very interesting.

> In respect of an Evangelist being sent to you from my Church, I know they shall be sent out unto all the world from this land, and especially from this Church, if we abide faithful and patient in the Lord; but not until we receive power from on high, the outpouring of the latter rain, the sealing of the servants of God upon their foreheads, which even now God longeth to give; for which we wait and pray daily, yea, many times a day.[80]

Irving understood that the work of the Holy Spirit, active in the church since Pentecost, had to be supplemented. The church had to pray and wait for a special granting of his presence in order to give the world the last admonition before the second coming of Jesus. He believed that the eschatological fulfillment of Joel 2:28–29, manifested the redemptive purposes of God in two senses. The first was related to the world. He affirmed that the giving of the Holy Spirit was "the extreme and utmost effort of God to save

76 Ibid., 2:427 [emphasis in original].

77 Irving, *The Day of Pentecost or The Baptism with the Holy Ghost*, 65–66.

78 Ibid., 64–65.

79 Carlyle, *The Collected Writings of Edward Irving*, 2:337.

80 Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 2:367 [emphasis supplied].

men from that day of wrath and perdition which will come."[81] The second was related to the church. He expected "that by the baptism with the Holy Ghost, and with fire" the church would be ready "for His appearing."[82]

In Irving's view, the events of his church through people claiming to have the gifts of the Spirit were only an anticipation of the era that was to come. It is in this sense that his words during his defense before the presbytery of London should be understood. He warned the presbytery against "the peril of rejecting the small and slender beginnings of the Holy Ghost's work" in the church. He affirmed that these manifestations were only "a few droppings before the abundant latter rain."[83]

The opposition to and rejection of his views led him to secession from the official church. The fact that strong opposition came from those from whom he had expected support persuaded him that they were no longer Christians but part of Babylon.

3.4. The Millerite Understanding of the Latter Rain

Millerites believed that the work of the Spirit would be seen in the world in the progress of the preaching of the gospel. For them, the success in conversions was a clear indication that the Spirit was actively involved in the affairs of the church. In 1840, Miller affirmed that God had "poured out his Spirit in a remarkable manner, for twenty years past."[84] He asked: "What signs are now fulfilling, which are given us by Christ, the prophets, or apostles of his second coming and glorious reign?" He replied: "The pouring out of the Holy Spirit, and last reign of grace."[85] He understood that the spreading of the gospel "in a rapid and extensive manner" was an undeniable evidence of his presence in the church. Based on Rev 10:11 he believed that "the gospel must again be published ... as it had been in the apostolic days," because it would be after this "that [the] time should be no longer." In talking about James 5:7–8 he said:

> And now, can any man, who has any knowledge of the present times, deny that God has poured out his spirit, in a remarkable manner, for twenty years past? Has not the gospel been spread in as rapid and extensive a manner, as in the apostolic day? Has not opposition and persecu-

81 Irving, *The Day of Pentecost or The Baptism with the Holy Ghost*, 68.

82 Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 2:462.

83 Ibid., 2:464.

84 William Miller, "A Lecture on the Signs of the Present Times," *Signs of the Times* (March 20, 1840): 4–5. See also idem, "Signs of the Present Times," *Midnight Cry* (December 17, 1842): 3.

85 Miller, "A Lecture on the Signs of the Present Times," 4.

> tion of the kings of the earth, of the woman that sitteth on many waters, the sea, been in a great measure kept in check and powerless, by some invisible power, some mighty arm, until the servants of God should be sealed, the latter rain of grace descend, and God's purposes completed concerning this latter day? Here, then, we have a clear and visible sign, that the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.[86]

Millerites believed that they had a special role to play at the close of what they saw as eschatological times. They recognized that, through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, God was sealing his people and they saw themselves as God's chosen agency to carry forward the last warning to the world.

3.5. The Sabbatarian Adventist Understanding of the Latter Rain

It is interesting to note that from one of the branches of the Millerite movement, namely early Sabbatarian Adventists, a broader understanding of the latter rain and the gifts of the Spirit would emerge. It was here where Irving's ideas would be almost entirely replicated.

In 1847, three years after the great Adventist disappointment of October 22, 1844, James White published *A Word to the Little Flock*. In this pamphlet he expressed his conviction that at the end of time there would be a special manifestation of the pouring out of the Holy Spirit.

> I conclude that there is not one Second Advent believer who will take the ground, that all of the prophecy of Joel, quoted by Peter, was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost; for there is not the least evidence that any part of it was then fulfilled, only that part which related to the pouring out of the Holy Ghost. ... Dreams and Visions are among the signs that precede the great and notable day of the Lord. And as the signs of that day have been, and still are fulfilling, it must be clear to every unprejudiced mind, that the time has fully come, when the children of God may expect dreams and visions from the Lord.[87]

White believed that the presence of the Holy Spirit would be a preparatory event for the second coming of Jesus. He understood that the timing for the "out-pouring of the Holy Ghost must take place before the second advent, to prepare us for the glory of that scene: for in our present state, none of us could stand a single moment before the brightness of that coming."[88]

[86] Ibid., 5.

[87] James White, *A Word to the 'Little Flock'* (n.p, 1847), 13.

[88] Ibid., 7.

In May 1850, James White as the editor and publisher of *The Present Truth* introduced a dream that had been published in the *Advent Herald* two years before. Under the title, "Brother Miller's Dream" he pointed out that God had given that dream on behalf of the believers that had faced the disappointment. He affirmed that the gift of prophecy was "one of the gifts of the gospel church." He concluded that the manifestation of "dreams and visions [were] the medium through which God [had] revealed himself...in the last days."[89] In 1851, James White addressed the subject of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the *Review*.[90] In this article he asked:

> It is universally admitted that a portion of the gifts exist in the church at this day, such as "the word of wisdom," and "the word of knowledge," and no one denies that "pastors" and "teachers" were to be in the church until its perfection. Then if a portion of the gifts were to remain in the church, why not all of them remain? Why should the professed church of Christ pick out from that catalogue of gifts, so freely bestowed by the Great Head of the church, those that suit them best, and trample the others in the dust?[91]

James White was fully convinced that the gifts of the Holy Spirit were active in the church. In his view there was no biblical foundation for the assertion that the church could only have some of the gifts. He concluded: "it is therefore very evident that all the gifts run parallel with each other, none of them ending before the rest, and that they were to extend quite through the gospel age."[92] He also stated that the revival of them did not dismiss the authority of Scripture. He penned:

> As all objections against the revival of the Gifts can be fully met, then we inquire, what is their object? Were they designed to take the place of the Word? Never! If the Gifts be revived, and the church receive instruction from them, will not this supersede the necessity of searching the Scriptures for truth and duty? No! Never! ... The revival of any, or of all the

89 It is important to mention that, in this introduction, James White wrote the word "prophet" all with capital letters. This aspect is important because even though nobody would think that William Miller had the gift of prophecy this decision of James White (firstly, by publishing the dream and, secondly, by capitalizing the word prophet), was in harmony with his conviction that this gift would be manifested in the true church of God in the "last days." Cf. James White, "Brother Miller's Dream," *The Present Truth* (May 1850): 73.

90 James White, "The Gifts of the Gospel Church," *Review and Herald* (April 21, 1851): 69. The importance of this issue among early Sabbatarian Adventists may be seen in the fact that this article would be reprinted in the *Review and Herald* in the issues of June 9, 1853, as well as on October 3, 1854. See also James White, "The Gifts, Their Object," *Review and Herald* (February 28, 1856): 172–73.

91 James White, "The Gifts of the Gospel Church," 69.

92 Ibid.

> Gifts, will never supersede the necessity of searching the Word to learn the truth.[93]

A comparison of James White's understanding of the gifts of the Spirit with Irving's suggests that their hermeneutical approach to the Bible was the same. Moreover, it might also be possible that James White was well acquainted with some of his ideas, given the fact that several of the Scottish preacher's books, were part of the personal library of the Whites.[94]

3.6. Irving's Concept of Babylon

Edward Irving, as many other Protestants who employed historicist hermeneutics, identified the Roman Catholic Church with Babylon. However, he stretched this concept out further to include also the Protestant churches.

Edward Irving indeed believed that the Catholic Church was Babylon. Wilks emphasizes that, in his book *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*, Irving had identified "the Antichrist, or Babylon the Great, of the apostolic writings, with the Papacy, and [interpreted] the period of its duration as one thousand two hundred and three score years."[95] Irving believed that the influence of the Catholic Church had appalling consequences on the faith of the Europe of his days:

> Look unto Catholic Europe, which hath fallen under the curse of God, because of the long series of cruelties and abominations transacted in that mystery of iniquity, Babylon the great, an abject priesthood, a people either of crouching devotees or regardless unbelievers, living either in the hotbed of a misguided superstition, or in the perfect callousness of confirmed Atheism.[96]

This understanding of Babylon, centered in one religious body, changed when Irving started to experience strong opposition for his eschatological

[93] James White, "The Gifts, Their Object," 172.

[94] The books written by Irving that were part of the White's library are: *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God: A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and Apocalypse* (2 vols.; Glasgow: Chalmers & Collins, 1826); *For the Oracles of God: Four Orations. For Judgment to Come. An Argument in Nine Parts* (New York: J. F. Sibell, 1823); *Homilies on the Sacraments* (London: n.p., 1828); *The Last Days: A Discourse on the Evil Character of These Our Times* (London: R. B. Seeley, 1828); *The Rev. Edward Irving's Preliminary Discourse to the Work of Ben Ezra* (London: Bosworth & Harrison, 1859). Also they had the English version of the work of Manuel Lacunza, *The Coming of the Messiah*, translated by Irving, as well as Margaret Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving. Minister of the National Scotch Church, London* (2 vols.; London: Hurstand Blacket, 1862). Compare here Warren H. Jones, Tim Poirier, and Ron Graybill, compilers, *A Bibliography of Ellen G. White's Private and Office Libraries* (3rd ed.; Silver Springs: Ellen G. White Estate, 1993), 30, 34, 43.

[95] Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 181.

[96] Carlyle, *The Collected Writings of Edward Irving*, 3:155.

ideas.[97] He affirmed that the rejection of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the church was a rejection of "what [could] reconstitute the Church of God" to its original state. He saw that the Spirit was being manifested to alert the church to its "Babylonish" state. Before the presbytery he said:

> I sit down, solemnly declaring before you all, before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, on the faith of a minister of Christ, that I believe it to be the work of the Holy Ghost, for the edifying of the Church, for the warning of the world, and for preventing men from running head long into the arms of Antichrist, and for pointing out that condition of Babylonish confusion into which the *churches* are come.[98]

At the end of his speech,[99] before the presbytery of London, Edward Irving had taken a strong stand against those who did not accept his views. He expressed his conviction by stating: "I do solemnly declare my belief that the Protestant Churches are in the state of Babylon as truly as is the Roman Church."[100] After a conviction like this his next step was predictable. He decided to secede from the communion of the Presbyterian Scottish church. He explained his position in the following words:

> And I do separate myself, and my flock standing in me, from that Babylonish confederacy, and stand in the Holy Ghost, and under the great Head of, the Church, waiting for His appearing, who shall come out of Zion a Deliverer, constituting no schism; but, as a minister believing his Lord is soon to appear, desiring and praying that his Church may, by the baptism with the Holy Ghost, and with fire, be made meet for His appearing. And with this hope and prospect, I still have great love for each of you, and desire you to know the same, and entreat you to come out from the Babylonish mixture, to come out of all carnal ordinances, from all human authority repressing you, and putting you in bondage to man's devices, and preventing you from entering the promised land of the Spirit.[101]

97 See Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 2:461.

98 Ibid., 2:461 [emphasis mine].

99 His speech lasted more than four hours. See Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 225–29.

100 Quoted in Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 2:462. The identification of the Protestant churches as Babylon was not a novel concept developed by Irving. It had been used before to refer to Protestant doctrinal deviations, Protestant persecutions and Protestant political issues. See Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 4:767–70. What was really novel in Irving's understanding is his view that God's giving of the Holy Spirit in his days was a signal of the nearness of Jesus' second coming. For him, the rejection of such a signal by the church implied that they were a "Babylonish confederacy" and consequently he and his "flock" had to go out in order to wait for "His [Jesus'] appearance."

101 Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 2:462.

In 1830, Edward Irving had "quietly withdrawn from the Presbytery ... permitting it to judge him a heretic."[102] Now in 1832, and having submitted again to a new trial before the Presbytery of London, he was declared unfit to be a minister of the Scottish church.[103] This meeting marked his definitive withdrawal from the Scottish Presbyterian communion. The next day, when he and his adherents came for their regular early prayer meeting, they found the church locked as a clear sign that he was not anymore the minister of the Caledonian church.[104] Without any physical place for their regular meetings they congregated for a while in a room in Gray's Inn Road. "In the beginning of autumn" they found a large picture gallery in Newman Street that would fit well for the new congregation. Early in 1833, the Presbytery of Annan "called Irving before its bar to answer the charge of holding the heretical doctrine of 'the sinfulness of our Lord's human nature.'"[105] As a result of this trial Edward Irving was deposed as minister of the Scottish church in the same place where "he had been baptized and ordained."[106]

[102] Wilks, *Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography*, 227. Irving summarizes the outcome of this trial by suggesting that they "have condemned my writings, excommunicated me from their body, and recommended their sentence to be read from the pulpits." Quoted in Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 2:161.

[103] "This was but the first step of Mr. Irving's ecclesiastical punishment; for, though deprived of his church, his standing as a minister of the Church of Scotland was still untouched." For a reading of the charges against Irving see ibid., 2:291–98.

[104] Oliphant says: "The next morning, in the early May sunshine, before the world was half awake, the daily congregation gathering to their matins, found the gates of the church closed upon them." When the trustees were requested to open the church "they refused to do so, on the ground that, as they could not conscientiously join with Edward themselves, they would thereby be deprived, under the provisions of the trust-deed, from having a voice in the election of a future minister." Cf. ibid., 2:300, 301.

[105] In this point it is important to make a clarification. Edward Irving never accepted the doctrine of the sinfulness of Jesus' human nature. In fact, during his trial before the Presbytery of Annan he protested to the bar against such accusation. He begged them not to depose him under a false accusation. A witness of the event wrote out Irving's protest: "I object, not for my own sake, but for the sake of Christ my Lord, whom I serve and honour. I object for your sakes, ... I object for the Church's sake." He continues: "Again solemnly declared that he did not hold the sinfulness of the human nature of Christ [...] and concluded by most earnestly beseeching the Presbytery, as they valued the salvation of their souls, not to pass sentence upon him.'" Quoted in ibid., 2:348. In the end, it seems that the reasons for his trial and final deposition from the Scottish church were more ecclesiastical than theological.

[106] Anonymous, "The Life of Edward Irving," 324. Derek Vreeland presumes the participation of the Presbytery of Annan, pointing out: "In March 1833, the Church of Scotland in Irving's hometown of Annan charged him with heresy regarding Irving's doctrine of the 'sinfulness of our Lord's human nature.' The London Presbytery had already rendered a judgment condemning Irving as a heretic although they lacked the

What follows his deposition of the ministry of the Scottish church is both surprising and painful and is beyond the scope of this study. Some time later, Irving was re-ordained in Newman Street by the "Apostolic hands of Mr. Cardale" and served in the office of the 'Angel' of the church, always submitting to the "inspired."[107] In 1834, at the age of 42 and while repeating Psalm 23 in Hebrew, Edward Irving expired. It was only after his death that Irving would receive the recognition he had lost while alive.[108]

3.7. The Millerite Concept of Babylon

Millerites had generally, and "especially during the early years of their movement," also identified Babylon as the Roman Catholic Church.[109] In spite of this conviction, Catholics that accepted the Millerite message were welcomed into the ranks of the Millerites.[110] Nevertheless, it was the resistance and hard opposition to their message from some of the Protestants that convinced them that their understanding of this concept had to be expanded.

In the summer of 1843, Charles Fitch "preached what became one of the most famous Millerite sermons."[111] Based on Revelation 18:1–5 and 14:8 he

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ecclesiastical authority to remove his ordination. Irving was ordained by the Church of Scotland in Annan, therefore the Presbytery that convened there had the authority to revoke Irving's ordination." See Derek Vreeland, "Edward Irving: Preacher, Prophet & Charismatic Theologian." Cited 7 March 2007. Online: http:// www.pneumafoundation.com/resources/articles/EIrving.pdf.

107 The reviewer of Mrs. Oliphant is biography of Edward Irving mentions that Irving was not the leader of any sect. He points out: "To suppose him to be the leader in all matters is quite contrary to the fact. All the authority he had in the sect, all the responsibility with which he can be justly charged respecting it, begin and end with the time when he gave it out at his conviction that the 'tongues' were the utterances of the Holy Ghost." Cf. anonymous, "The Life of Edward Irving," 325.

108 Oliphant, *The Life of Edward Irving*, 2:402–3, writes: "They buried him in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral. ... He was followed to that noble vault by all that was good and pious in Glasgow, some of his close personal friends, and many of his immediate followers, mingling in the train with the sober members of Dr. Chalmers's agency, and 'most of the clergy of the city', men who disapproved his faith while living, but grudged him not now the honour due to the holy dead. The great town itself thrilled with an involuntary movement of sorrow. 'Every other consideration' says the Scottish Guardian, a paper at all times doubly orthodox, 'was forgotten, in the universal and profound sympathy with which the information was received' and all voices uniting to proclaim over him that divine consolatory verdict of the Spirit, 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.'"

109 P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 46–47.

110 Ibid., 47.

111 Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, 154.

invited the people to come out of Babylon. He believed that "whoever is opposed to the PERSONAL REIGN of Jesus Christ over this world on David's throne is ANTICHRIST; for though he may admit that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, he is opposed to the object for which he came, and therefore must be Antichrist."[112] He asked: "who, then, is opposed to the personal reign of Christ on David's throne?" His reply reflects the primary soul of Millerism on this issue because he pointed to the Catholic Church. His argument was:

> The primitive church believed in the personal reign of Christ, and looked and longed for it, and waited for his appearing, and loved it as the apostles had done before them. Justin Martyr, one of the primitive Christians, declares that this was the faith in which all the orthodox in the primitive church agreed. But when the papacy came into power, they concluded to have Christ reign, not personally, but spiritually, and hence the Pope entered into the stead of Christ, and undertook to rule the world for him—claiming to be God's vicegerent on earth. Inasmuch, therefore, as the Papists wish to retain their power, we find them all opposed to Christ's coming to establish a personal reign.[113]

Fitch affirmed that Protestants had also denied the physical appearing of Jesus. This fact likewise places them in the band of the Antichrist and Babylon. He stated that Protestant churches were

> ... willing to rule the world, as the Papists have done, FOR Christ; but no one of them is willing to have Christ come in person to rule the world for himself, while they take their place at his feet, to do his bidding; nor are they willing to listen for a moment to what the Bible says respecting Christ's personal coming.[114]

He moved forward in his reasoning affirming that "inasmuch as all these multiplied sects are opposed to the plain Bible truth of Christ's personal reign on earth, THEY ARE ANTI-CHRIST."[115] Fitch argued that to come out of Babylon is "to be converted to the true scriptural doctrine of the personal coming and kingdom of Christ; to receive the truth on this subject with all readiness of mind."[116] George R. Knight affirms that through this sermon "Fitch had provided his fellow advent believers with a theological rationale for separating from the churches."[117] He includes an interesting interpretation of this call:

[112] Charles Fitch, *Come Out of Her, My People* (Rochester: J. V. Himes, 1843), 9.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid., 11.

[115] Ibid., 13 [emphasis his].

[116] Ibid., 18.

[117] Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, 155.

> In one sense, that rationale was a response to the times. After all, large numbers of Millerites were being thrown out of their churches, while others were being shut out from giving the message that was at the center of their being and Christian experience. It was only natural for them to conclude that those who opposed them also opposed Christ. The hostile action of the churches merely confirmed the Adventist's interpretation of them as anti-Christian.[118]

Millerites, like Irving, had denounced established religious bodies as Babylon. This new understanding of the concept came as a reaction to what they believed was a voluntary and conscious rejection of one specific biblical truth, namely, the second coming of Jesus. This understanding of Babylon would find its way some years later into the ranks of early Sabbatarian Adventism.[119] However, this view centered in one doctrine would evolve as a result of further theological development.[120]

[118] Ibid.

[119] Joseph Bates assigned the fall of Babylon to the events of 1843–1844. He said: "Where is the history for the fulfillment of this event? We answer. Just where it ought to be, following in its order, and no where else. When this subject first began to be introduced in 1843, the most of the professed nominal Churches had closed their doors against the Second Advent doctrine, and began to treat the message with scorn and contempt." Cf. Joseph Bates, "Third Waymark, the Fall of Babylon," *Advent Review* (November 1850): 66.

[120] In 1851, James White wrote: "The Catholic Church is said to be a unit; but Babylon signifies confusion, mixture. The Catholic Church abstractly has its seat at Rome; but Babylon has her seat upon many waters. The woman, which is the great city, called Babylon, symbolizes the fallen apostate churches." See James White, "The Beast With Seven Heads," *Review and Herald* (August 5, 1851): 3. In 1854, John N. Andrews defined Babylon in a broader way, including other religious bodies. He wrote: "We do not limit the Babylon of the Apocalypse to the gospel dispensation, nor do we confine its existence during this dispensation to any one of the corrupt bodies of nominal professors which have arisen since the apostasy. On the contrary, we understand that all the corrupt religious bodies which ever have existed, or which exist at the present time, united to the world, and sustained by the civil power, constitute the Babylon of John's vision, which shall be thrown down as a mill-stone is cast into the mighty deep ... Babylon must include the Jewish church. ... In this great system we understand that the corrupt Papal and Greek churches occupy a large space, and act an important part." He follows by presenting also the "Protestant church as a part of Babylon." Cf. John N. Andrews, "What is Babylon?," *Review and Herald* (February 21, 1854): 36. In 1862, Uriah Smith asked, "What is Babylon?" Then he provided the following answer: "The figure is taken from the ancient city of Babylon; and that took its name from the confusion of tongues which there took place; hence we understand that by this symbol is meant the great mass of confused and corrupt Christianity, 'Whose creeds are various as her costly towers.' Her fall was a moral fall, caused by rejecting the vivifying truths of the first message, or great advent proclamation." Cf. Uriah Smith, "Thoughts on the Revelation," *Review and Herald* (November 18, 1862): 197. For a better understanding of the development of this concept among early Sabbatarian Adventists see

The troubles Edward Irving underwent as a result of his millenarianism set a kind of pattern that Millerism would almost entirely replicate some years later. For instance, George R. Knight describes the opposition Millerites had to face in "both congregations and denominations," as a result of their agitation on the subject of the end of the world. The hostility took "at least" three forms:

> The first one was that an increasingly larger number of congregations forbade the Millerites to hold services in their buildings as the time of the end approached. ... The second form of resistance to Millerism ... [was the] revoking [of] church membership of adventists because they would not be quiet about their beliefs. ... The third form of resistance to Millerism ... was the expulsion of preachers who had accepted the advent doctrine.[121]

The similarities of some of the theological positions of the Millerites in America with those of Edward Irving suggest that their common approach to the Scriptures had led them to similar conclusions. Since they had shared the same hermeneutical method, their understanding of eschatology, the latter rain, and the broader concept of Babylon would become almost the same. However, similarities in the expression and formulation of Millerite ideas suggests an even more direct link to Edward Irving.

4. Summary and Conclusion

The Scottish preacher Edward Irving was a key protagonist in the development of millenarian thought and should be taken into account when trying to understand Millerism as the foremost representative of American millenarianism. The conviction that he was living on the edge of a new order shaped his millenarianism and gave a new perspective to his understanding of the doctrines of eschatology, pneumatology, and ecclesiology. This study has shown that Irving's approach to these doctrines would be replicated some years later among the Millerites.

Irving and the Millerites shared the same eschatological concerns. They saw the Second Coming of Jesus as an imminent event. Their interpretation of the prophetic dates in Daniel and Revelation led them to the same conclusions. Both understood in a similar way the role of the Ottomans in prophecy. The connection of the role of the Turkish Empire as indicating the nearness of Jesus' coming is unique to both parties. Before Irving, Bible

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Samuel Kibungei Chermutoi, "James White and J. N. Andrews' Debate on the Identity of Babylon, 1850–1868" (M.A. thesis, Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 2005).

121 Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World*, 148–49.

interpreters had seen the Ottoman power in prophecy. However, the prediction of their fall, as preparing the way for Armageddon in their own days, is something unique in prophetic interpretation. The basic difference between Irving and Miller was in the date marking the beginning of these prophecies.

Second, Irving and Miller shared the conviction that before the Second Coming there would be a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit. They refer to this event as the outpouring of the latter rain. This concept was later incorporated into the eschatological language of what would become one of the main branches of Millerism, i.e., Sabbatarian Adventism. Concerning this point, it is noteworthy to observe that Irving's belief in the presence of the gifts at the end of time and that of early Adventists is almost the same. Both groups saw the eschatological fulfillment of Joel 2:28–29 in their own days.

Third, strong opposition to the doctrine of the soon coming of Jesus led Irving, and later also the Millerites, to the denunciation of the churches as fallen. They affirmed that in order to be ready to meet Jesus they had to leave the religious bodies that strongly opposed their convictions. Circumstances led them in this direction. The inclusion of Protestant churches within the realm of Babylon was not novel to them. What was new for both Irving and the Millerites was the fact that their "come outerims" is essentially connected to the rejection of the belief in the nearness of the second coming of Jesus.

When Irving died in 1834, Miller was just beginning his preaching ministry in America. To what extent the latter borrowed from Irving's conclusions is not clear. However, it is difficult to believe that Miller's ideas were completely original. As Sandeen points out, it would be "ironic to argue for Miller's independence of mind only to demonstrate that he came independently to conclusions virtually identical to the British."[122]

122 Ernest R. Sandeen, "Millennialism," in *The Rise of Adventism* (ed. Edwin S Gaustad; New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 110.

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SABBATHKEEPING AMONG CHRISTIANS IN INDIA: A BRIEF NOTE

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In Sabbath apologetics, many authors maintain that ancient Christian communities in India kept the seventh day holy. A statement by a 19th century Anglican clergyman figures prominently in those works. However, the Armenians to whom C. Buchanan is referring are unlikely to have observed Saturday holy and his context suggests that the "seventh day" phrase actually refers to Sunday worship.

Key Words: Sabbath, India, apologetics, church history

1. Introduction

Many evangelistic and apologetic works of Seventh-day keepers (including Adventists) mention the Thomas Christians in India as having observed the biblical Sabbath from ancient until relatively recent times.[1] So does also the information on the Internet about a Syrian Malabar "Nasrani" (Christian) community.[2] All these sources cite a passage from an early 19th century book, often as the chief (or even the only) testimony directly related to premodern seventh-day keeping in India:

> The Armenians in Hindostan are our own subjects. They acknowledge our government in India, as they do that of the Sophi in Persia; and they are entitled to our regard. They have preserved the Bible in its purity; and their doctrines are, as far as the author knows, the doctrines of the Bible. Besides, they maintain the solemn observance of Christian worship, throughout our empire, on the *seventh day*; and they have as many

1 In Seventh-day Adventism this has found its way, for example, into Mark Finley, *The Almost Forgotten Day* (Siloam Springs: Concerned Group, 1988), 59, 75. However, a Web search using the terms "Thomas Christians" and "seventh day" will reveal hundreds of other entries with similar information, many by non Seventh-day Adventist groups.

2 See "Syrian Malabar Nasrani" in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*. Cited 27 July 2007. Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nasrani.

spires pointing to heaven among the Hindoos as we ourselves [emphasis added].[3]

2. Historical Difficulties

Thomas Christians do not observe the biblical Sabbath today. This is explained in these apologetic works by making reference to the Portuguese invasion of Kerala, which "wiped out" the peculiar traditions of Thomas Christians.[4] It is a fact that, in 1599, a Synod in Diamper (Udiamper, Udayamperur) directed censors to check and correct or (if not practicable) to destroy all the books of the Syrian Christian community. This would explain why no other evidences of ancient Sabbath-keeping have survived.

However, such an explanation is unconvincing and anachronistic. First, as Vyhmeister observes, it is unlikely that this procedure would have obliterated all evidences,[5] and in any case it does not authorize us to speculate about the content of the destroyed books.[6] More importantly, the statement of Buchanan describes the situation in the early 1800s, at a time when those Armenians still "maintain the solemn observance of Christian worship, throughout our [British] empire, on the seventh day." They had a flourishing community in India vying with the imperial Anglican Church in the number of "spires pointing to heaven." By that time there were no more religious persecutions in the Catholic countries of Europe, let alone in the British colonies of Asia. If in the 19th century these Christians in India still kept the biblical Sabbath, when and how could such a peculiar observance have subsequently disappeared from their strong community without leaving a trace? A contextual study of this single piece of evidence therefore seems necessary.[7]

3 This passage is from Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia. With Notices of the Translation of the Bible into the Oriental Languages* (London: Ward & Co., 1849), 137. The volume was first published in 1811.

4 Cf. "Syrian Malabar Nasrani" in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia.* Cited 27 July 2007. Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nasrani.

5 Indeed, Buchanan reports that the churches in the interior of Kerala "hid their books" rather than submitting them to the censors. Cf. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia,* 54.

6 Werner K. Vyhmeister, "The Sabbath in Asia," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (ed. Kenneth A. Strand; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1982), 160.

7 Vyhmeister is aware of that statement (footnote 120), which he quotes from the 1813 edition, and considers it as the only evidence for Sabbath-keeping in India before the arrival of SDA missionaries. However, he does not analyze the phrase.

3. The Armenians in Buchanan

The first fact to be noted is that Buchanan's statement does not refer to ancient Christian communities in India, but to Armenian businessmen who have dispersed throughout western and southern Asia. Buchanan was a priest of the Anglican Church, born in Scotland but living in India, and is here discussing the widespread presence of Armenian traders. The point of the discussion is to plead with the readers for British collaboration with the Armenian Church by printing the Bible in their language. There is no possibility of Buchanan confusing the modern Armenian businessmen and the ancient "Syrian" (Thomas) Christian community in India (which is often represented as involved in ancient Sabbath-keeping practices),[8] among other reasons because he discusses these two communities in different sections of his work.[9] The reader may also notice that he is speaking of the Armenians as present throughout the far-flung British Empire and Persia, while the Thomas Christians were more or less confined to Kerala in South West India. A second fact to be noted is that the Armenian Church is not known for giving any special honor to the biblical Sabbath, either in the 19th century or today, beyond what is usual in Orthodox and other Oriental churches.[10]

4. Thomas Christians in Buchanan

Buchanan does discuss elsewhere the synod of Diamper and enumerates the opinions at the time which distinguished the Syrian (Thomas) Christian community from the Roman Catholic Church:

> "That they [the Syrian clergy] had married wives; that they owned but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper; that they neither invoked saints, nor worshipped images, nor believed in purgatory, and

8 Such possibility of confusion may also be dismissed because he explains, for instance, that those Armenians in India are led by a patriarch in Erevan. In contrast, the medieval Christian church in India was led from a patriarchate in Iraq, which Buchanan correctly traces back to the patriarch Nestorius in Antioch (cf. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, 53). Though both churches oppose the Chalcedonian definition of Christ's dual human-divine nature, they do so for theologically opposite reasons, Armenians being Monophysite in contrast to Nestorianism.

9 Ibid., 52–73 and 135–38, respectively.

10 Saturday is not a day of rest or the chief day for meeting in the week but, in contrast to Roman Catholicism, it is considered a feast day and not a day for fasting. On this see Vyhmeister, "The Sabbath in Asia," 168, n. 130.

> that they had no other orders or names of dignity in the church, than bishop, priest, and deacon" [quotation marks are original].[11]

All these points are characteristic of Nestorian (Assyrian) churches, and most of them are also present in Orthodox and other Oriental churches. Note that there is no mention of any distinctive practice among Syrian Christians involving the day of rest. Since the Portuguese at the time considered Saturday-keeping a punishable Judaizing offense among their Marranos,[12] it is not likely that they would have passed over such a practice in silence if present among the Nestorians in India. Indeed, "no Sabbath-Sunday tension is detected in any of the many decrees" of the council.[13]

5. A Different Interpretation

Since neither the Armenians Buchanan described from personal acquaintance nor the Thomas Christians of earlier times, as described from the documents he knew, seem to have possessed unusual days for rest or worship, the "seventh day" phrase on p. 137 is probably his peculiar way to refer to more usual worship practices in Christendom. This is indeed the case for the same phrase when it occurs in his book a few pages later:

> It is not the giving the Christian religion to the natives [of India] which will endanger our empire, but the want of religion among our own countrymen. ... That memorial [a report presented to the British governor general] referred to the almost total extinction of Christian worship, at the military stations, where the *seventh day* was only distinguished by the British flag [emphasis added].[14]

Buchanan is here complaining of insufficient chaplains and army chapels which might remedy the complete lack of religion among British soldiers, as he saw it, by providing worship services. Obviously he was not concerned with providing such men with special Saturday services, but with the basic Anglican weekly service on Sunday. In Great Britain, a Christian country, Sunday differed markedly from other days of the week. Workplaces were deserted; and people flocked to churches, a difference even sharper than the more lax "continental Sunday" of other Christian countries. By contrast, in the pagan India of Buchanan's time, Sunday was a day like any other. Unfortunately, this difference between pagan and Christian environments did not exist among the military in India. To them also Sunday was a day like any other, so one would think that military stations were

[11] Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, 53.

[12] See Vyhmeister, "The Sabbath in Asia," 161.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, 142.

pagan areas, were it not for the presence of the British flag, according to his complaint.

6. Conclusion

Though Sunday worship may not be described biblically as "the seventh day," this is what Buchanan seems to have in mind on p. 142, and therefore in all probability what he meant also when he praised Armenian worship a few pages before. It may be difficult to see why a learned man such as Buchanan would call the first day of the week the "seventh." Perhaps this is related to the high esteem in which the Decalogue is held in tradition-conscious churches, such as the Church of England. While the Roman Catholic Church uses a summary form of the Decalogue for the instruction of the laity, the Anglican liturgy employs the full biblical form, in which the "seventh day" phrase appears prominently in the fourth commandment. Probably, in Buchanan's mind, Sunday worship, conceived as a fulfillment of this commandment, was in a figurative sense also a "seventh day," since, after all, it recurs every seven days. But whatever reasons he had for this peculiar phrase, it is difficult to see in his context any other meaning than Sunday worship.

Authors who discuss the history of the Sabbath would do well in checking their information with Kenneth A. Strand, ed., *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1982); for India see the section in Vyhmeister, "Sabbath in Asia," 160–62.

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THESIS AND DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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"The New Testament Attitude toward the Old Testament Distinction between Clean and Unclean Animals"

Researcher: Davidson Razafiarivony, Ph.D., 2006
Advisor: Clinton Wahlen, Ph.D.

This study set out to determine the NT attitude (conformity or abolition) toward the OT distinction between clean and unclean animals within the larger context of purity and defilement.

The first task in this investigation was to understand the relevant backgrounds for the distinction between clean and unclean animals, including how defilement from the ingestion of unclean animals is perceived within the OT and subsequent Jewish literature. The study assessed the prevailing assumption that ingestion of unclean animals incurs cultic defilement and explored the possibility that ingestion of unclean animals might have been viewed as incurring moral defilement. The study also explored the relation of the concept of purity to food habits and worship in the Greco-Roman world.

The second task consisted of analyzing relevant NT passages (Mark 7:1–23; Acts 10:1–16; Rom 14:1–23; Col 2:16–23; and 1 Tim 4:1–5), in light of table fellowship and food controversies within the NT Christian church, in order to determine whether they teach abolition of the OT food laws as is often claimed or whether they give hints to the contrary.

The third task was to analyze the theological framework that lay behind the Christian attitude toward food regulations. The study attempted to relate the larger NT concepts of holiness and purity to the distinction between clean and unclean animals. This was done by establishing the link between the concepts of purity and holiness and food regulations in the NT.

The study revealed that, in the OT and subsequent Jewish literature, the ingestion of unclean animals results in moral rather than cultic defilement. Further, the study found that the abolition of the distinction between clean and unclean animals cannot be substantiated from the NT. Since holiness was the main motive behind such a distinction (Lev 11:44; 19:2; Deut 14:2), exploring the concepts of holiness and purity in the NT (esp. 1 Pet 1:15, 16; 2:9) revealed that the distinction between clean and unclean animals is important also for Christians.

The antithetical notions of holiness and impurity have theological and practical components. These notions evoke separation from the customs of other peoples. Through separation from the world, Christians construct their identity and justify their exclusiveness in maintaining boundaries as God's holy people. The NT use of the OT cultic, holiness, and purity language suggests that the NT theological outlook is greatly shaped by such language and, at the same time, universalizes it.

"The Meaning of John's Baptism in Luke–Acts"

Researcher: Kambale Muhongya, M.A. in Religion, 2007
Advisor: Richard A. Sabuin, Ph.D.

Luke describes John's baptism as a "baptism of repentance for the remission of sins" (Luke 3:3). He also reports that John claimed that his baptism was of water in contrast to the mightier one's baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire (Luke 3:16). Repentance being the work of the Spirit (John 16:8; 20:22–23), John's water baptism is not to be disassociated from the mightier one's spirit baptism. Even though in Luke 3:16 spirit baptism points to Pentecost, the initial work of the Spirit in repentance can also be called spirit baptism (Luke 3:8; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43; 11:15–18; 13:38; 26:18; Rom 8:13; Gal 5:22–23).

Luke 3:16 contains three contrasts: ἐγώ "I" versus αὐτός "he"; ὕδατι "water" versus πνεύματι ἁγίῳ "Holy Spirit"; and the contrast expressed by the conjunction μὲν ... δέ "on the one hand ... on the other hand." The emphatic position of the pronoun ἐγώ and its constant presence in the parallel texts (Luke 3:16; Mark 1:8; John 1:26) show that John was primarily contrasting himself to the mightier one. This is in accordance with the context (cf. Luke 3:15). Regarding the contrast ὕδατι ... πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, this word pair appears constantly in agreement, whether in the OT, at Qumran, or in the rest of the NT.

John's baptism is distinguished from the mightier one's spirit baptism by the correlative conjunction μὲν ... δέ. This conjunction is found in Luke 3:16, but not in the parallel texts (Mark 1:8; John 1:26, 33). Mark 1:8 has only δέ instead of μὲν ... δέ. δέ is weaker than ἀλλά "but" and is usually indistinguishable from καί "and." John 1:26, 33 has neither μὲν nor δέ. Therefore, μὲν ... δέ does not set water baptism in opposition to spirit baptism; rather, it connects two clauses.

John's statement in Luke 3:16 is true, not only in John's baptism, but also in the Early Church (Acts 10:44–48) and in current Christianity. Nobody can baptize with the Spirit; only the mightier one, Jesus Christ, can do it.

"An Investigation into the Motif of Works and Reward in the Letters to the Seven Churches of Revelation"

Researcher: Mesfin Mandefro, M.A. in Religion, 2007
Advisor: Joel Musvosvi, Ph.D.

The emphasis on works and reward in the letters to the seven churches of Revelation is understood differently by various scholars. Of the twenty references to ἔργον in the Book of Revelation, twelve (= 60%) occurrences are concentrated in Rev 2 and 3. Furthermore, this thesis suggests that twenty apocalyptic metaphors involving rewards can be identified in these two chapters. The relationship between works and the promised reward has caused significant theological problems. Thus, it was sought to determine the role of the works and reward motif in the letters to the seven churches of Revelation, providing some answers to the following questions: Does the works and reward motif suggest salvation by works? What kind of works and rewards is John talking about?

Based on the theological analysis of these letters, the good works did not initiate the salvation of the believers, but rather are evidence of a faith-love-saving relationship with the Lord Jesus Christ. They reflect the lordship of Christ in the reality of these churches. Additionally, it was found that bad works are evidence for different loyalties of those performing the bad works. Another aspect of the reward motif involves their eschatological nature, which is closely associated with the gift of eternal life. To have no reward is equivalent to losing eternal life. Therefore, even though the works and reward motif does not suggest salvation by works, it suggests that judgment is according to works and encourages or fosters accountability and holy living. It thus emphasizes that Jesus is the Lord and Savior of the believer's life.

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CRITICAL BOOK REVIEWS

Christ in the Letters of Paul: In Place of a Christology, by Hendrikus Boers. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006. Pp. xii + 361. ISBN 978-3-11-018992-6. US$ 132.30.

Hendrikus Boers is professor emeritus in New Testament at Candler School of Theology, Emory University, USA. Boers dedicates this volume to Ernst Käsemann (1906–1998), who was his mentor in his initial search for the meaning of Christ in Paul (p. 1). In this book Boers embarks on a fresh approach to Pauline Christology that departs from Käsemann's (p. 2). He aims at assessing Paul's own formulations of his thoughts on what Christ meant for him rather than scholarly christological constructs. He approaches the task on two levels: on the first level he offers a reading of the meaning of Christ in Paul from the Pauline epistles themselves; on the second level he interacts with scholarly debates and contributions in the footnotes and excurses to keep the tension between his findings and the available literature that debates such issues (p. vi).

Boers does not define his method clearly. Developing a methodology may take a great deal of space, especially when one has to justify it among the existing ones, but it is necessary for proper orientation on a subject like this. Methodological references surface towards the end of the book without any prior orientation (pp. 217, 262, 298). Boers' methodology (p. 108) leans heavily on semantic analysis almost to the exclusion of grammatical and syntactical considerations. He seems to drive a wedge between his former work ("A Context for Interpreting Paul," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts. Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman* [edited by Tord Fornberg and David Helholm; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995], 429–53) and the current volume (p. 2). In the former his main methodological consideration was lexical-syntactic analysis, whereas in the latter he focuses exclusively on the semantic approach. His

approach, together with other similar approaches, has been criticized by Erickson (cf. Richard John Erickson "Biblical Semantics, Semantic Structure and Biblical Lexicology, A Study of Methods with Special Reference to the Pauline Lexical Field of 'Cognition'" [Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1980], 121) who emphasizes the importance of paying attention to grammatical and syntactical analysis by a biblical interpreter who uses a semantic or linguistic approach to biblical interpretation.

The book is divided into two parts, with Part 1 focusing on the meaning of Christ for Paul personally and Part 2 concentrating on the meaning of Christ for the believer. According to Boers, Paul experienced Christ as a real being not from or through a theological construct (p. 3). Boers' thesis is that Paul's statements on Christ do not come from a central pool of ideas about Christ. He acknowledges that Paul does use traditional material occasionally, but when he does so, he is not teaching about Christ per se but Christ permeates his thoughts in a specific context. This is his main finding that he develops by appealing to passages in Pauline writings for evidence (p. 1). Boers views and examines each Pauline passage as expressing a unique momentary experience of Christ or as an expression of a past experience of Christ in a new context. For his methodology, Boers attempts to avoid any theological construct that may be superimposed on the text (p. 2). His intention to focus on the text is highly commendable. However, his selection of passages from the Pauline corpus for the purpose of advancing his arguments is not exhaustive; hence his conclusions may be considered rather weak in some instances.

There are three excurses in Part 1 that deal with the interpretation of specific passages from different Pauline epistles (pp. 26–30; 36–46; 74–98). For example, he views the argument in Gal 2:19, 20 as moving along the same lines as Phil 3:7–11. In both passages Paul appeals to Christ's appearance to him. There is also a lengthy discussion on Romans 7:7–18a; 24–25, that is not directly related to the subject at hand, but makes interesting reading (pp. 36–46).

Boers isolates three passages from 2 Corinthians that deal with the meaning of Christ for Paul (pp. 58–67). The author's contention is that two of these passages (2 Cor 13:3–5; 4:7–14) are for the purpose of expounding on Paul's own tribulations using the background of Christ's death and resurrection. On the other hand, 2 Cor 1:8–11 deals with Paul's confrontation with personal adversities. With these observations, Boers needs to be commended for not being satisfied with a surface reading and for carefully examining each passage at a semantic level.

Part 1 concludes with a comprehensive summary. Two grammatical errors and one spelling error in the summary sections do not reflect well on the editing of this work (pp. 101, 103 and 313).

Part 2 clusters some passages selected from 1 Corinthians and Galatians. At the center of the discussion is the meaning of Christ for the believer. The first cluster of passages reflects on Paul's earlier preaching. For example, Boers claims that in 1 Corinthians 2:2 Paul does not make his presentation of 'Christ crucified' a foundation of his reasoning, although it is foundational for his preaching, because "Christ reemerges explicitly for the first time again in 4:10" (p. 109). In this instance it may seem that Boers misses Paul's flow of argumentation because his focus is on explicit references about Christ. For example, in the same passage Paul uses metaphoric language and personifies wisdom (cf. v. 7) and continues to argue along this line referring to Christ as wisdom. According to Boers, in each of these passages Paul's earlier preaching of Christ takes on a new meaning, with the exception of Gal 3:1–5 where the focus is on the Galatians as recipients of the preaching through which they encountered Christ. But Paul uses this as the foundation for his reasoning in verses 2–5. In Gal 3:1–5 and 1 Cor 15:1–19 Boers mentions three levels of the meaning of Christ without further elaboration. In a second cluster of passages (pp. 174–93) he finds a passage that has five levels of the meaning of Christ (namely 1 Thess 5:1–11), and in the third cluster (pp. 203–312) he observes that there is a passage that has four levels of meaning (1 Thess 1:6–10). This is where the approach begins to be more complex. Boers proposes that the five levels in 1 Thessalonians may function as a grammar with which the levels of the meaning of Christ in other passages may be examined (p. 318). The levels of meaning that Boers discovers are not explicit in the text; rather they seem to be an attempt to find some system. Boers finds himself trapped in the same problem that he sought to avoid at the beginning of the book. There is no consistent pattern that spells out why there are three levels in some texts and five in others. Boers does not explain clearly why he chooses 1 Thessalonians 5:1–11 as a grammar for the other passages. These inconsistencies point back to the weak methodological foundation of the book. Part two ends with a summary of twelve pages. There is an extensive use of the Greek text throughout the book, but there is no reference given for the Greek text in the bibliography or any part of the book.

In spite of the flaws that have been identified, Boers' approach to Pauline Christology has again highlighted the need for a focused reading of the text and its literary context. Notwithstanding the weak methodological foundation, Boers' work will attract the interest of biblical scholars and New Testament students who have an interest in the Pauline epistles. Another area that the author does not address adequately is that of the dis-

puted Pauline writings. The extensive excurses that Boers provides could certainly have accommodated brief sections from the disputed Pauline epistles that are relevant to the subject.

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Preaching with All You've Got: Embodying the Word, by David Day. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005. Pp. vi + 186. ISBN 1-59856-029-8. US $16.95.

David Day, former Principal of St. John's College with Cranmer Hall, Durham, England, is author of *Pearl Beyond Price* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), *Christ Our Life* (London: Church House, 2003) and *A Preaching Workbook* (London: SPCK, 2004).

The introductory chapter of this book underlines its overarching inquiry, *"In what different ways can preachers embody the Word"* (p. 2)? To this end, the author promotes a variety of ways that take into account the preacher's personality and words, as well as pictures and objects, the literary and dramatic arts, and the congregations' responses. In dealing with these, he divides the book in four parts. The first, "The Word Embodied in the Preacher," contends into four chapters that, while others may disassociate themselves from their jobs, this is not the case with the preacher. His or her total life is involved in the preaching task and the issues of "personal integrity, authenticity, holiness and transparency" (pp. 8–9). In a real way, the preacher's person is the message and must distinctively envelop: (1) fire and passion, which is empowered by the Spirit; (2) stillness and silence, quietly listening to God; and (3) love and compassion for the congregation.

The preacher must be vigilantly attentive to the distinction between "*real character* (i.e. the preacher in the presence of God) and the preacher's *perceived character* (i.e. the preacher as perceived by the congregation—its assessment of his or her character" (p. 20). This will help immensely with self-disclosure, which requires forethought and deliberation, realness as opposed to masking, and points to the preacher's humanity and vulnerability.

Day believes that for preaching to be attractive the preacher must view Scripture imaginatively. He should "live" the story by contemplating the different scenes, joining the conversation, shooting the narrative as a film, and attending to one's senses as one interacts with the story. With this accomplished the preacher can then give weight to the sermonic idea by way of repetition, paraphrase and expansion. Day reaches into his experience in public speaking, denoting several techniques from that discipline to make preaching alive using: the active versus the passive voice; direct speech;

short sentences; the effect of questions; transitions, pauses, even silence, and so forth.

Chapters 6–12 constitute Part 2, "The Word Embodied in the Words." Day counsels preachers to retell the story in their own words, being careful not to let their imagination go beyond the boundaries of the text. Do not impose any fallacious or superfluous ideas; rather maintain "the shape and intention of the biblical story" (p. 54). It is only then that preachers can effectively communicate ideas in the sermon while using visual pictures, analogies, metaphors, similes and such. Engage the senses so that "we see, hear and feel the message" (p. 65). Nevertheless, note too, that images have limitations, especially if they are offensive to the audience, tend to divert attention, trivialize the holy or are sentimental. Better than metaphors, images and so forth, true embodiment occurs with actual slices of life, or "instances," as Day labels them. These tend to be specific in nature even though they cover a wide range of life experiences (grief, loss, joy, etc.) and personalities. Such instances become shared testimonies that "put a face on ideas by embodying them in the lives of people" (p. 83), not the bizarre, exotic, distant personalities but those who live in the flesh of this century.

Day exhorts preachers to embody the Word in the words of dilemmas and case studies, much like Jesus' telling of parables. In such cases, the preacher describes a situation that is recognizable to the listeners but deliberately leaves it open-ended. Embodiment *par excellence*, however, occurs in telling a story. Here effective preachers are following Jesus' example directly. Each story displays these characteristics: (1) the situation, noted for its conflict; (2) the complication, intensified by tension disequilibrium, suspense, etc.; and (3) the solution. Day closes Part 2 by discussing parables. He believes that the preacher needs to master telling these all too familiar stories by packing them with freshness and tension so that the original surprise (shock!) value is not lost.

Part 3, "The Word Embodied in the World," discusses in four chapters how preachers may utilize things in their immediate environment to embody the Word. Sermons must connect with the culture. Film, drama, and literature narrate the articles of ordinary life. Hence, the modern preacher cannot ignore the "contemporary culture in preaching" (p. 119). As such, soap operas, paintings and pictures, photographs, posters, books, objects—indeed, anything sensory may be used as visuals to enhance and illustrate the sermon.

Day recognizes the advantages and disadvantages of PowerPoint. The one using this medium must control it by eliminating distractions, knowing the pictures, and using words on the screen carefully and judiciously. He counsels correctly, that a sermon is not a lecture; therefore, the preacher has

to remain open to the movement and operation of the Spirit and not feel bound to the presentation.

Two short chapters (17–18) encompass Part 4, "The Word Embodied in the Listeners." The author laments that some congregations are so quiet that "preaching feels like dropping words into a black hole in space" (p. 160). In order to counteract this so that people leave impelled to live what they have heard, Day suggests that the preacher actively create a culture of expectation and learn to interact, even celebrate, with the audience. Finally, the author deliberates on different responses once the sermon is finished. These include, but are not limited to, prayer, affirmations of faith, praise, communion, and what amounts to a call for commitment.

This volume has much to commend it. It is peppered with exercises dealing with pertinent points. This makes it very practical. It also challenges preachers to use the methods and at the same time, not neglect sound exegesis and balanced theology. Furthermore, it employs useful public speaking techniques without degenerating these into mere rehearsal; such freshness is to be appreciated. Finally, numerous excerpts from actual sermons enhance and illuminate the several points put forward in each chapter. Nevertheless, attention to certain factors will warrant a warmer embrace of this work: (1) both an index and bibliography will prove helpful. (2) While much emphasis is levied on the narratives, other genres are largely neglected. How do preachers embody those? (3) The examples provided are decidedly from the New Testament, and then overwhelmingly the Gospels. Referencing the Hebrew Bible will attain a wider, more in-depth scope, especially since so many preachers use that testament. (4) Finally, while it is important to understand modern culture I believe that Day overstates the claims for using soap operas and popular TV and the arts in preaching. This runs the risk of people perceiving the preacher as overindulging in the empty calories of moral junk food. The sermon does not have to become another form of entertainment. Indeed, one may respectfully agree with Day's disclaimer in preaching the visual arts, "I freely concede that I am not an expert and that this chapter may border on the impertinent" (p. 130).

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Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?, by William G. Dever. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. Pp. xi + 257. ISBN 08028-4416-2. US$ 18.00.

In this book, Dever discusses the origin of Israel by comparing archeological evidence with data found in the biblical text. Standing midway between

the historicists and the skeptics, he examines his own findings and those of other scholars to evaluate biblical assertions and concludes that the cradle of early Israel is not Egypt but Canaan.

Dever divides his work into twelve chapters. In the first two chapters, he argues that, while archeology endeavored to save the Bible from 19th century criticism, it has resulted in more frustrating questions. He identifies Ramses II (1290–1224 B.C.) as the Pharaoh of the Exodus instead of Thutmosis III (1447 B.C.), and finds the Exodus story too long, too disjointed, and too detailed to fit in anything other than the composite authorship of J and E, to be dated to the seventh century B.C. He further asserts that the ten plagues and desert miracles were either natural phenomena or myth—"scarcely credible for the modern readers" (p. 15).

In chapters three and four, Dever argues that since the Philistines settled in Canaan around 1180 B.C., mentioning them as a threat (Exod 13:17–18) is unrealistic. Some of the Bible cities including Hormah (Tel Masos), Bethel (1 Sam 30:27), and Ziklag (1 Sam 27:6) were small villages whose artifacts date from around 1225 B.C. The conquest of Canaan and Arad, as well as the settlement of northern Edom before the Late Bronze Age is precarious. Incidents on the western side of the Jordan may be characterized as more or less genocidal. The destruction of Tanaach, Megiddo, Jokneam, Kadesh and Gezer in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. was done by Pharaoh Merneptah (and thus not the Israelites). Hazor is the only city with signs of a violent destruction by the Israelites in the 13th century B.C.

In chapters five, six, and seven, the author discusses facts about the heartland of Israel. At Raddana (Beeroth), a 13th century B.C. potsherd with a reference to biblical Ahilu[d] (1 Kgs 4:3, 12) was recovered. Giloh (Josh 15:51) revealed Iron II defenses and collared-rim jars. At Izbeth Sartah (Ebenezer), a Bronze Age sherd with a Hebrew inscription was recovered. Shiloh—with a 17th–16th century B.C. city wall, abandoned in the Late Bronze Age, resettled in the 12th century B.C. and again destroyed in a huge fire around 1050 B.C.—evidenced collared-rim store-jars of the 12th century B.C. Regarding Mt. Ebal, Dever disagrees with Adam Zertal who sees evidence of its cultic function dated to the late 13th century B.C. Dever interprets the "numerous animal bones," "several store-jars," "ashes," and "burnt bones of several kinds of animals" as indicators of a picnic site. He says excavations done from the 1960s to the 1980s reveal occupation of strategic areas by Canaanites until the Iron Age II period. Furthermore, the excavations reveal that Israelites were sparsely settled on the ruins of Late Bronze Age sites (p. 99). His tabulation of the Iron Age II period assemblage portray a sedentarized Hebrew culture: village houses, long experience with the

problems of agriculture in Canaan, and (due to the absence of pig bones) adherence to biblical prohibitions.

In chapters 8–10, Dever summarizes the views of various schools. Yehezkiel Kaufmann suggested that "'Israelite religion was an original creation of the people of Israel'" (p. 129). The German archeologists (e.g., Alt and Noth) advocated a "peaceful infiltration" or favored the "amphictyony theory" (pp. 129–30). American "Biblicists" argue that Israel was a blend of exodus pastoralists and "other people from somewhere within Greater Canaan" (p. 132). Others stick to the revolt model of a rebellious "Apiru" and still others to a "much longer settlement-history of Palestine" (p. 133). European revisionists regard Israel's biblical history as a "misconception" (p. 137), "a social construct" (p. 138), "a piece of 'pious propaganda' (pp. 139–40), stemming from the identity crisis of Jews living in Hellenistic Palestine" (p. 140). Some Israeli scholars settle for "an amalgam of different ethnic groups" (p. 144), a protracted time span, a symbiosis within Canaan, and "a contingent of the Shashu Bedouin" (p. 150). Finally, Dever observes areas where archeologists agree (pp. 153–54), and where they disagree (pp. 154–55) and, furthermore, points out the similarity of the Hebrew language and culture to those of Canaan.

In chapters eleven and twelve the author proposes that "proto-Israel," the "direct progenitor" of the biblical Israel, lived among the northern people of the Iron Age I period (p. 194). He questions the historicity of the battle of Deborah against Sisera (Jdg 4; Josh 11) because of the lack of evidence. He admits that "the writers of the Hebrew Bible clearly knew something about the diverse population of Canaan in the early Iron Age I period, and even before that in the Bronze Age" (pp. 220–21). While he argues that newer evidence ought to be used to reconstruct the history of Israel, Dever observes that the writers were well-intentioned and their accounts contain some objective truth: promise, exodus, and the Promised Land. He maintains that authentic archeology is not anti-Semitic and argues that it is untenable to posit modern Palestinians as owners of the land, since both Israelites and Palestinians are descendants of the Bronze Age inhabitants. In spite of emotions over Israel, "the reality of ancient Israel is just such a fact," he admits (p. 241).

Dever's attempts at impartiality are not particularly convincing. Although he states that "ancient Israel were a real people, in a real time and place," for him "ancient Israel" is "proto-Israel," and the "real place" is Canaan. His objective—drawing sensible conclusions "in the modern sense" (p. x)—seems to be antithetical to his proposition to read the biblical text with "no 'preconception'" (p. x). Because of this objective he sometimes leans more towards a naturalistic explanation when facts seem to be in

harmony with the biblical text. Zertal, for instance, understands Mt. Ebal—in harmony with the biblical text—as a cultic site. Dever prefers another solution and interprets it to be a picnic site.

Second, Dever mentions the recovery of a Late Bronze Age pottery sherd from Izbeth Sartah with a Hebrew inscription, together with other epigraphic and historical data that points (at least) to the presence of Hebrews in the 13th century B.C., even though he negates the basic historicity of the biblical text. In the light of these apparent discrepancies, it appears too early to suggest that archeology may "be the primary source of new data for rewriting Israel's early history" (p. 167). Perhaps an "interdisciplinary approach" (James K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2005], 24), including faith-based narratives, could be a reliable basis for establishing biblical facts.

Third, Dever admits that an attempt to find "rational explanations" may "miss the point of the biblical narrative" because biblical truth "is a matter of faith, not reason—nor archeology" (p. 16). Why, then, is he not in accord with Hoffmeier on the point that lack of evidence is not a plausible reason to dismiss the historicity of the exodus (Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai*, 2–8)? More reasonable to this reader is Hoffmeier's observation that the Bible, unlike other ancient texts, is sometimes unfairly approached with a postmodernist mind set (Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai*, 20). Furthermore, the absence of some Bronze Age Israelite artifacts may be attributed to the precarious nature of the materials (Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai*, 150). Finally, Israel's aniconism may ensue from prohibitions of the Israelite religion. Despite the above critical comments, Dever challenges the reader to keep abreast on issues surrounding the Bible and the material culture in which it was situated. As with most research, it is vital to compare his views with other archeological perspectives in order to develop a sustainable position.

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A Commentary on the Apocalypse of John, by Edmondo F. Lupieri. Translated from the Italian by Maria Poggi Johnson and Adam Kamesar. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006. Pp. xxx + 395. ISBN 978-0-8028-6073. US$ 36.00.

A Commentary on the Apocalypse of John is one among ten books authored by Edmondo F. Lupieri and is an English translation of the Italian edition *L'Apocalisse di Giovanni* (1999).

Lupieri divides his commentary into three main sections: introduction (pp. 1–44), the Greek text of Revelation and its translation (pp. 45–95), and the commentary (pp. 97–363). In addition, there are indexes (pp. 364–95), and a bibliography (pp. xiii–xxii).

In the "Introduction," Lupieri insists that even though the Apocalypse does not contain all the scientific facts needed to be objectively interpreted, there are historical facts accessible for studying the Apocalypse (p. 11). This belief is based on Lupieri's conviction that the Apocalypse is "a unified text, the work of a historical figure by the name of John" (p. 12), written within the period between 70 and 100 C.E. (p. 44). Therefore, Lupieri proposes "an analysis of the Apocalypse that aims to reconnect with the traditions of historical-critical research" (p. 12).

Lupieri provides in the "Introduction" a twelve page comparison between the Apocalypse and other Jewish apocalyptic literature (pp. 13–25) and includes references to a number of Jewish apocalyptic texts, such as the *Book of Noah, 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, Paraleipomena of Jeremiah,* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham.* He concludes that "much of the Jewish world was concerned with apocalyptic tremors (p. 25). In this sense, the Apocalypse belongs to the general group of Jewish-Christian apocalyptic literature.

Based on the apocalyptic genre of the Apocalypse, Lupieri believes that the Apocalypse is to be interpreted allegorically. By allegory he does not refer to a method of interpretation that goes beyond the letter of the text but rather refers to the true meaning of the vision (p. 113). The "Introduction" provides the needed principles and explanation on how to read the Apocalypse.

However, the "Introduction" does not provide a thorough discussion of the structure of the Apocalypse. Lupieri only includes an eleven-line paragraph to discuss that matter (p. 40). Within the framework of the epistolary form, with an address at the beginning and greetings at the end, he divides the Apocalypse into two major sections: 1:9 to 3:21 and 4:1 to the end. Later on, under his commentary on Rev 1:19, he clarifies that the first section describes the historical situation of the seven churches, and the last section is a vision of what is to take place (p. 112).

After the "Introduction," Lupieri arranges the complete Greek text of the Apocalypse and its translation side by side (pp. 45–95). This arrangement helps a non-specialist to refer to the Greek text and the English translation more easily. The English translation of the Greek text was made by Adam Kamesar who also translated the commentary from the Italian. Kamesar checked his English translation against Lupieri's Italian translation of the Greek, so that readers may "move closer to Lupieri's understanding

of the Greek" (p. xxx). This is a good practice when translating a non-English commentary into English.

Lupieri does not indicate explicitly what major interpretive approaches are applied in his commentary. However, it seems that preterist ideas predominate. This is evident in the references to Jewish people and Jerusalem as the fulfillment of many prophecies in the Apocalypse. For example, the two major groups of people in the two harvests mentioned in 14:14–20 are Jewish Christians and Non-Jewish Christians. Here the word "Christian" functions only as an adjective modifying Jews (p. 231). The names of Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian are mentioned in the interpretation of Rev 13, a chapter that describes the satanic activities during the period of the 1,260 days (pp. 203–18); the number of the beast (666) of Rev 13:18 points to Nero Caesar (pp. 217–18); the word Jerusalem occurs on 113 pages of the commentary. The Babylon of the Apocalypse is identified as Jerusalem. The occurrence of these interpretations in the section "What is to take place" (4:1 to the end of the Apocalypse), suggests that in the mind of the author many future events predicted in the Apocalypse had taken place even in the first century C.E.

Lupieri organizes the third section, his commentary on the text, in a verse-by-verse style. Under each verse, some words and phrases are discussed. It is as easy to find a comment on any verse in the commentary section as it is to find the translation of any text in the previous section.

The historical backgrounds provided by Lupieri in the third section, i.e., the commentary proper, are helpful. Almost all of the OT books have their place in this commentary. Of the 27 NT books, only Philemon is not mentioned in the commentary. Lupieri also consults with the extrabiblical primary sources such as the Apocrypha, OT Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Rabbinic Works, Apostolic Fathers, NT Pseudepigrapha, and the Greek and Latin works of the church fathers, as can be easily seen from the indexes. Information from the primary sources that he presents is indeed significant for understanding the Apocalypse. Moreover, they are interwoven into the text in such a way that readers do not need to be distracted by footnotes or endnotes.

The commentary also provides an interesting discussion of numbers in the Apocalypse. Numbers like 42 months, 1,260 days, half a week, 666, and 144,000 are thoroughly discussed. It seems that Lupieri is innovative in suggesting an A/B//A/B structure for the use of "42 months" and "1,260 days" in Rev 12 and 13. He does not focus much on identifying the time periods. Instead, he emphasizes their theological meaning in connection with the great conflict between God and Satan. This is only one among many noteworthy discussions in the commentary.

Complete indexes of modern authors, names, places, subjects, and references, Lupieri's *A Commentary on the Apocalypse of John* provides a rich, compact, and easily accessible historical background for the Apocalypse. Any serious student of the Apocalypse should consult this volume, particularly in view of the important contextual data Lupieri provides for his historical reading of the Apocalypse. Prudent use of the backgrounds provided in this book, together with a proper interpretive method and approach to the Apocalypse, may help readers to convey the truth of the Revelation of Jesus Christ. Even though Lupieri does not comment on roughly a quarter of the verses of the Apocalypse (124 out of 405), this book can be recommended to any serious reader of the Apocalypse.

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Die Macht des Namens: Altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung, by Karen Radner. SANTAG Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005. Pp. x + 341. ISBN 3-447-05328-3. € 98.00.

The importance of the "name" has long been recognized in studies focusing on the Ancient Near East and the biblical world. Radner's study looks at the issue from an intriguing angle. Her work represents a slightly updated version of her *Habilitationsschrift*, submitted to the Faculty of Cultural Sciences of the Ludwig-Maximillians-Universität München, Germany, in November 2004. Those not familiar with the European academic scene should understand that a *Habilitationsschrift* is a major post-doctoral research project which is required of those who wish to be considered for a professorship at a University. Radner's volume is divided into two main sections, i.e., the discussion of the conceptual basis of the work (pp. 11–66), followed by the main section of the study dealing with the power of names (pp. 67–278), in itself subdivided as will be discussed below. As customary, Radner includes an introduction (that she calls in good German fashion "prolegomena" [pp. 1–10]), in which she presents the specific purpose of the study, the chronological and geographical frames of reference as well as the utilized sources, a brief review of earlier work on the topic, and a helpful description of the writing and dating conventions used. Radner seeks to describe the use of names in terms of the human endeavor to "survive" or overcome the physical limitations of mortal human beings (p. 1). Thus, her work is not concerned with onomastics or name magic, just to mention two other relevant research areas involving names in the ANE.

The author postulates two important objectives: first, to understand the significance of names as the means to overcome the mortality of human

beings. Second, by means of a diachronic study of the sources, Radner seeks to understand the "handling" of the written name throughout several millennia of Mesopotamian cuneiform writing (p. 2). She focuses on Mesopotamia, particularly the use of Sumerian and Akkadian in this particular region. Radner presupposes a culturally and ideologically united region for Mesopotamia (p. 3), a notion which should—at least—be open to discussion, since it may tend to level any regional or local variations in conceptual outlook and point of view. The author recognizes that her take on the importance of the name in the Mesopotamian attempt to overcome human mortality will be filtered through the scribal perspective and traditions which informed this highly specialized elite (p. 4) and focuses in her review of the enormous quantity of cuneiform material primarily upon literary texts, i.e., texts written by a highly specialized elite which included monumental inscriptions and literary compositions but also letters which were not always written by professional scribes but often reflected the social and intellectual standing of the individual sending the letter.

Section A of Radner's study is designed to discuss relevant foundational concepts, including the concept of eternity (pp. 11–15), which in Mesopotamian thought is intimately associated with truth: "what is 'true' today, was also yesterday and will be also tomorrow, since it is 'eternal', and—inverted—only that which is 'true' can be 'eternal'" (pp. 14–15). Following this, the author introduces the crucial name concept, emphasizing the inseparability of name and name bearer. Radner illustrates this by the opening lines of the Enuma Eliš epos: "When up high the heavens did not (yet) have a name and below the earth was not (yet) called by a name" (p. 15). On page 23 an interesting diagram illustrates the concept of the individual in Mesopotamian thought: name and spirit are thought to be independent of the body, while the physical existence is clearly bound to the body. However, three elements of Mesopotamian thought are connected to an "alternative body", i.e., the written name, the image, and the seal. Radner focuses on these last elements, particularly, the written name which connects to eternity. She goes on to discuss the characteristics of distinct name sets, i.e. (most importantly), personal names, throne names (in an excursus, pp. 33–35), names of pets, place names (cities and canals), names of buildings, and names of offerings to the gods. In particular, this last category is discussed in detail by Radner and a useful table of 105 objects is provided, systematically detailing the donor, the date of the stele or statue, the bibliographical details and the names, including a translation (pp. 43–59). I noted that object 24 includes all the regular data, except a translation of the transliterated cuneiform text, which must be an oversight or technical glitch in the production process of this otherwise carefully-proofread volume.

Section B details the power of names throughout three millennia of cuneiform texts. After a brief review of pertinent literature, Radner discusses several examples of the Akkadian phrase *šumam šakānum*, lit. "to set/establish the name," which is understood as a conscious strategy to secure the name in the collective memory of a particular culture (p. 70). Other ways to achieve this objective involved the ritual care of the grave of deceased people, which involved the feeding of the dead as well as the "calling of the name" of the deceased. However, this required children, which underlines the importance of descendents for the preservation of one's name, a point that Radner also describes throughout the literary history of Mesopotamia (pp. 74–90). Other ways of preserving one's legacy, apart from the direct or more distant family, involved the intention to become famous and acquire fame (pp. 90–101). Some of the ways of preserving one's name in this way could involve bravery in war, the construction of public monumental architecture, or the exploration of far-removed regions and places. I missed in this section a discussion of notoriety as a means for the preservation of one's name which is well-known in literature. Who would not know Goliath in the context of biblical literature or some of the other antagonists mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (such as the Philistines as a group)?

The preservation of one's memory was also achieved by the written name, which often involved the combination of images and texts (pp. 114–29). Often the inscribing of names was connected with numeric notation systems where names equaled certain numbers (pp. 130–31). Radner dedicates a large amount of literary real estate to the discussion of this topic, since the mere fact of an "in-scription" underlines the importance of her basic thesis. Interestingly, Mesopotamian culture (as well as modernity), also knew fake inscriptions (pp. 155–61). It is surprising to note that the author only at this point includes (after a substantial discussion of different aspects of inscriptions) an introduction to the Sumerian and Akkadian terminology associated with inscriptions (pp. 161–65), which would seem to this reader to be more appropriate at the beginning of this section. While most of the inscriptions preserve the name of the patron, in a number of inscriptions (mostly associated with the Hurrian culture), scribes included their names and thus preserved their own name for eternity (pp. 166–73).

The next major subsection of section B deals with the reception, or—as Radner calls it—the "reading of the tracks" (p. 179), left by the names of earlier generations. Often, rulers or common people took a (famous) name from an earlier generation (pp. 179–82). Other ways of rediscovering ancient names and thus making these names "eternal" involved taking care of ancient monuments (pp. 182–90) as well as linking ancient monuments to new/current monuments (pp. 190–203). Mesopotamian texts also refer to the practice of searching for hidden inscriptions and taking care of them (pp.

203–34), an issue dealt with by the author extensively (it feels overly so, since other sections are more concise). In the process, Radner includes a useful table of texts that refer to previous monuments (pp. 209–24). Other means of connecting with antiquity and thus preserving the name(s) of earlier individuals and generations concerned the copying of building inscriptions for the purpose of referencing them (pp. 234–51).

In the final subsection, prior to a concise summary of the complete work (pp. 271–78), Radner discusses one more "thing" that can be done to a name, namely the "changing of tracks," or—to put it more plainly—the deleting of names (pp. 252–70). Often the changing of names involved inserting a new name referring to a person which had nothing to do with a particular achievement. Of particular importance in this context was the fact that "truth" in Mesopotamian thinking was eternal and thus even innovations had been "true" in the past and originated in divine inspiration (p. 270).

The volume includes an extensive bibliography (pp. 303–38) which provides a good base for further research on the subject. Radner has carefully documented her assertions and findings, as can be seen from the substantial number of 1408 footnotes that the volume contains (i.e., an average of over five per page) and has provided important primary sources in transliteration and translation. This feature makes the monograph also useful for researchers whose main interest is not associated with the cuneiform writings of the ANE. For example, it would shed light on how biblical authors and the material culture of Syro-Palestine employ (or not employ) the strategies and trends that Radner has described from nearly 3000 years of cuneiform literature. The usefulness of the volume is even further enhanced by a generous set of indexes (personal names, geographical names, divine names, lexemes, textual references, and subjects [pp. 279–302]). Additionally, Radner has also included a useful timeline of the Mesopotamian rulers mentioned in her volume, together with the dates for their reigns (pp. 340–41). As is customary with volumes published by Harrassowitz, the production quality of the book is excellent. Both the author and the publishing house are to be congratulated for having produced an innovative and detailed treatment of a subject that transcends the boundaries of the Ancient Near East—surely they will have created a name for themselves that will have to be consulted in future research on the functions of names and their importance in theology and ideology.

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