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WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF RITUAL ABLUTIONS IN ANCIENT JUDAISM?¹

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The interfacing of Ritual and Jewish Studies helps significantly to analyze the processes of ritual ablutions and its meanings. In the case of Second Temple Judaism ablutions carry a rich density of meaning. They often functioned as a means of protecting sanctuaries and their sancta and also marked social boundaries. For several Jewish authors of this period, ablutions symbolize the divine rejuvenation of the mortal, human being and dramatize a passage from death to life. On an experiential level, many Jews performed ablutions in order to facilitate access to God in anticipation of spiritual renewal and divine blessing.

Key Words: ritual, second temple Judaism, ablution, ritual studies

1. Introduction

While the subject of ritual ablutions in ancient Judaism has found a steady press in the last decade, very few scholars have addressed the question of their basic purpose. The easy answer is that it removes ritual impurity, but is that it? Ritual studies experts can be helpful in providing methodology and context for such an inquiry. Sociologists claim that ritual is a wordless channel of communication which can convey a rich density of meanings.² What then is the multi-faceted message of ritual ablutions in Second Temple Judaism? This study attempts to apply insights from Ritual Studies to texts of Second Temple Judaism in an effort to understand what ancient Jews expected from the act of ritual ablutions.

- ¹ The present study was first presented during a session of the Ritual in the Biblical World consultation at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Boston, Nov. 2008.
- ² Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London–Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 124; idem, *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London–Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 269, for example, argued that rituals are a way of expressing group values and constraining social behavior. Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 81–82, refines this statement by noting that participants in a ritual both define (i.e., impose) and receive (i.e., experience) a culture's values. She emphasizes the importance of interpreting ritual activity vis-à-vis its particular cultural context.

A common purpose or “message” underlying ablutions in ancient Judaism may seem unwarranted given the variety of types of Judaism in ancient times.³ Recently, it has been suggested that ritual washing was not even practiced in the First Temple period and that the ablutions of the Priestly Code reflect Second Temple practice only.⁴ In another category, the Qumran sect and John the Baptist supposedly diverge from traditional Judaism by using immersion for spiritual renewal.⁵ Furthermore, the Rabbis are said to view immersion as simply a halakhic requirement in contrast to Pauline Christianity which regarded baptism as an initiation into a divine mystery.⁶ However, while each of these Jewish groups had their distinctives, they are not as polarized as it seems. All of them hold the Torah to be sacred text and this forges a certain bond between their laws.

This study presents basic principles about ritual ablutions which can be identified across a wide range of texts from ancient Judaism. Three questions from the field of Ritual Studies will guide the discussion: (1) What was the practical function of ritual ablutions? (2) What symbolism was attached to ritual ablutions? (3) Was there any experiential character to ritual ablutions? While individual Jews may have answered these questions differently, a

- ³ Jacob Neusner, *The Judaism the Rabbis Take for Granted* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1994), 12, 18.
- ⁴ Jonathan D. Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (SBL Academic Biblica 23; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 35–41, suggests that references to purification in the Deuteronomistic History and in Ezra-Nehemiah-Chronicles could simply be metaphorical, a purging of the heart, as found in the Psalms (cf. Pss 26:6; 51) and prophets (cf. Jer 4:14; Ezek 36:25) and that washing for ritual purification was likely unknown in the time of the first Temple. Lawrence asks why the writers give details on the temple’s construction but not on purification practices. He suggests that purity practices were inserted later into Tabernacle descriptions by Second Temple authors seeking to authenticate their own observance. In my view, this argument from silence is dangerous especially since washing is a routine, usually mundane, activity which would not necessarily be discussed in a narrative. Also, Lawrence overlooks the genre of these books, none of which are legal compilations or priestly handbooks. Furthermore, the authors do indicate a familiarity with the practice of washing for ritual purification (cf. 2 Sam 11:2; 2 Kgs 5:12–14), a practice common not only to Israel but attested throughout the ancient world; cf. James J. Preston, “Purification,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion* (2nd rev. ed.; ed. Lindsay Jones; 15 vols.; Detroit: Macmillan, 2005), 11:7507–10.
- ⁵ Robert L. Webb, “John the Baptist and His Relationship to Jesus,” in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; NTTS 19; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 222.
- ⁶ Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 115–17, discusses the “compartmentalization” of ritual and moral purification among the early Rabbis. For Paul’s view, see Rom 6:1–23 where baptism is associated with Jesus’ death, cf. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 154.

cross-section of their texts support a certain complementary picture which comes to light upon close examination.⁷

2. Function

The definition of "ritual" has eluded ritual studies experts. Catherine Bell argues against a single, universal theory of ritual and emphasizes the variety of interpretations of the same ritual activity.⁸ Roy Rappaport defines ritual as "the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers."⁹ However, even with this haze as to the definition and significance of ritual, scholars agree that ritual is in some way operative. A good example is a marriage. The ring is not only symbolic of the new union but it affects the marriage. The coronation ritual makes a new king.¹⁰ As Rappaport puts it, "ritual contains within itself, not simply a symbolic representation of social contract, but tacit social contract itself."¹¹

Further studies have been helpful in unpacking the function of ritual. Arnold van Gennep, long ago outlined stages in rites of passage as (1) separation; (2) transition, and (3) reincorporation.¹² By means of these stages ritual can process an individual who becomes unacceptable to the community by first separating him from society temporarily and then returning him to the group. An example would be the convicted criminal who is first removed from the community, spends a transitional period in prison, and is finally restored to society.

How do these sociological insights apply to the meaning(s) of ritual ablutions in ancient Judaism? To be sure, the most vulnerable item in the Israelite priestly system is the sanctuary, where God resides, and its sancta (cf.

⁷ Cf., for example, these conflicting interpretations for the origin of Christian baptism: Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 213, claims it was "originally derived from Jewish lustration rites of repentance for one's sins." Ronald Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone: Re-Inventing Rites of Passage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 49–55, regards it as originally an initiation/conversion rite.

⁸ Catherine Bell, "Ritual" in *The Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion* (ed. Robert A. Segal; Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 406. Bell nevertheless admits to certain recurring activities to ritual (e.g., repetition, limited vocabulary, formality).

⁹ Roy Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 24, cf. 26–27: morality, sealing of social contract, representation of creation, generation of the sacred, order, experience of numinous, et al., are secondary derivations of ritual.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 35; cf. also Bell, "Ritual," 404.

¹¹ Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, 138.

¹² Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* [1909] (trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

Lev 7:20; 16:16–20). However, these items are placed at risk not just by improper priestly service, but also by the impurities of the people of Israel (cf. Num 19:20). Jacob Milgrom has argued that Israel's impurities, both moral and ritual, defile the sanctuary even from afar, and thus the people must maintain a certain level of purity even when not approaching the sanctuary.¹³ Ritual ablutions are the most common mode of maintaining purity among Israel.¹⁴

According to the Torah, the purity laws of Israel protect not only the holiness of the sanctuary but they also effect a separation between them and non-Israel: "...I am the Lord your God, who has separated you from the peoples. You shall therefore make a distinction between the clean beast and the unclean..." (Lev 20:24–25). The author of Exod 34:15–16 is concerned about the possibility of idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan inviting Israelites to worship and eat together: "If one invites you, you eat of his sacrifice, and you take of their daughters for your sons," leading to idolatry and apostasy. Keeping ritual purity (in this case, a ritually pure diet) will guard Israel from social and eventual marital intercourse with her pagan neighbors. Indeed, because of this forced separation of people by ritual purity, it became imperative that the early Church, composed of both Jews and non-Jews, abolish the levitical pure food system (Acts 10:12–15; 15:29; cf. Col 2:16–22).

The inner workings of the levitical purity system reveal a process for reinstating an unacceptable person back into society and the function of ablutions conforms to van Gennep's "transition" stage cited above. Israelites are constantly becoming impure by various physical conditions and moral transgressions and having to be removed from the community. Handling certain impurities, such as burial of bodies, require a sort of "time out" to restore the person to "clean" society. Some impurities, such as scale disease or corpse contamination, require extensive processing with complicated procedures. For example, the person who has been healed of scale disease is inspected by a priest and asked to bathe among other rituals (Lev 14:8). This partial purification marks the person's admission back to the community but not into his house. After one week the individual bathes again and shaves and is allowed into his house (Lev 14:9). The final ceremony, the

¹³ Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 257.

¹⁴ Jacob Neusner, "Contexts of Purification: The Halakhic Theology of Immersion—Mishnah-Tosefta Tractate Miqvaot in the Context of Tractates Tebul Yom and Parah," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 6 (2003): 74. Neusner argues that ritual immersion in still water is meaningless and that only the daily cycle with its closure at sunset truly purifies a Jew. However, this is controverted by the fact that the scale diseased person of Lev 14 is called pure immediately after he bathes in water no matter what time of day (Lev 14:8–9). It is also controverted by Neusner's own recognition that sometimes ablutions are added or intensified in order to counteract the effect of impurity.

offering of sacrifices and blood daubing, occurs on the following day, and the individual is formally restored to the community. Thus on an ordinary, recurring basis, prescribed purification rites, including ritual ablutions, maintain community boundaries and provide a means of return to those who seek re-entry. Each ablution marks a stage in the transition process.

Victor Turner built on van Gennep's work and provides another angle to his three-stage hypothesis. He labels them (1) structure; (2) liminality; (3) revised structure.¹⁵ Here, the liminal, or ambiguous period in the middle could be seen not only as restorational but as an entry key into a more desired circle, e.g., graduate school test or fraternity hazing initiation. If we apply Turner's stages to ritual ablutions, this would mean (1) the original community of an individual; (2) the liminal or transition stage in which the person is purified by ritual ablutions; and (3) not only restoration but entry into a new sphere of activity. In ancient Israel, priests perform ablutions in order to enter sacred space, the washing transferring them from the profane to the sacral realm. Priests and Levites are washed when they are inaugurated into service (Lev 8:6; Num 8:6–7). Israel performs ablutions before the divine encounter at Sinai (Exod 19:14). Thus, both van Gennep's and Turner's models work for biblical Israel. Purified persons can simply be restored to society or they can gain entry into a new sphere of activity.

So, what function do ritual ablutions serve in Second Temple Judaism? To be sure, ablutions before Temple entry were required, but a cross-section of Jewish texts reveals that the use of ablutions as social markers and transferers becomes more intense in this period. In addition to the simple reincorporation of a temporarily impure individual, e.g., due to menstruation or sexual intercourse, many cases follow Turner's model in which one gains entry to a new social group, one believed to have more direct access to the holiness of God. John the Baptist immersed those who would be his disciples (cf. Josephus' statement that they were "joined together by means of baptism," *Ant* 18.116–17). According to the Talmud, the early sages observed a formal procedure for the proselyte to enter Judaism through baptism, circumcision and sacrifice (*b. Ker.* 8b). Among the Essenes, ablutions marked rank: a member of lower standing would defile a member of higher standing simply by touching him (Josephus, *War* 2.150). The Essene novitiate had to submit to an introductory three-week period in which he was taught the laws of the sect (Josephus, *War* 2.138). Each week was marked by ritual washing and a level of acceptance into the community, first access to its pure food and then access to its pure drink. A similar process is reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 6:16–22; 7:20–23). As Lawrence Schiffman puts

¹⁵ Victor Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in *Secular Ritual* (ed. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977), 36–52.

it, "All these stages [of initiation] serve to link the instruction in sectarian teachings with the initiation into the sect through the medium of ritual purity."¹⁶ To utilize Turner's model, these stages are the liminal period before which a person is allowed entry into a sort of "gated community"; the washing ritual is a guard at the gate.¹⁷ In all of these examples, ablutions serve to establish a new identity for a group of Jews which believed they had special access to God. In fact, for many of these Jews, much of the significance of the temple is transferred to the group; the people of God become his temple (4Q174 I, 6; 1 Cor 6:19).

In addition to marking off a new social identity it appears that in many cases ablutions also invite supernatural activity, transferring individuals into another level of holiness. For example, according to the Mishnah, the high priest performs multiple ablutions on Yom Kippur in preparation for mediating atonement (*m. Yoma* 3:3). The Dead Sea Scroll sectarians kept strict purity because they believed the angels were operating among them (1QM VII, 3–6; cf. 1QH XIX, 10–14).¹⁸ And, Essenes performed purification in anticipation of prophetic revelation (Josephus, *War* 2.159).

Thus, Jewish sects in Second Temple times shared a certain basic outlook on the function of ritual ablutions. In all of the cases discussed above, Jews performed ablutions in order to shed ritual impurity and prepare for encounter with the sacred. Nevertheless, they differed as to the frequency of the ablutions and the level of purity necessary. No doubt, many Jews only performed ablutions in order to purify themselves before sacred festivals (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.285; John 18:28; *m. Hag* 3:6). But, apparently many others practiced ablutions habitually in order to mark off the closed fellowship of their group, especially at mealtimes, and to invite special access to God. While Jews differed with regard to who was an "outsider" (i.e., "Gentiles" or all, including Jews, who did not conform to the group's beliefs and

¹⁶ Lawrence Schiffman, "Holiness and Sanctity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *A Holy People: Jewish and Christian Perspectives on Religious Communal Identity* (ed. Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz; Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 12; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 53–67. Among the Essenes, ablutions are necessary for a person who touches another in a lower grade of sanctity (*Wars* 2.150).

¹⁷ Cf. discussion in Bell, "Ritual," 37.

¹⁸ As Schiffman, "Holiness and Sanctity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 56, explains of the Qumran Community (which I believe to be a group of Essenes), "Effectively, purity functioned in the life of the sect in a way very similar to its role in the temple—as a sign of greater sanctity and closeness to the divine. However, in addition, purity statutes served as a means of demarcation of levels of sanctity and, hence, sectarian status. This of course was its function as a boundary marker in the temple—here transformed to the life of the sect."

practices), in all of the examples cited above, the borders of group identity were marked, reinforced, and penetrated by ritual ablutions.

3. Symbolism

The second question regarding ablutions that Ritual Studies helps to address is, "What is the symbolic message, if any, behind ablutions?" That is, beyond the purely functional aspect of contributing to group identity and cohesion, what else is behind ritual ablutions in Second Temple Judaism? Socio-anthropologist Mary Douglas argued that a society's purity rituals form a symbolic language which is a mirror of its values. She claimed that purity in Israel had nothing to do with physical hygiene but symbolized order, wholeness and normality in society.¹⁹ Applying Douglas' early work to ancient Judaism, Jacob Neusner argued that with the experience of ablutions and sunset "Israel returns to its natural condition of cleanness."²⁰ However, the problem here is that Israel's natural condition is not cleanness but uncleanness. Without purifications, Israel only generates greater cultural impurity, even as occurs in the physical realm. A person who never takes a bath will simply become more and more impure left in his natural state.

So, what symbolism might be attached to ritual ablutions in antiquity? Anthropologist Mircea Eliade examined ritual immersion in various cultures and concluded that it is universally associated with death and rebirth:

Immersion is equivalent to a dissolution of forms. This is why the symbolism of the water implies both death and rebirth. Contact with water always brings a regeneration—on the one hand because dissolution is followed by a new birth, on the other because immersion fertilizes and multiplies the potential for life.²¹

In Mesopotamia, water is sprinkled on the diseased with the incantation, "As the water trickles away from his body so may the pestilence in his body trickle away." Ishtar is sprinkled with the "waters of life" and the primordial gods, Apsu and Tiamat are fresh and salt water, the sources of life.²² In Egypt, multiple ablutions were performed on the dead to regenerate them

¹⁹ Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.

²⁰ Neusner, "Contexts of Purification," 77.

²¹ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959), 130. Cf. Moshe Weinfeld, "Social and Cultic Institutions in the Priestly Source against Their Ancient Near Eastern Background," in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1983), 114–15; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 335.

²² Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 960–62, for citations and further examples.

into the afterlife as well as on the living, several times daily: "The sacred water, like the primordial sea from which the world came in the beginning, is regenerative: whoever is sprinkled with it feels himself invaded by a new power, raised from this life below to the eternal world where the gods reside."²³

While the above examples can be interpreted to associate ritual immersion with a passage from death to life, is that the symbolism in ancient Judaism? Ritual studies experts caution that since ritual is based on repetition, formality, and little verbalization, it is not always possible to ascertain symbolism behind it and often the ritual is not fully understood by its performers.²⁴ Nevertheless, Jesper Sorensen suggests that meaning in ritual can be teased out by combining perceptual clues (e.g., water must touch the purificant's head) with symbolic interpretations given by the particular group and that is the approach followed here.²⁵

By looking for clues in biblical literature, Milgrom brings certain principles regarding ritual ablutions in the Hebrew Bible to light.²⁶ First of all, death is the most potent of the three categories of biblical impurity (i.e., death, scale disease and sexual discharges). The corpse cannot be purified and contact with it affects persons and items even second and third hand. That is, those who touch certain items in contact with the corpse become impure and require ablutions. Also, blood and the color red are significant in the purification of corpse impurity and forbidden animals are impure only when they are dead. Second, as Milgrom has argued, scale disease, with its visual deterioration on the body of the diseased seems to reflect the dead among the living and thus the person is excluded from human habitation. Third, as David Wright has pointed out, sexual discharges not only concern the loss of life-giving fluids but along with death they emphasize the fact of human mortality as opposed to the divine essence which shares no sexual processes and is not subject to the life/death cycle.²⁷ Thus, Milgrom's argument for a death-life struggle underlying Israelite purity law

²³ Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove, 1960), 79. In the coronation of the pharaoh, water issues from vessels as strings of beads in the shape of the ankh, the symbol of life to transfer to the new king. Alan H. Gardiner, "The Baptism of Pharaoh," *JEA* 36 (1950): 12.

²⁴ In fact, in some cases, the ritual may give rise to the belief, Jesper Sorensen, "Acts that Work: A Cognitive Approach to Ritual Agency," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 19 (2007): 297. Also, see Grimes, *Deeply into the Bone*, 12, who emphasizes that rituals and their meanings are subject to change since they are "flowing processes, not just rigid structures or momentary events."

²⁵ Sorensen, "Acts that Work," 294.

²⁶ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 766–68.

²⁷ David P. Wright, "Clean and Unclean (OT)," *ABD* 6:729–41.

has merit. The forces of impurity and death threaten to overcome the people of holiness and life but through ritual ablutions, among other requirements, Israel expresses hope in the life-giving Creator.

Post-biblical Jewish texts add other clues to those found in the Hebrew Bible. First, the Mishnah, although compiled ca. 200 CE, often describes Second Temple times, especially in the matters of purity and cult.²⁸ The sages list several categories of water which can be used. Water of still pools and cisterns are at the bottom of the list while the most effective water is מַיִם חַיִּים "living water" or that which flows from a spring (*m. Miq.* 1:8). This connection between water and life is maximized by the New Testament where Jesus' gift is compared to "living water" and the promise of eternal life (cf. John 4:14; 7:37–39; Rev 7:17; 21:6). Indeed this preference for מַיִם חַיִּים comes from Scripture where it is prescribed for the purification of especially potent impurities (cf. Lev 14:5, 50; 15:13). מַיִם חַיִּים is part of the prescription for *me niddah*, a special purgation water recipe used primarily for purification from corpse impurity (Num 19:17).

Another clue to the symbolism behind immersion lies in the rabbinic instruction that only water which comes directly from a natural source and has not been subject to human intervention is effective for purification. To this end, the Rabbis require that immersion pools be filled directly by a natural source of water, e.g., rain, or that they be connected by a pipe to such a source of water; this reservoir of water is referred to as *otzar*. This direct flow of purification water reflects the belief that only God can truly provide purification for his people and thus only water which comes directly from the Creator, not drawn by human hands, symbolizes the divine role (Sifra *shemini sheratzim* 9:1; 11:7).²⁹ Archaeologists have demonstrated that such *miqveh/otzar* combinations existed much earlier than rabbinic literature, and that the practice was current in Second Temple times.³⁰

Finally, water must be sufficient to cover a person. This requirement no doubt stems from Lev 15:16 where the couple who has just had sexual relations must bathe the whole body in water. The Dead Sea Scrolls echo this concern for sufficient water (CD 10:10–13). The Rabbis even specify an

²⁸ Jacob Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (vol. I–III; Leiden: Brill, 1971).

²⁹ For full discussion, cf. Hannah K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis: Biblical Foundations* (SBLDS 143; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 134–35.

³⁰ Ron Reich, "Synagogue and Ritual Bath during the Second Temple and the Period of the Mishna and Talmud," in *Synagogues in Antiquity* (ed. A. Kasher et al.; Jerusalem: Izhak ben Yad Zvi [Hebrew], 1987), 205–12; also idem, "Miqwa'ot at Khirbet Qumran and the Jerusalem Connection," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery 1947–1997* (ed. Lawrence Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society), 728–31.

amount, 40 *seahs*, which will ensure the complete coverage of the purifying person even to the ends of the fingertips, and indeed, immersion pools in Israel from Second Temple times reveal the capacity to hold such large amounts of water. Thus, the act of complete submersion in water, most likely naked or wearing just a loincloth, must have expressed not only cleansing and rejuvenation but also a certain vulnerability.³¹

It can be argued that there is no proof that the average Jew would have considered all of the symbolism when performing routine ritual immersion. Be that as it may, the point is rather that Jewish texts from this period reveal an underlying symbolism which should not go unnoticed. The emphasis on water and life, baptism and rejuvenation is present not only in the foundational text of Scripture but also in post-biblical texts. This attests to a certain mode of thinking on ablutions across the strata of Second Temple Jewish groups.

I would answer the question on symbolic value for ritual ablutions in Second Temple Judaism then as follows: The message of ritual washing of the body is that the human being, by definition, is a finite and limited creation which generates hindrances to divine access which must be habitually removed especially before contact with the sacred. Water is the universal cleaner and works well as a symbolic purgative for what is unacceptable on the socio-cultural as well as the physical level. Ritual ablutions in Second Temple Judaism symbolize the necessity of divine rejuvenation of the human being which, in contrast to the deity, is subject to deterioration and mortality.

4. Experience

According to socio-anthropologists, ritual ablutions do more than symbolize; they make ideas concrete. As Rappaport puts it, "corporeal representation gives weight to the incorporeal."³² Gary Selby applies Rappaport's insight to baptism,

[B]aptism does more than symbolize or 'reflect' ideas or state of consciousness; it also creates them or makes them real, taking what would otherwise be theological abstractions and making them present and tan-

³¹ While the Rabbis order immersion to be performed naked, this was not necessarily the case among the varieties of Second Temple Judaism. Essenes apparently wore a loincloth (Josephus, *Wars* 2.161) and perhaps others, especially those who performed the ritual publicly, e.g., John's followers, did as well.

³² Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, 153.

gible in the experience of the worshipper...the performer incarnates the message.³³

But, is this true for the varieties of Second Temple Judaism? Did ritual immersion entail some kind of spiritual experience?

In his examination of the biblical priestly material, Milgrom insists that the priests have rejected all possibility of potency in their water rituals: "Water is not regenerative, only purificatory and even in this latter aspect, is devoid of any magical component. That is, water purifies not inherently but only by the will of God."³⁴ Milgrom regards biblical ablutions only as a technical process in which layers of impurity are removed one-by-one with each washing. On this view, ablution carries no hint of regeneration and is a "wordless ceremony; it is unaccompanied by prayer."³⁵ But, is this the predominant view in Second Temple Jewish literature?

Scholars are currently engaged in a lively debate over the definition of religious experience: Is it pathos only? Does it have a cognitive element? But the question here relates to the experience in the view of the participants; how did they interpret their performance of ritual ablutions? Following Jonathan Z. Smith's challenge, more focus should be, not simply on an objective analysis of function and symbolism in a ritual but also on the view from within the group itself, i.e., how did constituents imagine and understand what they were doing?³⁶ Thus, how did Jews in Second Temple times interpret their experience of ritual ablutions? Was it just a functional ritual which marked the shedding of ritual impurity or the entry into Temple courts for a festival? Or, did the experience carry any vibrancy? Apparently, for many Jews there was an experiential character to ritual immersion that went beyond merely fulfilling technical requirements.

Milgrom may or may not be right about the biblical priests, but the message of regeneration and spiritual renewal is maintained in many varieties of Second Temple Judaism. In order to discover what this experience entailed, one has only to listen to the testimonies of the participants.

³³ Gary Selby, "(Em)bodying the Faith: Baptism as Ritual Communication," *ResQ* 48 (2006): 2, 5.

³⁴ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 963.

³⁵ *Ibid.* The Torah never describes water itself as "pure." Only once does the term "living water" (Lev 15) occur except when used with other elements, e.g., hyssop, cedar, as in the red cow rite, and Milgrom thinks this is a vestige of pagan theurgic rites.

³⁶ Smith defines ritual as the dramatization of how things should be not how they are. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); cf. also Bell, "Ritual," 403.

4.1. Spiritual Renewal

For some participants, immersion in water “dramatizes,” to use Turner’s term, the need for innocence.³⁷ In some apocryphal texts, the penitent immerses in water as he pleads for forgiveness. In the Life of Adam and Eve 6–7, Adam says to Eve, “Stand clothed in the water up to [your] neck, and let no speech come out of your mouth, because we are unworthy to entreat the Lord since our lips are unclean.” Similarly, the Sibylline Oracle 4:165–68 calls for immersion of the whole body in rivers followed by prayer for forgiveness. In the same vein, the author of the Testament of Levi explains that it is in the water that divine cleansing takes place: “And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him in the water” (*t. Levi* 18:7). Levi is obligated to bathe before he prays that the Lord make known to him the “spirit of holiness” (*t. Levi* 2:3; cf. also *Jdt* 12:7–8). Thus, spiritual renewal was often expected during the course of ritual washing.

The Qumran authors take the biblical purity laws as mandatory and even add to them on occasion, but it is clear from several texts that ablutions were not just considered a technical duty but a means to spiritual renewal as well.³⁸ According to the Community Rule, new members are cleansed by their humble repentance and purification in cleansing waters (1QS III, 6–9). In 4Q414 God is described as the one who wills “to purify his people in cleansing water” (10 VII, 1). According to the Damascus Document, it is only after ritual purification that the word of a sinner is trusted (CD X, 2). In the Thanksgiving Hymns (*Hodayot*), the sinner washes his hands before he entreats God for mercy; ritual purification anticipates forgiveness:

And because I know that You have recorded the spirit of the righteous, I myself have chosen to purify my hands (להבר כפי) in accordance with your wil[!]. ...And I entreat your favor by that spirit which You have placed within [me], to fulfill your [mer]cy with [your] servant for[ever], to purify me (לטהרני) by your holy spirit, and to bring me near by your will according to the greatness of your mercy.... (1QH VIII, 18–21; cf. also 11Q5 XIX, 13–14).³⁹

³⁷ Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982).

³⁸ A different view is expressed by Hartmut Stegemann, “The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Volume I* (ed. J. Treballe-Barrera and L. V. Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 110. “Nor did the bath have any sacramental meaning such as forgiveness of sins, but provided only ritual purity.” The dichotomy between ritual and spiritual here seems overstated.

³⁹ In 4Q texts divine blessing comes only after washing while the cleansed person was standing in the water (4Q512; 4Q414 2–3 II, 3–5, “And then he shall enter the wa-

Here the individual is purifying himself in anticipation of divine cleansing. As Joseph Baumgarten puts it, "Far from being merely external acts for the removal of ritual uncleanness, the purifications were viewed as the means by which the holy spirit restores the corporate purity of Israel."⁴⁰

In fact, already in the Hebrew Bible, the priestly texts notwithstanding, ritual ablutions facilitated access to God and spiritual renewal. Both Job and Jacob order their families to wash themselves before attending expiatory sacrifices (Job 1:6; Gen 35:1–3). The Psalmist expresses his guilt and need for forgiveness in terms of washing, as he pleads, "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow" (Ps 51:7). Similarly, Naaman's healing and change of heart were preceded by bathing in the Jordan River (2 Kgs 5:14). All of these ablutions are in quest of spiritual renewal.

In New Testament Judaism this attitude continues. John pleaded with his audience to repent and be baptized (Mark 1:3–4). Paul too exhorted putting off the old creature, and putting on the new by baptism (Rom 6:4; Gal 3:27; cf. Titus 3:5). The thought expressed is that the old creature is damaged, problematic, deteriorating, imperfect; ablutions admit that and plead for God's intervention and renewal. The physicality of ritual expresses and effects change in a way words cannot. The recognition of a deteriorating creation and need for renewal was not just a Hellenistic idea but one embedded in the texts of ancient Judaism. So, for many in Second Temple Judaism, water was viewed as a means to renewal, both physical and spiritual. Although compiled at a later date, the rabbinic Midrash sums up the earlier attitude toward water and washing in this statement about the Torah: "Like water, the Torah [it] refreshes, renews life, cleanses from defilement and purifies the morally defiled" (*Cant. R.* 1:2).

4.2. Divine Access

From the evidence of a cross-section of post-biblical texts, many Jews in Second Temple times considered ablutions instrumental not only in atonement rituals but also in gaining access to divine revelation and power. For example, Essenes purified themselves in expectation of prophetic revelation (Josephus, *Wars* 2.159). The Dead Sea sect, in order to keep the angels living

ter...And he shall say in response, 'Blessed are Y[ou...]'). Thus, the act of immersion dramatizes and expresses the need of divine grace and intervention by the community (4Q414 2 II, 5–6; 4Q512 II, 42–44).

⁴⁰ Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Law and Spirit of Purity at Qumran," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins. II. The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 104.

among them, required extra purifications, more than specified by Scripture (1Q28a II, 3–11; 1QM VII, 6).⁴¹ Jesus' baptism prompted divine manifestation in the form of a dove while he was still standing in the water (cf. Matt 3:16–17). Although recorded much later than Second Temple times, rabbinic literature still carries the notion of supererogatory ablutions. According to one legend, Moses immersed before the divine revelation and eventually had to separate permanently from his wife so that he could be constantly pure and ready for additional revelation (*Sifre Num.* 102; *b. Shab* 87a, 88b; *ARN A* 2, p. 10, Schechter; *Tanhuma Zav* 13).⁴²

Ablutions in anticipation of divine actions have Scriptural precedents, most notably, in the ablutions of Israel before the divine revelation at Mt. Sinai (Exod 19:14). On this occasion, Israel was told to abstain from sexual relations and launder their clothes. Many ancient Jewish interpreters assume bathing to be included in this command.⁴³ Indeed, washing anticipates supernatural experience in several biblical instances. The rolling back of the Jordan river, and the manifestation of divine power at the Temple dedication too were preceded by ritual ablutions.⁴⁴ One purpose of ritual ablutions then was to facilitate access to the deity, to mediate holiness into Israel.

Performing ablutions in the pursuit of a sacred encounter is apparently not just a Jewish phenomenon. Fritz Stolz, after examining Mesopotamian texts, concludes,

Cleansing the body is ... a common human technique to mark the transformation from the natural to the cultural state. These techniques serve

⁴¹ As Schiffman, "Holiness and Sanctity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 57, says, "These purity rules and their connection with the initiation rites were what made the Qumran sect truly a Holy House." The sect "pre-enacted the future messianic banquets in their communal meals... The sectarians strove to live in perfect holiness so that they would live to experience the eschatological battles and tribulations of the dawning of the messianic era and the promised glory of the end of days." *Ibid.*, 60–61.

⁴² More discussion and references can be found in Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (trans. Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin; 2nd ed.; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003) 1:701.

⁴³ Philo, *de Decalogo* 11; *Mekh.* RS 96–97; *baHodesh* 6, 63b–64a; *Yitro* 3; *b. Yeb* 46a; *Ker.* 9a; *Ger.* 2; *y. Shab* 9, 12a; cf. 11Q19 45:7–10 where temple entry appears to be influenced by the Sinaitic model.

⁴⁴ Milgrom, *Leviticus* 1–16, 965–66, demonstrates that *hitqadesh*, generally translated "sanctify," is the "non-priestly technical term for purification through bathing in preparation for receiving the presence of the Lord the following day, either in the sanctuary or in a theophany."

also as transformation from a 'normal' to an 'extraordinary', from a profane to a holy state."⁴⁵

This observation seems applicable to the ablutions in Israel as well. For example, from a psychological perspective, Israel's washings helped her to prepare for divine encounter at Sinai, i.e., to move "from a profane to a holy state."

The use of ablutions to gain access to the sacred beyond the requirements of Scripture is evident both in physical and literary data from Second Temple times. Eyal Regev argues from archaeological remains, i.e., number and placement of ritual baths on the Temple mount, that worshippers added extra purifications for entry into the Israelite and women's courts even though they were already pure.⁴⁶

Thus, ritual ablutions in Judaism filled more than a sociological function or symbol. They also provided a sense of control by inviting the deity to be present and effecting change personally and physically. In a way, the ritual puts the individual's prayer into physical form. As Catherine Bell says, performing the ritual displays that the "human realm is not entirely subordinate" to the spiritual realm.⁴⁷ Indeed, the Rabbis make the point of human intention in ritual explicit.⁴⁸ Unless there is human deliberation and activity in the process, purification does not take place.⁴⁹ So, for many Jews in Second Temple period times, at least those described in the texts above, ritual

⁴⁵ Fritz Stoltz, "Dimensions and Transformations of Purification Ideas," in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions* (ed. Jan Assmann and Guy G. Stroumsa; Numen Book Series 83; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 228. See also Petra von Gemundern, "Die Urchristliche Taufe und der Umgang mit den Affekten," in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions* (ed. Jan Assmann and Guy G. Stroumsa; Numen Book Series 83; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 115, who argues that the early Christian notion of putting on the new creature in Christ reflected a psychological, not just a social, change.

⁴⁶ Eyal Regev, "The Ritual Baths near the Temple Mount and Extra-Purification before Entering the Temple City," *IEJ* 55 (2005): 199–204; Yonatan Adler, "The Ritual Baths near the Temple Mount and Extra Purification before Entering the Temple Courts: A Reply to Eyal Regev," *IEJ* 56 (2006): 209–15, opposes this view by stating that these purifications were required by the Rabbis before entry to the Temple to remove rabbinically defined, not biblical, impurities. In either case, however, individuals have designed extra purifications in order to meet the challenge and anticipation of encountering the sacred.

⁴⁷ Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 120.

⁴⁸ Without human intention, for example, the deliberate watering of crops or produce cannot even become susceptible to impurity. Likewise, without the proper intention and attention to numerous instructions regarding the nature of the water, purification is not accomplished.

⁴⁹ Neusner "Contexts of Purification," 68–86, argues that the major point of the rabbinic purity system is that man can overcome death by deliberate action.

ablutions were a deliberate activity which anticipated divine access and human transformation.

4.3. Technicality

Some Jewish texts give the impression that no experience beyond the simple observance of the ritual was expected by ancient Jews. Like the priests of Leviticus, the rabbis of the Mishnah do not discuss life-giving qualities of immersion. No talk of regeneration or renewal comes into their recital of ritual purification laws. The same is true of some of the Qumran documents, e.g., the Temple Scroll. The writers write in the same vein as the priests of the Torah emphasizing correct observance rather than spiritual experience. In fact, Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai's disciples were aghast that he would describe the red heifer ritual to a non-Jew as a magical practice, but later, the rabbi explained that he was just speaking in a way the pagan could understand but that actually he rejected any efficacious power accompanying the rite (*Num. R.* 19:4). In light of the many texts cited above which seem to suggest the opposite, one can perhaps detect a polemic against the possibility of magic. Another possible explanation would be simply the recognition that the genre of texts like the Temple Scroll is legal and not homiletical; spiritual experience is simply not a topic. As noted above, other rabbinic texts do regard ablutions as instrumental to divine access.

To answer the question regarding religious experience connected to ritual ablutions, Second Temple texts indicate that across a variety of Jewish sects it was considered a key to divine access. Whether in pursuit of spiritual renewal, divine revelation or miraculous power, ablutions were often used beyond the simple requirements of Scripture. While some texts are opposed to a non-technical view of ablutions, their witness must be balanced with the large number of testimonies to the contrary.

5. Conclusion

The interfacing of Ritual and Jewish Studies helps significantly to analyze the processes of ritual ablutions and its meanings. In the case of Second Temple Judaism, it becomes clear that like other rituals, ablutions carry a rich density of meaning. They often function not only to protect sanctuaries and their sancta but also social boundaries, the group itself becoming the "house" which receives God's holiness. For several Jewish authors of this period, ablutions symbolize the divine rejuvenation of the mortal, human being and dramatize a passage from death to life. With regard to experience, the matter is more complex, but for many Jews ablutions were

expected to facilitate access to the deity for spiritual renewal and divine blessing.

OVERCOMING INTERNAL BARRIERS: THE “CONVERSION” OF ANANIAS AND PETER IN ACTS 9–10

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While external barriers such as language, culture, and worldview are often recognized by the church in its mission, the invisible, but very real internal barriers which exist in the hearts of the members, are often overlooked. The story in Acts 10 which has often been called “The conversion of Cornelius” could just as well be known as “The conversion of Peter.” The study will use this pericope and the parallel narrative of Saul and Ananias in Acts 9 in order to uncover the hidden internal barriers and make recommendations for the present witness of the church.

Key Words: barriers, Acts 1:8, external, internal, Ananias, Peter, conversion, Acts 9–10

1. Introduction of Acts 1:8

But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8).

While some commentators have seen this verse primarily as forecasting the geographical¹ expansion of the church which will occur in Acts, others have attempted to show the ethnic² barriers that must be overcome in each of

¹ In his commentary on Acts Joseph Fitzmyer gives a succinct summary of the options scholars have argued here ranging from the land of Palestine, Ethiopia, Spain and Rome. He maintains that Rome is the “preferable interpretation” because the book of Acts ends with Paul’s testimony in the Roman capital. Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 206–7. For a more detailed overview of the various geographical arguments set forth by scholars see Thomas S. Moore, “To the End of the Earth’: The Geographical and Ethnic Universalism in Acts 1:8 in Light of Isaianic Influences on Luke,” *JETS* 40 (1997): 389–91.

² Moore, “To the Ends of the Earth’,” 391–99. In the rest of his article, Moore gives a good overview of scholarly work based on Luke’s interest in and use of Isaiah, the LXX background of various key phrases for the loci of the commissioning in the gospels, and the position Acts 1:8 has in the overall narrative of Luke-Acts. He maintains that because of the Isaianic influence regarding the salvation of the nations along with the specific reference “to all nations” in Luke 24:47, “to the ends of the earth” carries both

these important steps in the spread of the gospel message in the first century. While the very general headings of “geographical” and “ethnic” are perhaps sufficient to cover the external and internal barriers encountered by the Church as it expanded its mission, they are by no means entirely descriptive of the challenges awaiting the disciples. Paul’s own extensive catalogue of distress in overcoming the various barriers in his cross-country and cultural ministry are listed in 2 Cor 11:24–28:

Five times I have received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one. Three times I was beaten with rods. Once I received a stoning. Three times I was shipwrecked; for a night and a day I was adrift at sea; on frequent journeys, in danger from rivers, danger from bandits, danger from my own people, danger from Gentiles, danger in the city, danger in the wilderness, danger at sea, danger from false brothers and sisters; in toil and hardship, through many a sleepless night, hungry and thirsty, often without food, cold and naked. And, besides other things, I am under daily pressure because of my anxiety for all the churches.

In its fuller sense then, Acts 1:8 should not only be seen as merely the future itinerary of the infant church (much like we receive from a travel agent today), but encapsulates the enormity of the challenges which awaited the parochial band of followers, who were still focused on the restoration of their own people (Acts 1:6). It is no wonder that the risen Lord solidly linked the promise of the power of the Holy Spirit with the expansion of their witness in Acts 1:8. The young church would need all the help it could get in order to overcome the barriers it would soon face in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and the ends of the earth.

2. Witnessing in Jerusalem and all Judea

It might be said that one of the main purposes of the gift of the Spirit in the book of Acts was to both lead and empower the believers in the overcoming of barriers. The first outpouring of the Spirit in Acts 2 clearly signaled the Risen Lord’s intent to overcome both the external and internal barriers which separated the Diaspora Jews from their Judean brethren (through the gift of tongues, Acts 2:4, 8) and the promised Messiah (by the gift of repentance, Acts 2:38).³

a geographical (the expansion from Jerusalem to Rome and beyond) and ethnic significance (the expansion from the Jews to the Gentiles).

³ The theme of repentance is an early and ongoing theme of Luke-Acts and incorporates the need for both the Jews (Luke 3:3, 8; 5:32; Acts 5:31; 13:24; 19:4; 20:21; 26:20) and the Gentiles (Luke 24:47; Acts 11:18; 20:21; 26:20) to receive this reconciliation through the proclamation of the gospel in the power of the Spirit.

According to Fitzmyer, "this miracle conveys the idea that the gift of the Spirit transcends all bounds: the Christian message is to be borne to people of all languages and cultures."⁴ Echoing that thought is the pentecostal scholar Craig S. Keener, "The focus of Luke's prophetic pneumatology in Acts is how this mission comes about, the Spirit repeatedly leading God's agents across cultural, ethnic and geographical barriers to bring the gospel to everyone."⁵

The Spirit was also present in the growing gospel work in Judea when the very real sociological and cultural challenge of the daily distribution of food to the Hebrew and Greek widows arose (Acts 6:1-6). Many primarily Greek speaking Jews had come to settle in Jerusalem from the time of the Maccabees and were held in suspicion by their Hebraic Jews because it was felt they were "diluting the Hebrew core belief system."⁶

Despite the language and cultural barriers that had been erected between these two groups, the complaints of the Grecian Jews regarding the feeding of their widows was not overlooked by their Hebraic counterparts which no doubt held the majority in both numbers and authority. The appointment of both Stephen and Philip as culturally sensitive deacons not only solved the immediate problem but would also result in both theological and cultural barriers being broken in Acts 7 and 8.

Stephen expanded his influence by preaching in the Hellenized "synagogue of the Freedmen" in Jerusalem where, "Cyrenians, Alexandrians, and others of those from Cilicia and Asia" were gathered (Acts 6:9). He is brought before the Sanhedrin by his own Hellenized brethren who falsely testify that "this fellow never stops speaking against this holy place and against the law. For we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place and change the customs Moses handed down to us" (Acts 6:13-14).

Stephen's long apologetic regarding the covenant relationship of God with His people is blended with an overview of both the Patriarchs and the history of the sanctuary under Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon. In the story of Abraham, the "God of glory" (Acts 7:2) calls him to come out of

⁴ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 240.

⁵ Craig S. Keener, "Why Does Luke Use Tongues as a Sign of the Spirit's Empowerment," *JPT* 15 (2007): 180. While I am not in agreement over his treatment of tongues in the rest of the article, pentecostal scholars have been in the forefront of emphasizing the importance of the Spirit as an aid to mission and service. See especially the influential book by Roger Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1984).

⁶ Paul Hertig, "Dynamics in Hellenism and the Immigrant Congregation," in *Mission in Acts* (ed. Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig; Maryknoll: Orbis, 2004), 62, 66.

Mesopotamia so that his yet unborn descendents might worship "in this place" (Acts 7:7). "So Abraham becomes a wanderer, and the reader learns that the worship of God is not tied to any individual place."⁷

Acts 7:9 tells us that although the patriarchs sold Joseph into Egypt, "God was with him" thus continuing the thought that even outside the promised land the LORD can act on behalf of his people. Stephen also refers to the prophecy God had given to Abraham that his descendents would one day be πάροικος "resident aliens,"⁸ enslaved, mistreated, but not forgotten. Moses in the land of Median is also called a "resident alien" (7:29) and it was in this Gentile land that Moses met God at the burning bush (Acts 7:33).

When the people and tabernacle finally find rest in the land of promise, David desires to build a "dwelling place" for the God of Jacob (Acts 7:46). God's response to David reverses the king's desire in two key aspects. First of all, it would be Solomon (not David) who would build the temple (Acts 7:47) and more importantly, the Most High dwells in heaven (not in houses made with human hands, cf. Isa 66:1).

The rejection of both Joseph by his brothers and Moses by the Israelites is now repeated by the rejection of the Righteous One. Stephen's vision of the open heaven and the eschatological figure of the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God is the climax of his argument and his life.

Stephen's discourse is an obvious turning point in the life of the young church as it provided both the historical and theological axis for the expansion of the gospel to the Samaritans and the uttermost parts of the earth as envisioned by Jesus in Acts 1:8. Historically it provides a climax to God's special covenant relationship with his people as prophesied by Dan 9:24. Theologically it shifts the focus away from the localized earthly tabernacle which was situated in Jerusalem to the sanctuary in heaven which carries with it a universal perspective. Just as God was with the patriarchs outside of the land of Promise, so the Risen Lord would be with his people outside of the land of Judea as the Spirit would lead them to the ends of the earth.⁹

⁷ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 366. This profound theological insight which contrasts the continual wandering of Abraham with the stability of God's presence and promise is not only at the beginning of Stephen's discourse but perhaps serves as one of its key themes.

⁸ Hertig, "Dynamics," 81.

⁹ This dramatic shift had already been alluded to in John 4:21 when Jesus stated to the Samaritan woman that "a time is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem." The martyrdom of Stephen and the subsequent persecution of the church bring about the timeframe Jesus was alluding to as the disciples are scattered from Jerusalem to Samaria and the regions beyond.

3. Witnessing in Samaria

As a result of the persecution, Luke presents the going forth of Philip and Saul as two contrasting forces in the life of the early church. Philip, who himself was a Hellenist Jew, seemed to be at home among the ethnically mixed people of Samaria who had resided in the middle part of Palestine for over seven hundred years.

While it might be said that the Grecian widows felt “neglected” in contrast to their Hebraic counterparts, the Samaritans had been singularly “rejected” by the Jews. “Since they were of mixed ethnic origin, Luke portrays the Samaritans as people midway between Jews and Gentiles. This midway point is no mere transition but a giant leap.”¹⁰ The Jews not only considered them half-breeds “unholy stepchildren of Abraham”¹¹ and thus ethnically impure, but morally condemned because of their false worship and exclusive acceptance of the Pentateuch as their sacred Scripture.¹²

Philip’s ministry for the Samaritans to the north of Jerusalem compares and contrasts with his one-on-one ministry for the Ethiopian eunuch to the south. These two episodes, which occur in opposite geographical poles, not only point to the territorial expansion of the gospel, but perhaps more importantly, to the incorporation of peoples who were not pure ethnic Jews.

It might be noted that Philip’s cultural background might have precluded him from ministering to eunuchs. Josephus might have reflected the attitude of Greek-speaking Jews towards eunuchs of the first century when he wrote: “Shun eunuchs and flee all dealings with those who have deprived themselves of their virility and of those fruits of generations, which God has given to men for the increase of our race; expel them even as infanticides who withal have destroyed means of procreation (*Ant.* 4.290–91).”¹³ Eunuchs were looked upon as neither male nor female who had changed their bodies to reflect the effeminacy of their souls. They were considered to

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

¹¹ Keith H. Reeves, “The Ethiopian Eunuch: A Key Transition from Hellenist to Gentile Mission,” in *Mission in Acts* (ed. Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig; Maryknoll: Orbis, 2004), 120.

¹² Now reaping the earlier work of Jesus, Philip re-enters the Samaritan field in the power of the Spirit and begins to break down the walls of both sociological and theological estrangement. It is here that we meet Simon the Sorcerer, the first of a number of culturally distant people that the apostles would face in their journeys around the Mediterranean.

¹³ Mikeal C. Parsons, “Isaiah 53 in Acts 8: A Reply to Professor Morna Hooker,” in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant* (ed. William H. Bellinger Jr. and William R. Farmer; Harrisburg: Trinity, 1998), 109.

be like amphibians, living in two worlds but not belonging to either and thus unclean and not allowed to enter the Temple (Lev 11; Deut 23:1).¹⁴

While nothing is said regarding the attitude of Philip towards either the Samaritans or the eunuch, we are told how they both responded to his ministry.¹⁵ After centuries of prejudice, the whole Samaritan city felt "great joy" (Acts 8:8) at the proclamation of Christ and the healing ministry of Philip (Acts 8:5-7). And the eunuch, who had no doubt been treated as an outsider,¹⁶ "went on his way rejoicing" (Acts 8:39) in his newfound faith in the Messiah and acceptance into the New Testament covenant community.

Acts tells us that Philip then settles in Caesarea and apparently stays there for many years (Acts 21:8). It probably would have been an easy task for Philip to be now directed to the household of the devout Cornelius to also preach the saving grace of salvation. However, from the subsequent narratives it is obvious that the LORD not only desired the conversion of Cornelius but also the convincing of the brethren by none other than Peter whom Paul called, "the Apostle to the Jews" (Gal 2:8).

Peter and John enter the Samaritan field not as evangelists but as auditors, sent by the brethren to observe the pioneering work of Philip (Acts 8:14). When the apostles arrive they set their seal on the pioneering work of Philip by praying and placing their hands upon the Samaritans so that they would receive the Spirit (Acts 8:15, 17). According to Hertig, "the outpouring of the Spirit ensured continuity with Pentecost and authenticated the work of God in Samaria.... Clearly, Peter and John needed this experience as much as the Samaritans, since they had to overcome their own prejudices by witnessing the Spirit's work beyond regional boundaries (cf. Lk 9:52-54; Gal 2:11-14)."¹⁷

Peter's ministry among the Samaritans in some ways compares and contrasts with his first miracle of healing at the Temple Gate. In contrast to Peter who has no silver or gold to give to the crippled man (Acts 3:3-6), is Simon the Sorcerer who tries to buy the gift of the Spirit (Acts 8:18-24). In addition, Peter repeats his earlier ministry at the Beautiful Gate by healing another paralytic man in Lydda which results in a great turning to the LORD

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

¹⁵ Perhaps we can conjecture at this point that Philip's own experience of feeling the prejudice of the Hebraic Jews, the wise judgment of the apostles which "pleased the whole group" (Acts 6:5), the subsequent persecution and blessing of the Spirit upon his ministry to the Samaritans did a great deal in maturing his attitude towards others who shared a fate similar to his.

¹⁶ For a good discussion of the ethnicity of the Ethiopian eunuch see Keith Reeves, "The Ethiopian Eunuch," 114-22 and Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 411-13.

¹⁷ Hertig, "Dynamics," 110-11.

in that region (Acts 9:32–35). This positive reception by the Samaritans was in direct contrast to the negative reaction by the Temple authorities and short imprisonment in Jerusalem (Acts 4:1–20; 5:17–20).

4. The Parallel Narratives of Acts 9 and 10

The groundbreaking cross-cultural mission of Philip in Samaria and the follow-up ministry by Peter is dramatically interrupted by Luke with the vision and subsequent conversion of Saul on the road to Damascus in Acts 9:1–22. The conversion of Saul not only lays the groundwork for the ever-widening ministry to the Gentiles in the book of Acts, but also provides a narrative with very important parallels in the conversion of Cornelius and his household.

In fact, it could well be that Luke not only meant that the dual visions and stories of the conversion of Paul and Cornelius are parallel but also the visions to Ananias and Peter also appear in both of these narratives. These parallel narratives and visions bring to view the central thesis of this study which is the following: The significant external barriers which exist in people to the reception of the gospel such as language, culture and worldview are often dwarfed by the internal barriers of ignorance and unbelief which exist in the church.¹⁸ A table will help summarize the two narratives found in Acts 9 and 10 which will then be explained in detail in order to illustrate the thesis.

¹⁸ The seed of thought for this article was generated years ago during a class lecture of my major professor Chuck Van Engen who emphasized the conversion of Peter along with that of Cornelius. For his article on the subject see Charles E. Van Engen, "A Culinary Disaster Launches the Gentile Mission," in *Mission in Acts* (ed. Robert L. Gallagher and Paul Hertig; Maryknoll: Orbis, 2004), 133–43.

	Acts 9	Acts 10
Initial Vision	<i>Saul—Jewish Pharisee</i>	<i>Cornelius—Roman God fearer</i>
Question	Who are you LORD?	What is it LORD?
Judgment	Persecuting	Generous
LORD's Command	Go to the city—Told what to do	Send for Peter—House by the sea
Secondary Vision	<i>Ananias—Church leader</i>	<i>Peter—Church leader</i>
Reaction	Wondering—About Saul	Wondering—About the vision
LORD's Command	Go to Saul	Go to Cornelius
Ministry	Sermon Holy Spirit—Healing, Baptism	Sermon Holy Spirit—Tongues, Baptism
Purpose	Ananias was sent to Saul in order to commission him to: "Carry my name before the Gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel" (Acts 9:15).	Peter was sent to Cornelius' house in order to teach: "God has shown me that I should not call any man impure or unclean" (Acts 10:28).

Table 1: The Dual Visions of Acts 9 and 10¹⁹

5. The Initial Visions of Saul and Cornelius

In the two narratives of Acts 9:1–22 and Acts 10:1–48 there is an initial vision given to Saul and Cornelius whom the LORD desires to convert and a secondary vision given to Ananias and Peter who are the instruments through which God will speak his message. These two pericopes not only lie close to one another in the narrative of Acts but have many similarities and contrasts with one another.

As noted in the above table, the initial vision is given to a Jewish Pharisee and a Roman God-fearer. Saul, "a Hebrew of Hebrews" (Phil 3:5), incensed by the teachings of Stephen and the activities of the young church, breathed "out murderous threats against the Lord's disciples" (Acts 9:1). His reputation for maliciousness against the church was widely known and feared even outside the province of Judea (Acts 9:13–14).

¹⁹ An earlier form and discussion of this table appeared in my unpublished Master's thesis, cf. James H. Park, "Lord of LA: A Framework for Urban Church Planning" (M.A. thesis; Fuller Theological Seminary 1996). Also the use of parallelism in Luke-Acts in order to underline Luke's theological understanding is documented in my unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Incorporation and Release of Disciples for Mission in Contemporary North America" (Ph.D. diss.; Fuller Theological Seminary, 2001).

On the other hand, the devout Cornelius had a sterling reputation among the Jews which is attested by the introduction of the vision (Acts 10:2), the angel (Acts 10:4), and the men who are commissioned to bring Peter back to the household (Acts 10:22). Acts 10:2 tells us that "he and all his family were devout and God-fearing; he gave generously to those in need and prayed to God regularly." The angel relates that his prayers and gifts for the poor have been remembered by God and his servants call him a "righteous and God-fearing man who is respected by all the Jewish people" (Acts 10:22).²⁰

The visions given to the two men also compare and contrast well. Both visions happen unexpectedly during the day. Whereas Saul suddenly sees a flash of light from heaven (Acts 9:3), Cornelius "distinctly" sees an angel from God (Acts 10:3). The salutation given to each man is distinct. Whereas Cornelius is greeted by his name (Acts 10:3), the stricken Pharisee is asked the penetrating question, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me" (Acts 9:4).

Both men respond by nearly the same phrase: τίς εἶ, κύριε "Who are you LORD?" (Acts 9:5) and τί ἐστίν, κύριε "What is it, LORD?" (Acts 10:4).²¹ Jesus responds to Saul's question by revealing that the zealous Pharisee has been persecuting him in the person of the saints. In contrast to Saul's misdeeds, the angel commends Cornelius for his prayers and gifts to the poor.

The final act in these initial visions is the commands given by Jesus to go into the city and the angel to send men to Joppa to get Peter.²² While it is true that one is sent while the other sends, in both cases, the next step in the drama is to be borne by earthen and not heavenly vessels. What is important to underline for the current discussion is the willingness of both Saul and Cornelius in their response to the heavenly encounter. Neither of the men exhibits any hesitancy or reluctance to obey the heavenly vision. This is in contrast to the difficulty the LORD would have in convincing Ananias and Peter to overcome their fears and prejudices which are clearly shown in the secondary visions of Acts 9–10.

²⁰ There is a good section on just who the God fearers were in Chris A. Miller, "Did Peter's Vision in Acts 10 Pertain to Men or the Menu?" *BSac* 159 (2002): 304–6.

²¹ In this first of three conversion narratives in Acts, these are the only three words Saul speaks. For a socio-rhetorical analysis of the three conversion stories see István Czachesz, "Socio-Rhetorical Exegesis of Acts 9:1–30," *Communio Viatorum* 37 (1995): 5–32. For a study on the function of redundancy in the three conversion stories see, Ronald D. Witherup, "Functional Redundancy in the Acts of the Apostles: A Case Study," *JSNT* 48 (1992): 67–86. For a more dated but very helpful analysis of the three conversion stories see Charles W. Hedrick, "Paul's Conversion/Call: A Comparative Analysis of the Three Reports in Acts," *JBL* 100 (1981): 415–32.

²² This is a reversal of fortunes for Saul who was bent on taking prisoners back to Jerusalem. He is now imprisoned and is led into the city (Acts 9:2, 8).

6. The Secondary Visions of Ananias and Peter

The secondary visions involve the unknown "disciple" Ananias from Damascus (Acts 9:10) and the very well known Apostle Peter. Paul himself gives us the clearest account of just who Ananias was in the second account of his conversion story before the angry crowd in Jerusalem. Paul tells us that "he was a devout observer of the law and highly respected by all the Jews living there" (Acts 22:12). It would not be hard to say that Ananias himself would have been a target for the wrath of Saul to bring him back as a prisoner to Jerusalem (Acts 9:1-2).

In contrast to the relative anonymity of Ananias of Damascus is the Apostle Peter who is already well known. The name Peter appears 24 times in Matthew, 20 times in Mark and 33 times in the gospel of John. The Apostle is mentioned 19 times in Luke but 71 times in Acts which clearly shows his leading role in the narrative of the early church until the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15. After the Council Peter's name is not mentioned again in the Lucan account.

When the "angel of the LORD" first appears to Ananias and calls out his name, the disciple responds by saying, ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, κύριε "Yes, here I am LORD" (Acts 9:10). The angel follows up the willing response of Ananias by instructing him to "go to the house of Judas on Straight Street and ask for a man from Tarsus named Saul, for he is praying. In a vision he has seen a man named Ananias come and place his hands on him to restore his sight" (Acts 9:11-12).

The fact that it was the LORD speaking to him, that it was revealed that Saul was now praying to God instead of arresting the disciples and that Ananias himself would go and perform a miracle should have been enough to calm his fears. Despite these assurances, Ananias "balks"²³ and answers the LORD by saying, "I have heard many reports about this man and all the harm he has done to your saints in Jerusalem. And he has come here with authority from the chief priests to arrest all who call on your name" (Acts 9:13-14). The LORD does not attempt to argue with Ananias but in more forceful language tells him to "go" for Saul would become his instrument. Instead of bringing suffering on all those who called on his name in Damascus, Paul himself would suffer as he carried the name "before the Gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel" (Acts 9:15).

The initial reluctance of Ananias to obey the LORD's command to visit Saul is amplified further in the well known story of Peter and the vision of the unclean animals in Acts 10:9-16. It is apparent that the LORD had to

²³ Hedrick, "Paul's Conversion/Call," 420.

carefully arrange the timing of the vision with the arrival of the envoys from Cornelius (Acts 10:17) and the Spirit's insistence that he go meet with them (Acts 10:18–19) in order to convince Peter that he needed to comply with the request.²⁴ Although Peter testifies before Cornelius that “when I was sent for, I came without raising any objection” (Acts 10:29), it is clear that the Apostle to the Jews was clearly out of his contextual comfort zone.²⁵

The two distinct commissions given by Jesus to the disciples in Matt 10:6 to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel and Matt 28:19 to go to the nations are particularly instructive of the Greek word πορεύομαι which is the root of the word “go” used in the Lucan passages and elsewhere. While Ananias is instructed to “go” to the lost sheep of Israel represented by Saul, Peter is commissioned to “go” make disciples of the nations represented by Cornelius.²⁶

Although the basic outline of proclamation, being filled with the Spirit, miracle and baptism are followed in the dual narratives, they contrast in both scope and detail. Whereas Ananias' ministry towards Saul is conveyed in just two verses (Acts 9:17–18), Peter's visit to Cornelius is twenty-five verses long (Acts 10:24–48). When Ananias finds Saul he greets him and relates how the LORD has sent him to heal his eyes and be filled with the Spirit. Immediately Saul's eyesight is restored and he is baptized.

This same basic pattern is followed in a much more expanded way in Acts 10:24–48. After instructing Cornelius not to worship him, they go into the house where a large number of relatives and close friends have been called together. Peter reminds them that although it is not lawful for Jews to “associate with a Gentile or visit him” he is there because God has shown him that he should not call any man unclean (Acts 10:28).²⁷

²⁴ It is of interest to note that the Spirit tells Peter that he (not Cornelius) has sent the three men (Acts 10:20). In addition, the city of Caesarea because of its Roman influence and presence was held in ill repute by the Jews of Judea. “Many Jews refused to acknowledge Caesarea as a part of Judea” where the Jews were a minority. J. Julius Scott Jr., “The Cornelius Incident in the Light of Its Jewish Setting,” *JETS* 34 (1991): 478.

²⁵ Ellen White tells us that when the Spirit asked Peter to go downstairs and meet the envoys it “was a trying command, and it was with reluctance at every step that he undertook the duty laid upon him; but he dared not disobey.” Ellen G. White, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Nampa: Pacific Press, 1911), 137.

²⁶ G. Ebel, “πορεύομαι,” *NIDNTT* 3:946. This verb is mentioned about 150 times in the NT.

²⁷ Scott, “Cornelius,” 483. “The verb *katalambanomai* is in the present tense, middle voice, showing action in progress for the benefit of the speaker. A better rendering would be: ‘I am just now coming to perceive for myself that God is not partial.’ At that very moment Peter was in the process of coming to a personal realization of this truth about God.”

After Cornelius relates his vision about the sending for Peter, the apostle begins by telling about his own realization “that God does not show favoritism but accepts men from every nation who fear him and do what is right” (Acts 10:34–35). He further explains that through the people of Israel, God sent the message of peace through Jesus Christ “who is LORD of all” (Acts 10:36).²⁸ In marked contrast to the deliberate laying on of hands and the filling of the Spirit in the previous chapter, the Spirit comes spontaneously upon all who heard the message while Peter was still speaking (Acts 10:44). Having received the witness and affirmation of the Spirit, Cornelius and his household are baptized and incorporated into the church.

The word of the apostle’s visit to the Gentile home spread and he was criticized by the “circumcised believers” in Jerusalem who charged Peter that he had gone “into the house of uncircumcised men and ate with them” (Acts 11:2–3). Miller has an excellent section in his article on Acts 10 relating to houses and crossing thresholds. He clearly shows that the barriers presented to Peter not only pertained to food and people but both the entering of the envoys of Cornelius into the home of Simon the Tanner and Peter’s crossing the threshold of Cornelius’ house. He comments, “It might be further noted that Luke’s literary use of houses and crossing thresholds emphasizes the mixing and acceptance of people who were previously unaccepted.”²⁹

In the defense of his actions before the brethren, Peter testifies that “as I began to speak, the Holy Spirit came on them as he had come on us at the beginning” (Acts 11:15). Thus Peter links the falling of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost upon a group of Jewish believers with this filling of the Spirit on this Second Pentecost upon a group of Gentile believers.³⁰ In fact it could

²⁸ There is an excellent discussion of the word *kurios* in Luke-Acts in conjunction with imperial cult worship. C. Kavin Rowe, “Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult: A Way through the Conundrum?” *JETS* 27 (2005): 294–97. This important term is mentioned about 200 times, about 100 times in each book.

²⁹ Miller, “Peter’s Vision,” 313.

³⁰ This extensive quotation shows how the Spirit was providentially leading Peter and unfolding to him the mystery of his grace towards the Gentiles. “While Peter wondered about the meaning of the vision, *men* appeared at the gate” (10:17). While Peter was reflecting on the meaning of the vision, the *Spirit* said to him that three divinely sent *men* were looking for him (v. 19). When Peter entered the house, he uttered his first and only verbal interpretation of the vision in the words, “*God* has shown me that I should not call any man unholy or unclean” (v. 28). Of course the most significant miracle was the work of the Holy Spirit in this “Gentile Pentecost.” In the final stages of Peter’s defense before the Jerusalem group the references to divine initiative more frequently populate his speech. The *Spirit* told him to go *μηδὲν διακρίναντα* “without misgivings” (11:12), an *angel of God* was already in the house (v. 13), the *Holy Spirit* fell on them (v. 15), Peter “remembered the word of the *LORD*” (v. 16), “*God* therefore gave

be said that the falling of the Spirit on the Gentile house of Cornelius is an echo of the falling of the Spirit in the Upper Room on the day of Pentecost.

Finally as noted by the table, the purpose of the twin visions is quite instructive. Although Ananias does not commission Paul directly, he is told that "this man is my chosen instrument to carry my name before the Gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel. I will show him how much he must suffer for my name" (Acts 9:15–16). Here the LORD directly answers Ananias' accusation about "this man" (Acts 9:13) by telling him that instead of carrying the arrested saints back to Jerusalem, "this man" (Acts 9:15) will carry his name³¹ to the Gentiles, kings and the people of Israel. The original order given in Acts 1:8, from Jew to Gentile is now reversed and strongly points to the future mission of the church and the defining role Paul would play and the suffering he would face.³²

In contrast to Paul, Cornelius is not heard of again, except through the decisive testimony of Peter in Acts 11 and 15. In fact it could be said that both conversion stories serve but one purpose. They provided both the political influence (through Peter's involvement) and the theological praxis (through Paul's apostleship) in following the providential opening of the gospel to the Gentiles.³³

7. Missiological Reflections on Overcoming Internal Barriers

In the last few pages we have briefly studied the preliminary mission of the early church in Acts, the initial visions given to Saul and Cornelius with the secondary visions given to Ananias and Peter. Could it be that these two narratives stand side by side as two witnesses whose voices echo down to our own challenge of entering into cross-cultural mission?

to them the same *gift*," and "who was I that I could stand in God's way?" (v. 17). In short, Luke skillfully used the unfolding mystery of the story to draw the reader along to his conclusion: God had given a riddle, which he alone answered. God is the author of the mystery and the revealer of the mystery. Cf. Miller, "Peter's Vision," 315–16.

³¹ Czachesz, "Socio-Rhetorical Exegesis of Acts 9:1–30," 18. The term "name" appears nine times in the pericope of Saul's conversion.

³² Witherup, "Redundancy," 81.

³³ "Chapter 10 occupies a place of central narrative and theological importance in Acts. Narratively, Saul has just transformed from persecutor to God's οκεῦος ἐκλογῆς to the Gentiles (9.15). The story then moves immediately to justify theologically Paul's mission through Peter's experience with Cornelius. This narrative-theological justification continues through Acts 11.18, at which time the story returns to Saul to include his ministry (ἡ διακονία, 12.25) in Antioch (11.25–26, 30; 12.25). The events in ch. 10 are the pivot upon which the mission to the Gentiles turns." Rowe, "Imperial Cult," 289.

While there is no doubt that the Seventh-day Adventist Church's historical roots and being were grounded in the worldwide mission brought to view in the three angel's messages of Rev 14:6-12, there are challenges left for the church.³⁴ Some of these issues are set forth in a recent two volume book, edited by Bruce Bauer, entitled *Adventist Responses to Cross-Cultural Mission*, published in 2007.³⁵

These two volumes are a collection of presentations, recommendations and approval statements given from 1998-2001 and 2002-2005 by the Global Mission Issues Committee of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. They cover a wide variety of issues which affect the mission of the church ranging from biblical authority, church structure, the boundaries of contextualization, syncretism, the relation of the twenty-eight fundamental beliefs of Adventism to several world religions and evangelizing resistant peoples with deeply held polygamy.

While the external barriers of presenting the gospel in an increasingly pluralistic world are regularly discussed, the internal barriers which hamper the church in its mission are only mentioned from time to time. In the first volume the church is cautioned not to be condescending,³⁶ and is reported as not showing much interest in receiving sensitivity training in order to dialogue with Islam.³⁷

One of the recommendations of volume 2 is that the church fosters an environment of love and unity to other people, given the "examples of tragic discord, strife, bias and violence" that have at times engulfed the church.³⁸ There is also a section on the influence of myths that exist such as it is the pastor's job to witness, the effects of post-modernism, materialism and other factors which dampen the spiritual and witnessing life of the members.³⁹

³⁴ This is the basic thesis of this published dissertation. P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of Seventh-day Adventist Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977).

³⁵ Bruce L. Bauer, ed., *Adventist Responses to Cross-Cultural Mission* (2 vols.; Berrien Springs: Department of World Missions, Andrews University, 2007).

³⁶ William Richardson, "Mission Outreach and Biblical Authority," in *Adventist Responses to Cross-Cultural Mission* (ed. Bruce L. Bauer; Berrien Springs: Department of World Missions, Andrews University, 2007), 1:13.

³⁷ Jerald Whitehouse, "Developing New Church Structures for More Effective Mission, Nurture, and Growth of New Believers," in *Adventist Responses to Cross-Cultural Mission* (ed. Bruce L. Bauer; Berrien Springs: Department of World Missions, Andrews University, 2007), 1:47.

³⁸ "Love and Unity," in *Adventist Responses to Cross-Cultural Mission* (ed. Bruce L. Bauer; Berrien Springs: Department of World Missions, Andrews University, 2007), 2:93.

³⁹ Bruce L. Bauer, "Decentralization to Facilitate Mission," in *Adventist Responses to Cross-Cultural Mission* (ed. Bruce L. Bauer; Berrien Springs: Department of World Missions,

When Peter first greeted Cornelius he reminded all present that it was not lawful for Jews to “associate” with a Gentile (Acts 10:28). The root Greek word for associate is κολλάω which has a very descriptive and intimate meaning in the New Testament. In Matt 19:5 Jesus taught his disciples that in marriage a man leaves his father and mother in order to “unite” with his wife. The LORD counsels his followers in Luke 10:11 to not let the dust of the town “stick” to their feet. While Philip is encouraged by the Spirit in Acts 8:29 to go to the chariot of the Ethiopian eunuch and “stay near” it, Paul finds it difficult to “join” with the disciples in Jerusalem (Acts 9:26).

In classical Greek, the word is a cognate of the noun κόλλα, which is the literal word for glue.⁴⁰ Thus, what is brought to view here by Peter’s use of this word is not just a casual Bible study given to a foreigner but an intimation that the LORD desires a much closer union than the Jews could ever imagine with the Gentile world. The vision of Peter which commanded him to eat the animals (as opposed to merely talking to or taking care of them) already showed the intimate relation the LORD desired to exist between the culturally diverse people of the world. It is no wonder that Peter dragged his feet to the house of Cornelius. The LORD was calling him to go far beyond a courtesy call to have an intimate, strong and long lasting relationship with somebody he did not know or cared little about.

The LORD in his mercy gradually and providentially helped the church overcome the ethnic, cultural and geographical barriers it faced in fulfilling the commission of Acts 1:8. From the apostles who were Jews living in Judea, the LORD opens up the way for the Hellenized Jew to serve the church in Jerusalem. He is then sent both to the Samaritans (who are part ethnic Jews living close to Judea) and the Ethiopian eunuch (who is part

Andrews University, 2007), 2:162–67. These two volumes perhaps demonstrate that it is at times easier for the church to discuss the external barriers that lie in its pathway rather than the internal barriers which lie in its heart. When dealing with external barriers the discussion is often intellectual and theoretical. However, when the internal barriers are brought to view, our own sinful hearts are revealed which show our own shortcomings. In my own ministry, spanning over thirty years in both a North American and now Asian context, I have witnessed the internal barrier of jealousy which led to the non-support of a major urban evangelistic campaign, the local or conference constituency being consumed by political intrigue at the expense of mission during nominating committee time and the doing of evangelism more as a means of promotion and pride than the actual furthering the work of the church. I have always felt that internal friction or an immature spirituality, which often leads to an unhappy congregation, will neutralize the mission of the church and actually acts as a repellent to those who might wish to join. Nobody likes to be part of an unhappy family and until these internal dissensions, misunderstandings and ignorance are removed, all the work to overcome the external barriers will probably be mostly ineffective.

⁴⁰ H. Seebass, “Join, Cleave to, κολλάομαι,” *NIDNTT* 2:348.

ethnic Jew but living far from Jerusalem). The gospel then is sent to Cornelius who is an ethnic Gentile with Jewish cultural traits living close to Judea. Finally, the Romans are Gentiles in both ethnicity and culture who live far from Judea. Thus we see that when the LORD desires his church to go forward in its mission, he takes regard for human weakness and seeks to ally their prejudices step by step.⁴¹

8. Conclusion

As was alluded to at the beginning of this article, the internal and external barriers which were to be overcome in the first century (and by extension throughout the Christian era to our own day) involved suffering. This theme of suffering brackets the barriers mentioned in Acts 1:8 through the twin pericopes of the walk to Emmaus (Luke 24:13–27) and Philip's meeting with the eunuch in Acts 8:26–35. Parsons argues that these two texts are linked by the "intertextual echo" of the phrase ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ "beginning from" mentioned in both Acts 8:35 and Luke 24:27.⁴² In the words of Jesus, the Christ would "have to suffer" in order that the Scriptures would be fulfilled (Luke 24:26–27) in order that "repentance and forgiveness of sins will be preached in his name to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem" (Luke 24:47).

The story of Philip and the eunuch illustrates the link between the sufferings of Jesus and the spread of the gospel to the nations. According to Philip, the key to the understanding of the Messiah's mission lie in the revelation that the Suffering Servant of Isa 53 (see Acts 8:32–33) referred to "the good news about Jesus" (Acts 8:35).

This theme of suffering as a key component in the ministry of Jesus as brought out in the fulfillment of the Scriptures is also tied strongly to the conversion and call of Paul to be a missionary to the "Gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel" (Acts 9:14). Christ tells Ananias that

⁴¹ Ellen White comments that the walls between people that existed in the early church is still active today. "The same agencies that barred men away from Christ eighteen hundred years ago are at work today. The spirit which built up the partition wall between Jew and Gentile is still active. Pride and prejudice have built strong walls of separation between different classes of men. Christ and His mission have been misrepresented, and multitudes feel that they are virtually shut away from the ministry of the gospel. But let them not feel that they are shut away from Christ. There are no barriers which man or Satan can erect but that faith cannot penetrate." Ellen G. White, *The Desire of Ages* (Nampa: Pacific Press, 1898), 402.

⁴² Parsons, "Isaiah 53 in Acts 8," 116.

“I will show him how much he must suffer for my name” (Acts 9:15).⁴³ It seems clear that mission involves the overcoming of a variety of challenging external and interior barriers which often cause the agent of mission to suffer as his LORD did.⁴⁴

I have discovered in my own pastoral call which continues to this day that an ongoing and growing ministry for people not only demands an informed intellect to wisely deal with the challenges of life but a renewed heart, both within the one being ministered to and myself. Overcoming the internal barriers in others demands that my own internal barriers also be dealt with by the same Spirit that worked within the hearts of Ananias and Peter.

⁴³ In his conclusion, Scott J. Hafemann states that “Paul is weak and suffers as an embodiment of the cross of Christ, but he is also a pneumatic through whom the power and Spirit of God are being manifested and poured out.” Scott J. Hafemann, *Suffering and Ministry in the Spirit: Paul’s Defense of His Ministry in II Corinthians 2:14–3:3* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 227.

⁴⁴ I hope to pursue this theme as outlined in Luke-Acts and the ministry of Paul in a subsequent article.

THE GREAT CONTROVERSY IN THE BUDDHIST WORLD: A SUGGESTION FOR AN ADVENTIST APPROACH TOWARDS BUDDHISM¹

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The Buddhist temples of Bangkok, as well as many other public places and buildings, offer a diversity of religious symbols that open the door to the heart of Thai Buddhists. Buddha's victory over Mara (the evil force in Buddhism), Naga (a snake deity), Yaksha (a guard of the mountain of the gods), and the elephant give comfort to the common Buddhist that finds himself in the perpetual struggle between good and evil—as nicely displayed in the centerpiece of Thailand's new airport. However, he is left alone in the daily effort to fulfill good deeds. This study suggests that the unique Adventist focus upon the Great Controversy and its final resolution in Christ's sacrifice could, better than other doctrines, bridge the gap between the delivering gospel of Jesus, and the works-focused Buddhist believer.

Key Words: Theravada Buddhism, Adventist mission, Great Controversy, Buddhist temples, Buddhist symbols, contextualization

1. Introduction

It was in the newly constructed Suvarnabhumi Airport where I got my first impression of Thai (or Theravada) Buddhism.² I looked at the Yakshas, Na-

¹ The study was first presented at the *Eleventh International Theological Forum*, organized by the Theological Seminary at the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, Oct. 30–Nov 1, 2009, in Silang, Cavite, Philippines. The general focus of this *Forum* was dedicated to issues of contextualization. I would like to express my appreciation for the helpful comments received at that time as well as the observations of the two anonymous readers of the *Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary* international review board.

² Buddhism developed in a sixth century B.C. Indian setting under the leadership of Gautama Buddha. During that time, Hinduism was the predominant religion. Gautama Buddha, who also grew up in this context, tried to reform Hinduism and is therefore sometimes seen as a reformer, although it has to be differentiated from the protestant reformation. The goal was not to go “ad Fontes,” i.e., back to the roots, but to find a way to inner peace, to which the current practices were, at least in his sight, unable. Elements of Hinduism can therefore be easily found in Buddhist's figures, symbols, and ideas.

gas, Vishnus, and Buddhas with totally foreign eyes. It was a new worldview which seemed to flow against the mainstream evangelical Christianity. This made me realize that just as Buddhism is foreign to the Christian tourist or missionary, Christianity is unfamiliar and perhaps uncomfortable to the Buddhist believer who perceives this religion as a Western element that would by no means suit the Thai. Given the circumstances of a totally different religion and the preconceptions that come with the "package," it is no wonder that Christian, and more specifically Adventist, growth within such areas is very limited. This fact unveils the need for a contextualized missiological approach, capable of breaking existing barriers.

The display of Buddhist religion at Bangkok's main airport welcomes and introduces the tourist to the worldview of Buddhist believers. In a special way, the theme of the struggle is made remarkable through the airport's centerpiece—the Churning (or sea of milk). This 21m long artistic work displays demons, a Naga, and a Vishnu in a dramatic scene that symbolizes "the perpetual struggle between good and evil."³ Vishnu, the Indian goddess with many arms, is the one providing or restoring "balance when order in the universe is likely to be upset in the eternal struggle between good and evil."⁴ This particular theme is repeatedly found in Bangkok. Many shrines "seem to be chosen with deliberate care to preserve that delicate spiritual balance,"⁵ as well as to "appease bad Karma."⁶

This research paper, although in many ways limited, aims to point towards a new approach to Theravada Buddhism. The researcher believes that by knowing and considering some common elements of the Buddhist's life and way of thinking, the unique Adventist doctrine of the Great Controversy and its solution for humans, i.e., salvation, may enhance mission in the Buddhist world. The Buddhist view of the controversy between good and evil will be examined and the similarities found will be used to build the framework for a new missiological approach.

There are three main elements that can summarize the controversy's concept as it is found in the Bible and the writings of Ellen White. First, there is a struggle between good and evil, i.e., God and Satan. The battlefield is not only our planet as a whole, but also every single heart. The biblical account

³ "Tour Bangkok Legacies," n.p. [cited 30 April 2008]. Online: <http://www.tour-bangkok-legacies.com/vishnu-shrine.html>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The word Karma means "to do" and, basically, means that every action has a reaction. As the Mango seed in the earth brings forth a Mango tree, so a bad deed brings forth unhappiness or something worse. Compare also "Thai Blogs," n.p. [cited 12 May 2008]. Online: http://www.thai-blogs.com/index.php/2005/07/05/title_207blog=23.

tells that Lucifer was a created being who rebelled against the law of God. At first unnoticed, the seed of rebellion was planted in heaven and as a result one third of perfectly created beings had to leave heaven together with Satan.⁷ This seed of rebellion was given forth to Adam and Eve as they decided not to trust God (Gen 3:6) and reached thus the heart of every human being (Rom 5:12–21). Ever since there has never been a greater battle than when one's sinful nature was confronted by the desire for godliness. Ellen White clearly points that out: "The warfare against self is the greatest battle that was ever fought. The yielding of self, surrendering all to the will of God, requires a struggle; but the soul must submit to God before it can be renewed in holiness."⁸ The fierceness of this battle is also recognized by Paul, who states that "we do not wrestle against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of darkness of this age, against spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph 6:12).⁹

Second, there is a resolution offered to this conflict.¹⁰ Before the creation of the world God already had a plan that would draw back to him all those willing to accept his sacrifice.

Third, the way back to a harmonious state of existence is clearly shown. Ellen White testifies: "If men are willing to be molded, there will be brought about a sanctification of the whole being. The Spirit will take the things of God and stamp them on the soul. By His power the way of life will be made so plain that none need err therein."¹¹ Referring to the running race that is mentioned by Paul, Ellen G. White adds that "so the heavenly goal is presented to the view of the Christian, that it may have its just influence, and inspire him with zeal and ardor. We may safely and earnestly look to this recompense of reward, that we may assure ourselves of its excellence, and have an ardent desire to secure its possession."¹²

Within Buddhism, as well as any other religion, there are many symbols, myths, and rituals that shape the religious life. These elements connect the believer to God and give help in grasping the reality that surpasses human understanding.

⁷ In her book *Patriarchs and Prophets*, Ellen White gives a comprehensive account of how Lucifer was once a wonderful Cherub (cf. Ezek 28 and Isa 14) but then rebelled against God and his law. The result was that one third of the angels went with the person that had become Satan. Ellen G. White, *Patriarchs and Prophets* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1958), 34–37.

⁸ Ellen G. White, *Steps to Christ* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1956), 43.

⁹ All Bible texts are taken from the NKJV, unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁰ Ellen G. White, *The Story of Redemption* (Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 1980), 43.

¹¹ Ellen G. White, *Acts of the Apostles* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1911), 52.

¹² Ellen G. White, "The Christian Race," *Review and Herald* (Oct. 18, 1881), paragraph 4.

William Young suggests good definitions for the first two terms which are of importance to the present research: symbols and myths. Symbols are generally “communication elements” that take the place of a “complex of person, object, group, or idea.”¹³ However, Young suggests that in a religious context, well taken symbols give the believer the opportunity “to participate in that to which the symbol points,”¹⁴ symbolism becoming, thus, “the very life’s breath of religion.”¹⁵

In the same way, a myth—which is in fact a story based on tradition and not on an actual event—when put into a religious frame, is perceived as ultimately true. Moreover, mythical stories “reveal the way life is to be understood and lived.”¹⁶

It is obvious, therefore, that these elements play a major role in the shaping of a specific religion. In Buddhism, too, the believer’s worldview is influenced and sustained by symbols and myths.

2. The Elements of the Buddhist Great Controversy

In ancient times, temples were the place where important spoils from a successful battle were stored (see, e.g., 1 Sam 5:2 or Dan 1:2). Another way of keeping record of victory was to engrave it in the walls of a temple (e.g., the temple of Karnak in Egypt). This was a way of expressing the belief of the people that the god of this specific temple had determined the conquest. Likewise, the Buddhist temples “talk” to us in this regard. The presence of the Mara, Naga, Yaksha, and the elephant is an indicator of the honor offered to Buddha, who proved his supremacy over all of them.

2.1. The Mara

The Mara is the most important unit when it comes to the struggle between good and evil. It is generally referred to as an evil masculine force that can be seen mostly on drawings or carvings. Similar to the Adventist belief, Buddhists have also an understanding of an evil force that was once good, but then fell in degradation and became the source of evil desires.¹⁷ The

¹³ “Symbol,” in *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed. Jacob E. Safra; 15th ed.; 29 vols.; Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002), 11:458.

¹⁴ William A. Young, *The World’s Religions: Worldviews and Contemporary Issues* (2nd ed.; Upper Saddle River: Pears Prentice Hall, 2005), 15.

¹⁵ James W. Heisig, “Symbolism,” *ER* 14:198.

¹⁶ Young, *The World’s Religions*, 16.

¹⁷ Peter Harvey, “Buddhist Visions of the Human Predicament and Its Resolution,” in *Buddhism* (ed. Peter Harvey; London: Continuum, 2001), 85. Ling points out the connection between Mara and the first noble truth of suffering. Mara represents, thus as

never-dying force Mara is, as portrayed in Buddhist legend and cosmology, the “Lord of the Kamadhatu (‘realm of sense-desire’) and principal antagonist of Buddha and his followers.”¹⁸ Evil intents, attitudes, and wishes come from him. When the believer is trapped in Mara’s snares, bad karma results. Only the good deeds obtained in many lives can bring an end to karma’s hunt.

One story tells that Mara tempted Gautama (the Buddha of this age) with “honeyed words,”¹⁹ as he sat under the Bodhi tree, waiting for enlightenment. Trying to prevent the enlightenment from happening Mara appeared, first, in the form of a messenger who told about the usurpation of the “Sakya throne from Gautama’s family.”²⁰ Thereafter, a report of a great storm, falling of meteors, etc., follows.²¹ The third attack involves Mara’s three daughters, i.e., thirst, desire, and delight. However, “the strength of his (Gautama) perfections from previous births²² was so great that nothing, no evil power, could prevail.”²³ Buddha’s touching of the earth summons it “to witness his claims to preeminence.”²⁴

After his achievement of supreme enlightenment there was one last doubt. Gautama questioned whether there would be anybody who would understand the truth. Mara worked hard on him to abandon any attempts to preach. However, through the positive influence of the gods, Gautama’s

Satan, a force “which proves resistant to man’s search for holiness.” Trevor Ling, *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), 92, as quoted in Harvey, “Buddhist Visions of the Human Predicament and Its Resolution,” 283.

¹⁸ Nancy E. Auer Falk, “Mara,” *ER* 7:187.

¹⁹ Peter Harvey, *Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 21.

²⁰ “Mara,” in *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed. Jacob E. Safra; 15th ed.; 29 vols.; Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002), 7:811.

²¹ Iqbal Singh, *Gautama Buddha* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 162. Some, however, assume that the storm, rain, and the other natural disasters were only figurative representations of what was going on in Gautama’s mind.

²² A person will not stop experiencing the phenomenon of rebirth, as long as the karmic force exists. Under Rebirth, one understands, therefore, the arising of a consciousness that has formerly died, in new skandhas that make up a person. The life-stream “flows ad infinitum, as long as it is fed by the muddy waters of ignorance and craving. When these two are completely cut off, then only, if one so wishes, does the stream cease to flow, rebirth ends as in the case of the Buddhas and arahats.” Narada Thera, “Rebirth,” in *Buddhism in a Nutshell*, n.p. [cited October 2008]. Online: <http://www.buddhanet.net/nutshell07.htm>.

²³ J. Kahyap, “Origin and Expansion of Buddhism,” in *The Path of the Buddha: Buddhism Interpreted by Buddhists* (ed. Kenneth W. Morgan; New York: Motilal Banarsidass, 1956; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986), 8.

²⁴ Falk, “Mara,” *ER* 7:187.

doubts were put aside.²⁵ Buddha, thus, defeated Mara, who retreated subsequently. This victory represents a crucial element of Buddha's life for the Buddhist believer.

2.2. Naga

Naga is a semidivine being—half human and half serpentine—with many mythical attributes.²⁶ Nagas and their respective symbols and allusions, are found at several places in Buddhist temples: (1) on the roofs in the form of “horns”; (2) at the frontside of the roof in a decorative style; (3) to the right and left of stairs going up to the temple or temple areas; (4) under the Buddha, with or without the protecting snakes in the background; and (5) on the clothing of many figurines.

The legend of Buddha shows a clear and interesting connection to Naga. The snake deities, who usually reside underground, gave veneration to the Buddha.²⁷ According to the story, Mucalinda, the king of serpents, came from under the earth to protect “the one who is the source of all protection” from a great storm. When the great storm had cleared, the serpent king assumed his human form, bowed before the Buddha, and returned in joy to his palace.²⁸ Mucalinda's “submission came to symbolize Buddhism's claim of ‘spiritual conquest’ over all deities in every locality where the faith missionized.”²⁹ The snake and all its allusions embody, henceforth, the strong desire of security, as well as the strong belief in the essential need of security.

2.3. Rakshasa/Yaksha

Yakshas trace their origin in the Indian mythology as “generally benevolent nature spirits.”³⁰ The representation of these good evils³¹ can be found in several places, as for instance, at the airport, at the entrance gates of tem-

²⁵ “Mara,” *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* 7:811.

²⁶ John Garrett Jones, *Tales and Teachings of Buddha* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), 186.

²⁷ John L. Esposito, *Religion and Globalization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 375.

²⁸ Wikipedia, “Mucalinda,” n.p. [cited October 2008]. Online: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mucalinda>.

²⁹ Esposito, *Religion and Globalization*, 375.

³⁰ “Yaksha,” in *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed. Jacob E. Safra; 15th ed.; 29 vols.; Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002), 12:806.

³¹ They are also known as being bloodthirsty and especially interested in devouring human flesh. Cf. Jones, *Tales and Teachings of Buddha*, 181.

ples, as well as at other gates within the temple. They are not good looking, but rather ugly, with angry eyes, big ears, heaven-pointed head coverings, etc.

These spirits, too, had a determining encounter with Buddha. The story recounts the following: "On one occasion the Blessed One was living in the abode of Alavaka, the Yakkha (demon), at Alavi. Then Alavaka approached the Blessed One and said: 'Get out, recluse (samana).' — 'Very well, friend,' so saying the Blessed One went out. 'Come in, recluse.' — 'Very well, friend,' so saying the Blessed One entered."³² Buddha was thus entering and leaving the room, until he finally refused to do it again. Then, Yaksha wanted to ask a question, threatening Buddha that if he did not answer it properly, he would "confound [his] mind (thoughts), or cleave [his] heart, or take [him] by [his] feet and fling [him] over to the further shore of the ocean (para gangaya)."³³ Not being intimidated by this threat, Buddha encouraged Yaksha to ask. Not only one, but many questions were asked; as Yaksha heard Buddha's answers, he responded:

Most excellent, O Gotama, is thy teaching, most excellent. Just as a man would set upright what is overturned, reveal what is concealed, point out the way to one gone astray, ... I take refuge in the Venerable Gotama (the Buddha), in the Dhamma and in the Sangha (the Order). May the Venerable Gotama accept me as a disciple who has taken refuge, from this day forth while life lasts.³⁴

2.4. The Elephant

Representations of elephants can be found everywhere in Thailand for they are closely connected to Buddha's birth. It is said that "Buddha was purportedly both a white elephant and a regular elephant in previous lives."³⁵ The story recounts that Queen Maya, Gautama's mother, fell asleep on her bed after a great meal at the full moon festival. Four kings took her and brought her to the Himalayas. Thereafter, their wives, the queens, carried her to a lake where she was washed so that every human stain would be removed.³⁶ After she had been laid on a divine bed, the Bodhisattva (the enlightened one) assumed the shape of a white elephant and descended from the mountains with a lotus flower in his trunk to enter her womb.

³² Piyadassi Thera, *The Book of Protection* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1999), 91.

³³ *Ibid.*, 92.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

³⁵ Carol Stratton and Miriam McNair Scott, *Buddhist Sculptures of Northern Thailand* (Chicago: Buppha, 2004), 359.

³⁶ Singh, *Gautama Buddha*, 48.

There is another story told about the cousin of Buddha, Devadatta, who wanted to kill Buddha. At first, Devadatta hired sixteen men to have his cousin murdered, but the warm welcoming of Buddha determined them all to become his disciples.³⁷ Having failed in his first plan, Devadatta came up with another one. He gave an elephant sixteen measures of beer and issued a royal proclamation to harm nobody, but Gautama alone. The mad elephant was released as Buddha was out in search of alms.³⁸ The elephant showed its evil temper by destroying the houses that were in his way. Although the news that he was to be killed reached him in time, Buddha "would not change his custom."³⁹

Presently a little child ran out of the house, and the elephant was about to kill her; but Buddha called out: 'You were not intended to attack anyone but me; do not waste your strength on anyone else.' But when the elephant beheld Buddha all its fury abated, and it approached him in gentlest way and kneeled to him. Gautama charged the elephant to never do such thing again and harm anyone 'but to be kind to all; and the elephant repeated the five commandments aloud in the presence of all the people.'⁴⁰

2.5. Buddha: The Center of the Temple

Shakyamuni's life story became for Buddhists a paradigmatic example of an individual's quest for enlightenment, and his exemplary role for subsequent generations was elaborated in hundreds of didactic stories that describe incidents from his previous births as human, animal, or spirit.⁴¹

Just as a highway sign points to a close city, so the symbols point to the center of the temple, i.e., the Buddha statue. He is the one representing the good (in contrast to Mara, which represents the evil), conquering Mara, Naga, Yaksha, and the elephant. By meditating in front of his statue, the believer is supposedly participating in Buddha's conquest, reaching in this way enlightenment.

Although Buddha is, theoretically, not a god, he is perceived as such by the common Buddhist believer. There are several reasons for this. The most common one nowadays would be given by the appearance and the handling of the Buddha .

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

³⁸ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Elizabeth N. Nivedita, *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists* (Mineola: Courier Dover, 1967), 281.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 281.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Esposito, *Religion and Globalization*, 376.

The myths of Buddha's victories are illustrated through the statue's outer appearance. According to the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, there are 32 marks of Buddha's superhumanness listed. Mentioned are, for example, his feet with superhuman level tread, his long fingers, his intensively blue eyes, his bronze-like complexion, his exaggerated size of ears—suggesting a supernatural ability to hear, etc.⁴²

Moreover, a look at the rules that an artist follows in "creating" a Buddha confirms also the fact that Buddha is perceived as a divine person. In *Dialogues of the Buddha*, one can read:

The artist who produces an image of the Buddha does not have the goal of creating an original work of art. On the contrary he is working within clearly prescribed rules as to what the image should look like. He has studied a model, meditated upon it, and holding it firmly in his mind, deliberately attempted to copy it, in the belief that only in this way can he achieve a true likeness of the Buddha.⁴³

At the beginning of Buddhism, the object on display recalled "the qualities that are found in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha."⁴⁴ However, in time, supernatural attributes were incorporated into the image,⁴⁵ and anyone who denies these superhuman qualities "will be thrown into hell,"⁴⁶ as an old verse reads. The believer is, therefore, more than encouraged to live his life according to the "ideal human life"⁴⁷ of Buddha.

3. The Believer within the Controversy

The supposed divinity of Buddha and the believer's personal life with its challenges do not seem to interconnect much. The Buddhist is still alone⁴⁸ in

⁴² *Dialogues of the Buddha. Volume III* (trans. T. W. Davids and C. A. T. Rhys Davids; London: Pali Text Society, 1977), 137–39; as quoted in Dorothy H. Flickle, *Images of the Buddha in Thailand* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989), 12–13. See also Josh McDowell and Don Stewart, eds., *Handbook of Today's Religions* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1983), 307–8.

⁴³ Flickle, *Images of the Buddha in Thailand*, 7.

⁴⁴ Buddha Dharma Education Association, "Frequently Asked Questions," n.p. [cited 12 May 2008]. Online: <http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/snapshot03.htm>.

⁴⁵ Flickle, *Images of the Buddha in Thailand*, 14.

⁴⁶ Edward G. Parrinder, *What World Religions Teach* (2d ed.; London: Harrap & Co, 1968), 53.

⁴⁷ Vernon Ruland, *Imagining the Sacred: Soundings in World Religions* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1998), 89.

⁴⁸ It is interesting that the Buddhist believer is left alone in his life, but once he dies there are possibilities to add good deeds to his life. One can, therefore, repeatedly find inscriptions on parts of Buddhist temples or monasteries, telling the read that something had been donated in order to increase the good deeds of a passed-away loved one.

doing his good deeds and fighting the evil, hoping that in the end his efforts will be enough to ensure him enlightenment and, eventually, the achievement of the main goal: Nirvana⁴⁹ or a better re-birth. In the Dhammapada we can read:

160. One truly is the protector of oneself, who else could the protector be? With oneself fully controlled one gains a mastery which is hard to gain.

165. By oneself is evil done, by oneself is one defiled. By oneself is evil left undone, by oneself is one purified. Purity and impurity depend on oneself—no one can purify another.⁵⁰

The high demands and the bad results that seem to have no end make it natural for one to seek refuge somewhere else. Considering the limitations and weaknesses of the human nature, it is an impossible task to reach the set goal all by oneself.

4. A Suggested Approach towards Buddhists

The complexity of Buddhism with its myths, symbols, and rituals is not a big enough barrier to be surpassed by the Good News of the Gospel. Although accepting a different religious view is not an easy step to take, when a common background is found, mission can be facilitated.⁵¹ The book of Hebrews has some very interesting cultural similarities and teaches us how to make use of them in our missionary approach.

Jewish Christians who were used to the Old Testament sacrificial system experienced some difficulties when the type met the antitype. Thus, although still practiced until A.D. 73, the sacrificial system was left without purpose.⁵² The old system that was practiced and believed in had to be

⁴⁹ Nirvana is the end and main goal of the Buddhist's journey. It is a state of nothingness, i.e., a clearing of one's desires and, therefore, an end to Karma. For "if a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as a wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage." Robert C. Lester, *Buddhism: The Path to Nirvana* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 56. However, the work of good deeds is oftentimes so exhausting that a release from suffering, i.e., the "better re-birth" ("ideal goal"), is sought today more than Nirvana. Roger Schmidt et al., eds., *Patterns of Religion* (2nd ed.; Belmont: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2005), 205.

⁵⁰ Wikipedia, "Refuge Ceremony," n.p. [cited: October 2008]. Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Refuge_ceremony.

⁵¹ Paul, e.g., used the "Unknown God" of the people of Athens to bridge the gap and reach the people (Acts 17:22–34). This approach used the things that were familiar to their religious understanding for the good of "some men" (Acts 17:34).

⁵² William G. Johnsson, "Hebrews: An Overview," in *Issues in the Book of Hebrew* (ed Frank B. Holbrook; Daniel and Revelation Committee Series 4; Silver Spring: Biblical Research Institute, 1989), 16–17.

given up and a new system had to be adopted. Although the situation faced by the Jewish Christians was not really as new as it is for a Buddhist believer, the strategy of the author of Hebrews is applicable to both cases. He started with the familiar old sacrificial system and pointed to the *better* priest, the *better* priesthood, the *better* covenant, etc.⁵³

4.1. Why This Approach?

Although there are crucial differences between Christianity and Buddhism, the parallels that can be found could be a starting point in reaching out to the Buddhist believer.

As well as the Bible, Buddhist teaching, if one could speak about it as such, incorporates elements of a Savior (good) as well as of Satan (evil). Both see Mara/Satan as a person that had been good at one time, but fell and then deceived the followers of Buddha/Christ. This causes an inner struggle in believers—the struggle between good and evil, or the struggle of ridding oneself of the evil desires. However, the evil force has been defeated by Buddha/Christ whose perfect life became a blueprint and an object of meditation for their followers. The refuge in Buddha (as part of the three refuges) creates also a power for good in oneself that overcomes desires. This might be similar to the power we receive of Christ. Part of the believer's journey (Nirvana/heaven) is the experience of sanctification, although there are also great differences in this regard between Christianity and Buddhism.

4.2. What Is Our Message?

Following the strategy of Hebrews, the Adventist message can use a common ground to point to better news for the Buddhist believer. Yet, it is not sought to tell the Buddhist believer that Christians are better or superior to the Buddhists. The term *better* focuses on our Lord and his wonderful work, rather than on us sinners. "Where is boasting then? It is excluded" (Rom 3:27).

A Better and Merciful Savior: The Bible tells of a compassionate Savior (Heb 4:15), who carries our burdens (Matt 11:28), and knows our name (John 10:14; Isa 43:1). He is merciful in that he gave his life willingly in our stead. The consequence of sin, or the karma, has been paid completely (Rom 6:23). We can, therefore, live (John 3:16; Rom 6:23) and be happy even in this life (Jer 58:13; John 10:10). No one needs to fight alone on this earth, but Christ, our Creator, is now working in our stead and applying the

⁵³ Ibid., 28–29.

deeds he has worked out for us. Sulak Sivaraksa was right by saying that the “world dukkha [‘suffering’] is too immense for any country, people, or religion to solve.”⁵⁴ Only the one who created everything can do what no one can do. A belief that the problem can be solved if everybody helps to solve it, i.e., a belief in the goodness of the human race, has already proven itself false. Buddha might have been a great victor, but Jesus incorporates all that one would expect from his God, and much more.

Better News about Evil: While Buddhists believe in a never-dying Mara, the Bible assures us that there will soon be a complete end to Satan, and, subsequently, of sin, pain, suffering, etc. The Psalmist says: “You have destroyed the wicked, you have blotted out their names forever and ever. O enemy, destructions are finished forever” (Ps 9:5–6; cf. Rev 12:12; 20:14–15; 21:4). “Christ made an end of sin, bearing its heavy curse in His own body on the tree, and He hath taken away the curse from all those who believe in Him as a personal Saviour.”⁵⁵ Thus, Mara will be no more, for we are going to live eternally with our God.

A Better Sanctification: As Christians, we do not need to work on our sanctification alone. It is God who works it out for us (Ezek 20:12; Heb 13:12). The Epistle to the Hebrews was written to illustrate the Christian walk with God.⁵⁶ It is emphasized that the “weakest saint, as well as the strongest, may wear the crown of immortal glory. All may win who, through the power of divine grace, bring their lives into conformity to the will of Christ.”⁵⁷ Moreover, the Bible tells us that we are justified even before we are sanctified. Buddhist believers have the understanding that only when sanctification is achieved, can one enter the Nirvana. Yet, the good news of the Bible is that when we come to Christ, we are justified (Rom 5:8–11), i.e., we are “brought into a right state as related to God.”⁵⁸ We have, therefore, not to worry about whether we are saved or not seeing we are not perfect, because salvation is a complete gift (Eph 2:8) that cannot be worked for (Rom 3:20; Titus 3:5). Good deeds are a response to his love, rather than a payment that has to be done to obtain enlightenment. This would be great news to the Buddhist believer who has experienced the pain and failure of trying to buy righteousness with good deeds.

⁵⁴ Sulak Sivaraksa, as quoted in Espisito, *Religion and Globalization*, 372.

⁵⁵ Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages* (3 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1958), 1:395.

⁵⁶ White, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 312.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 313.

⁵⁸ Marvin Vincent, *Word Studies in the New Testament* (4 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 3:39, as quoted in Arnold V. Wallenkampf, *Justified* (Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 1988), 35.

A Better Heaven: The destinations of Buddhism and Christianity are very different. Nirvana is a state of nothingness, a “place” where only nothing is offered. In contrast, heaven is a place of harmony, happiness, fellowship, and adoration. It is the greatest promise and reward offered to anyone who is or wants to become a child of God. There we will meet Jesus, the one who carried us through. We will enjoy the pleasures and happiness of friendship with old and new friends. Beautiful houses will be called our home. What we have and see is going to be so overwhelming that we find our greatest pleasure in thanking and glorifying him who is the reason for it. However, this does not have to be waited for. Its glimpses of beauty can be seen, even in our sinful world.

4.3. How to Tell This Great News

4.3.1. *Tell It in Stories*

Stories are an important part of human development. While writing to the Hebrews, the author of Hebrews included a whole chapter of lived-by-faith stories in order to conclude his theological excursus. No wonder that the content of Heb 11, and not his theological arguments, is best remembered. It shows once again that stories, and not necessarily theoretical concepts, stick in our minds. Jesus also used this method extensively. “By connecting His teaching with the scenes of life, experience, or nature, He secured their attention and impressed their hearts.”⁵⁹

This is exactly the reason for the creation of Buddhist myths. They make deeper concepts not only understandable, but also easily remembered. The Adventist church should take note of this particular ability of stories and use it more profoundly. God’s leading of Israel, as well as the way in which Jesus approached suffering people, illustrates a better and a merciful Savior/God. The stories of Jesus walking on the water, casting out demons, or raising the dead to life, show the power of God over nature, death, and evil. The picture of the wolf and lamb feeding together (Isa 65:25) will help in picturing the harmony of heaven. There is a huge treasure of stories and illustrations in the Bible, particularly in the Old Testament, that can easily be used.

4.3.2. *Live the Christian Joy and Teaching*

A much more powerful story is one’s own life. A smile and a helping hand are worth more than a thousand words. “Not only did [Jesus] teach the

⁵⁹ Ellen G. White, *Christ’s Object Lessons* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1941), 21.

truth, but He was the truth. It was this that gave His teaching, power.”⁶⁰ This is particularly true in the Buddhist context. It is easy to say that the gospel of the Bible is a better gospel, but most probably the Buddhist believer will at first not accept that only by faith. The Buddhist religion is very practical in nature—which is, of course, at least partially, due to its works-focused teaching—and needs, therefore, to be approached in a practical way. Paul encourages us to demonstrate faith (1 Cor 2:4; 4:16) and to be confident in the power of the Gospel (Rom 1:16). He encourages prayer, gratitude, and happiness (1 Thess 5:16–18), which become testifiers of Christian faith. However, the most important hint towards the essential nature of the practical approach of mission can be found in the life of Jesus who taught the simple truth that words and deeds are at least equally important.

5. Conclusion

Buddhist temples picture the victories of a superhuman, i.e., Buddha. Impressive pictures and statues reflect the success of Buddha’s teaching. Although the symbols of the evil forces might be perceived as threatening and blood-thirsty, the one believing in Buddha is not to fear for his meditation upon Buddha’s success in facing evil forces should empower his quest for enlightenment. However, the way towards Nirvana or a better rebirth is still a lonely one, for the Buddhist needs to work out the required good deeds all by himself.

In such circumstances, the unique Adventist focus upon the Great Controversy can help in bridging the gap between Adventism and Buddhism. Jesus, as our Redeemer and friend, the free gift of salvation, the complete end of evil, and a heaven prepared for us are elements that surpass any offer ever made. Our merciful Savior did not leave us alone in our limitations and weaknesses, but provided the supreme sacrifice, justifying us by faith. This wonderful news will be best received when put into stories that facilitate remembrance and understanding. Particularly the story of one’s personal life, as Jesus taught us, will bring forth many fruits.

When reached by the better news of the Gospel, through the power of the Holy Spirit, the Buddhist believer will echo the response of the people from Athens:

“We want to hear you again on this subject” (Acts 17:32).

⁶⁰ Ellen G. White, *Education* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1952), 78.

ELLEN G. WHITE'S VIEWS ON CHURCH ORDER: THE EARLY YEARS 1849–1854

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The role Ellen G. White played during the development of church order among early Adventists has not been fully studied. For some James White was the key character in the issue of the organization of the church while Ellen White was mainly supportive of his aims. This study intends to describe her views and ascertain her role on this subject. It shows that Ellen White manifested organizational concerns from the beginning of her prophetic ministry. In her dealing with particular situations of some Sabbatarian congregations in her time she laid down fundamental principles about ecclesiastical order that, some years later, would be essential to the Advent movement as a whole.

Key Words: Ellen G. White, church order, worship, church discipline, church government, leadership, ordination

1. Introduction

Andrew Mustard, in his study "James White and the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Organization 1844–1881,"¹ affirms that the historical development of church order among early Adventists had in James White the figure that "prosecuted the battle on the front line."² He affirms that on this issue Ellen G. White "was always supportive of [her husband's] aims." He claims that "as far as church order was concerned, her comments were mainly in general terms. She remained in the background in comparison to her husband's prominence."³

On the other hand, some Adventist authors consider Ellen White's role regarding the issue of church organization as "crucial."⁴ Ronald D. Graybill claims that Ellen White's "power both to establish order and to introduce

¹ Andrew G. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization: Historical Development, 1844–1881* (Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 12; Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987).

² *Ibid.*, 191–92.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Roy E. Graham, *Ellen G. White, Co-Founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (New York: Peter Lang, 1985), 69–139; cf. Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1961), 1:293.

innovation profoundly influenced the development and organizational structure of her church."⁵ Regarding this affirmation Mustard asserts that Graybill "fails to substantiate his point."⁶ A careful reading of Ellen White's writings suggests that, on her own, she really was involved in bringing order into the ranks of the movement. It should be mentioned that her views were foundational to the establishing of the "main institution" among Sabbatarian Adventists up to 1863, namely, the publishing house.⁷ However, this issue is not included here. The purpose of this study is to describe her views and ascertain her role on the subject of ecclesiastical⁸ order in the earliest stages of the Sabbatarian movement. I will first provide a short definition of church order and the three main areas this expression affects. The main section of this article will concentrate on Ellen White's views on the subject of church order up to 1854 with reference to these areas. Finally, a brief summary and conclusion is presented.

2. What Is Church Order?

In its basic form "church order" or "gospel order" has been defined as a category of "rules and regulations" intended to "facilitate" the work of the church and of those who are called its members.⁹ These regulations involve three main areas, including (1) worship; (2) church discipline; and (3) church government. This understanding of the main issues involving "church order" was well in place at the time of the pioneers of Sabbatarianism. For example, William W. Fenn affirms that in New England, "by the Law of 1799, the churches were confirmed in their accustomed privileges respecting divine worship, church order, and discipline."¹⁰ These major areas related to church order appear embedded in Ellen G. White's writings from the beginning of her prophetic ministry. As the Sabbatarian movement moved along in all of its practical outworkings these issues formed the core of her contribution to the drive for formal church organization among early Seventh-day Adventists.

⁵ Ron Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy: Ellen G. White and the Women Religious Founders of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1983), 154.

⁶ Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 192.

⁷ Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy," 136.

⁸ I use the term "ecclesiastical" in the sense of discussions, appeals, and decisions made by the leaders of Sabbatarian Adventism regarding the organization of the church.

⁹ Raoul Dederen, "The Church," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology* (ed. Raoul Dederen; Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 2000), 553.

¹⁰ William W. Fenn, "The Revolt against the Standing Order," in *The Religious History of New England: King Chapel Lectures* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), 107.

Andrew Mustard affirms that the earliest statement from James White on church order appeared in September 1849.¹¹ Early in 1850 it is possible to find his first explicit reference to this issue. It appears in a letter to Leonard W. Hastings. In this letter White affirms that he hopes "that the church will soon get right when they can move in *gospel order*."¹²

Ellen White advocated order in the church early in her prophetic ministry as well.¹³ For the purpose of setting Ellen White's statements in the background of what was understood to be "*gospel order*"¹⁴ we will categorize her statements under this three main topics, namely, worship, church discipline, and church government.

2.1. Ellen G. White's Early Counsels on Worship

Sources suggest that Ellen White had organizational concerns as early as August 1849. One of the first statements regarding "perfect order" from her pen appears in the *Present Truth* in August 1849, the third issue of the new-born periodical. Under the title "Dear Brothers and Sisters," she pointed out that it was God's plan that she might relate "the present truth." She attested that her purpose was to refer to "our present tried, scattered and tempted state, and [to] our duty in view of the coming judgments of God."¹⁵

In the article she presents a number of different visions she had received. In the first one, Ellen White introduces a new concept on the shut door issue among early Sabbatarian Adventists.¹⁶

¹¹ Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 118.

¹² Letter, James White to Leonard W. Hastings, March 18, 1850, EGWRC, AU, quoted in Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 119, emphasis added.

¹³ Graybill assertively connects Ellen White's first vision with the issue of order when he affirms that Ellen White "began creating order at age seventeen." Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy," 134. Through this vision she gave hope to the "disappointed Millerites" and set them into the framework of the history of redemption. They were the group that, at the end of all things, would stand "perfectly united" in a "perfect square," before the throne of God. In his view, from the beginning of her prophetic role she was able to "extract order out of confusion." *Ibid.*

¹⁴ It should be said that during this period Ellen White used different expressions in her appeals for order. They were "perfect order," "Bible order," "gospel order," and "heavenly order."

¹⁵ Ellen G. White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *The Present Truth* (August 1849), 21.

¹⁶ She asserted: "I saw that Jesus had shut the door in the Holy Place, and no man can open it; and that he had opened the door in the Most Holy, and no man can shut it (see Revelation 3:7, 8): and that since Jesus has opened the door in the Most Holy Place, which contains the Ark, the commandments have been shining out to God's people, and they are being tested on the Sabbath question." *Ibid.*

She affirmed that "Satan is now using every device in this sealing time, to keep the minds of God's people from the present, sealing truth; and to cause them to waver."¹⁷ She follows up by describing some of the problems early Sabbatarian Adventists were facing as a result of spurious claims of the work of the Holy Spirit in their ranks:

I saw that Satan was working through agents, in a number of ways. He was at work through ministers, who have rejected the truth, and are given over to strong delusions to believe a lie that they might be damned. While they were preaching, or praying some would fall prostrate and helpless; not by the power of the Holy Ghost, no, no; but by the power of Satan breathed upon these agents and through them to the people. Some professed Adventists who had rejected the present truth, while preaching, praying or in conversation used Mesmerism to gain adherents, and the people would rejoice in this influence, for they thought it was the Holy Ghost.¹⁸

Many in the ranks of early Sabbatarians had come from a Methodist background in which "shouting [and] swooning was the most frequent result of religious enthusiasm."¹⁹ Ellen White herself had experienced swooning at her conversion.²⁰ However, very early in her ministry she was led to oppose "religious experience" that was not the result of the "power of the Holy Ghost." She denounced the use of mesmerism²¹ "among those who had rejected the present truth."²² It seems that these popular leaders of the flock

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹ Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy," 89.

²⁰ Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1943), 37-39.

²¹ Regarding the meaning of this word, F. D. Nichol affirms that "mesmerism comes from Mesmer, the name of the man who had only a little before set forth startling ideas on hypnotism." During Ellen White's time this word was used to explain the conduct of people in which they acted out of what was considered the normal "standard." Cf. Francis David Nichol, *Ellen G. White and Her Critics* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1951), 34.

²² Regarding the use of hypnotism in public worship J. N. Loughborough refers to men who by 1849 were lecturing "from city to city" on mesmerism. He affirms that private meetings were held in which even ministers participated. He himself participated in one class and "exhibition" that one of those ministers did. He affirms: "In Morganville, N. Y., just about the time Mrs. White had this vision at Topsham, I attended a class one evening where a First-day Adventist minister gave a lesson on the subject, with an exhibition. One lesson was enough for me, for, as it seemed to me afterward, the room was full of devils. . . . Not long afterward I saw this same minister get his congregation into a frenzy of shouting, when to me it was apparent that he was doing it by mesmerism; for he did as he, in his private lessons, taught others to do in order to produce the same effect." He affirmed that this man had taken the position Ellen

were producing a kind of reformation that resulted in a worse state of the heart of the people who participated in it. She pointed out:

I saw that the mysterious signs and wonders, and false reformations would increase, and spread. The reformations that were shown me, were not reformations from error to truth; but from bad to worse; for those who professed a change of heart, had only wrapt [*sic*] about them a religious garb, which covered up the iniquity of a wicked heart. Some appeared to have been really converted, so as to deceive God's people; but if their hearts could be seen, they would appear as black as ever.²³

After this she reproduced in full two visions that had been already published in more detailed form some months before.²⁴ In them she refers to the work of Jesus in the heavenly Sanctuary where Jesus is "still interceding for Israel."²⁵ She refers also to the work of the angels in favor of God's people, taking care of those walking in "the narrow path." Then she introduces a personal comment on the work of the angels: "I will here state, that there is perfect order and harmony in the holy City. All the angels that are commissioned to visit the earth, hold a golden card which they present to the angels at the gates of the City, as they pass in and out."²⁶ The fact that this comment is associated with the previous description of spurious manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the ranks of early Sabbatarianism, and the fact that she wrote in order to give an account of "our duty in view of the coming judgments of God," suggests that she had in mind some concerns regarding the lack of order and decorum in their worship services, related to a lack of published standards on ecclesiastical order in their ranks.

It should be said that when the issue of church order was "forcefully presented" to her one year later, the theological grounds for its applicability were both the need of heavenly order and Bible order.

At the end of 1850 she wrote that everything in heaven is a model of "perfect order" and consequently they were called to follow that pattern:

White had denounced. J. N. Loughborough, *Rise and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Battle Creek: General Conference Association of the Seventh-day Adventists, 1892), 145-46.

²³ White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," 22.

²⁴ See Ellen G. White, *To Those Who Are Receiving the Seal of the Living God* (Topsham: [James White], 1849), 22.

²⁵ Emphasis added. The use of the imagery of Israel as applied to the Sabbatarian movement at first and later to the Seventh-day Adventists is prominent in Ellen White's writings. In 1876 she affirmed: "There is great similarity between our history and that of the children of Israel." Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church* (9 vols.; Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1948), 4:27.

²⁶ White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," 23.

I saw how great and holy God was. Said the angel, 'walk carefully before Him, for He is high and lifted up, and the train of His glory fills the temple.' I saw that everything in heaven was in perfect order. Said the Angel, 'look ye, Christ is the head, move in order, move in order. Have a meaning to everything.' Said the angel, 'Behold ye and know how perfect, how beautiful, the order in heaven; follow it.'²⁷

The background for these comments is found among people in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, who had been experiencing false excitement in their worship services. These people were putting much confidence in external evidences of divine manifestation in their meetings. She stated "that the exercises [prayer meetings] were in great danger of being adulterated... therefore implicit confidence could not be placed in these exercises."²⁸ She warned against the presence of "unhealthy and unnecessary excitement" in their ranks. Then she appealed to make the Scriptures the foundation of true revival among early Sabbatarians, warning them that "there was great danger of leaving the Word of God and resting down and trusting in exercises."²⁹ Some years later she referred in more detail to the perils of those "exercises." She pointed out that some people used "an unmeaning gibberish," claiming to have the gift of tongues which were "unknown not only by man but by the Lord and all heaven."³⁰ She affirmed that "fanaticism, false excitement, false talking in tongues, and noisy exercises [had] been considered gifts which God [had] placed in the church."³¹ She went further

²⁷ Ellen G. White, "Vision at Paris Maine," MS 11, 1850, Ellen G. White Research Center, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies (EGWRC-AIIAS), Silang, Cavite, Philippines; idem, *Manuscript Releases* (21 vols.; Washington, D.C.: White Estate, 1981-1993), 13:299-302. This part of the vision may also be found in Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant* (rev. ed.; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1954), 45.

²⁸ Ellen G. White, MS 11, 1850.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:412.

³¹ Ibid. It is important to note that these religious excitements among early Sabbatarian Adventists, such as the speaking in tongues in their worship services, were not something unique to them. Twenty years before, Edward Irving had advocated the same kind of manifestations of the work of the Spirit. He was convinced that before the second coming of Jesus there would be a special pouring out of the Holy Spirit in the church. He saw the manifestation of tongues and prophesying in his church as the first falling of what he termed the latter rain. For a discussion of his understanding of the latter rain, see Ricardo A. González, "British Roots in American Millennialism: Edward Irving and the Millerite Movement," *Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary* 10 (2007): 65-69. Irving's own understanding of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and his handling of this issue in his church has been discussed in [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), 2:421-40.

by affirming that some were "not satisfied with a meeting unless they [had] a powerful and happy time.... But the influence of such meetings is not beneficial. When the happy flight of feeling is gone, they sink lower than before the meeting because their happiness did not come from the right source."³²

She declared that those individuals in Fairhaven "had not moved in God at all times." The background and the content of her message of 1850 suggest an important connection with her writings of the previous year. In both instances there is a call to "heavenly order." Furthermore, one of the reasons for this description is the presence of ecstatic experiences and emotionalism in their worship services.³³

In addition to these warnings, Ellen White did also advise early Adventists on true Christian worship. In doing so she established a crucial principle among them. Christian worship must be God-centered. She pleaded for the church not to "take their minds from Jesus, and fix them upon themselves and others."³⁴ Her reasoning was that human-centered worship "leaves [worshippers] lower than it found them."³⁵ In this sense she appealed to the church to experience the kind of meetings in which human beings are in the periphery of the circle of worship while God alone is at the center. She affirmed: "I saw that we must try to lift our minds above self and have them dwell upon God, the high and lofty One."³⁶ It would be in consonance with this early counsel that some years later she would observe: "The most profitable meetings for spiritual advancement are those which are characterized with solemnity and deep searching of heart; each seeking

³² White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:412.

³³ For a further discussion of ecstatic experiences among early Sabbatarian Adventists see Arthur L. White, "Tongues in Early SDA History," *Review and Herald* (March 15, 1973), 1, 4-7; idem, "Bible Study Versus Ecstatic Experiences," *Review and Herald* (March 22, 1973), 6-8; idem, "Face to Face with the Spurious," *Review and Herald* (March 29, 1973), 9-11; idem, "The Gift of Tongues at Portland, Maine," *Review and Herald* (April 5, 1973), 6-7; idem, "Miraculous Healing," *Review and Herald* (April 12, 1973), 4-6; idem, "Ellen G. White and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit," *Review and Herald* (April 19, 1973), 8-10; idem, "God-Given Criteria," *Review and Herald* (April 26, 1973), 6-8. For a latter development of this issue in Adventism see idem, "The Ralph Mackin Story," *Review and Herald* (August 10, 1972), 1, 6-8; idem, "The Word—Not Feeling," *Review and Herald* (Aug. 17, 1972), 4-7; idem, "Calculated to Lead Astray," *Review and Herald* (Aug. 24, 1972), 7-9.

³⁴ White, MS 11, 1850; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 13:301.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

to know himself, and earnestly, and in deep humility, seeking to learn of Christ."³⁷

2.2. Ellen G. White's Early Counsels on Church Discipline

Early in the 1850s it is possible to note that Sabbatarianism had started to evidence features of an organized religious movement. "Gospel order" implies discipline in the sense that it asserts the authority of the church over the private lives of its members. At that time, and based on her prophetic role, Ellen White also addressed disciplinary concerns.

In July 1850, she referred to a man who was causing trouble among early Sabbatarians. She said that this man "had wounded and torn the hearts of God's people."³⁸ In describing his course of action and what they should do in order to meet this situation, she pointed out: "I saw he had been stubborn and rebellious and unless he changed his course entirely the church should disfellowship him for he has been a dead weight to the church."³⁹ This statement reveals that Ellen White saw that the group of Sabbatarians needed to exercise the authority conferred on the Christian church to deal with those in rebellion. This early use of the term "disfellowship" suggests that they might have had a way to identify themselves as members of the Sabbatarian body. It is not clear whether at that time Sabbatarian congregations had a list of members for their ecclesiastical business. It is possible that their small congregations did not yet require them, but it seems that they had a clear way to distinguish those who belonged to their fellowship from those that did not.⁴⁰ Also this appeal shows an early

³⁷ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:412. One wonders whether the experience of people "sinking lower" after their worship meetings might be a warning for Seventh-day Adventist congregations in the twenty-first century.

³⁸ Ellen G. White, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me at Oswego," *MS 5*, 1850, EGWRC-AIIAS; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 5:202; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 8:219; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 18:11.

³⁹ White, *MS 5*, 1850; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 5:202; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 8:219; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 18:11.

⁴⁰ In 1851, James White reported that two cases of church discipline were dealt with in "Our Tour East." The first one was in Washington, New Hampshire, where "the brethren felt called upon to withdraw fellowship from one who had fallen into, and taught dangerous errors." Also he reported that in the "vicinity [of Vergennes], rather a gloomy state of things existed, in consequence of the erroneous views, and blighting influence of one (a professed teacher) from whom we had to withdraw our fellowship." James White, "Our Tour East," *Review and Herald* (Nov. 25, 1851), 52. It must be said that the application of church discipline in those cases did not imply the rejection of the offender. Referring to the case of Washington, New Hampshire, James White added: "But while we withdraw the hand of fellowship from him, who once was a fellow-laborer, we would "exhort him as a brother," to renounce his errors, to come out

use of the term "church" for the increasing band of Sabbatarian believers.⁴¹ It suggests as well that early in the 1850s the leaders of the cause might have been considering the movement the beginning of a new Christian denomination in America.

2.2.1. Church Discipline and the "Bible Rule"

In 1852, Ellen White again expressed an increasing concern for the procedures of some brethren among Sabbatarian Adventists who had "wounded" the cause. Her appeal to order came as a result of a vision "concerning things in Boston and vicinity." She pointed out that people in those places were facing troubles by not observing "God's order" in the application of church discipline. It appears that a man identified as "brother Chamberlain" was too hurried to call the church for the purpose of applying church discipline. The way they were proceeding in managing this issue was creating more difficulties for the congregation. She affirmed that this man, after returning from Fairhaven, had "encouraged the church meeting that was held in Boston."⁴² He had encouraged "brother Chase" to bring his particular situations before the church. Ellen White argued that neither brother Chamberlain nor the congregation had any authority to deal with a particular situation "until the Bible rule had been strictly followed."⁴³ She strongly advocated "the Bible rule" in the resolution of conflicts.

She attested that the man was wrongly behaving in accusing a sister in the congregation.⁴⁴ She affirmed that "they had accused her falsely and had

of the fog into which he has so unfortunately run, and come along with those who are walking in the plain path of truth." *Ibid.*

⁴¹ See James White, "The Work of the Lord," *Review and Herald* (May 6, 1852), 4-5; C. Mervyn Maxwell, *Tell It to the World* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1976), 129; Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 124; Alberto Ronald Timm, "The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages 1844-1863: Integrating Factors in the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, Berrien Springs, 1995), 222.

⁴² That there was a wrong application of church discipline in Boston may be seen in what Ellen White wrote about it: "I saw that if Brother Chamberlain had more of a single eye to the glory of God, and cared less for the good opinion of his brethren, he would not make so many crooked moves. I saw in the case of trial in Boston, he should not have made up his mind so readily, not gone to the inexperienced to consult with them, but he should have gone to those who had taken a straightforward course. He should have consulted Brother Nichols before giving his opinion that the trouble must be settled, and that there must be a church meeting to settle it." Ellen G. White to Friend, October 25, 1852, Letter 4, 1852, EGWRC-AIIAS.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ The situation affecting this woman is not described but regarding her case Ellen White affirmed that these men "instead of bringing out Sister Temple's faults before the

used deception in her case."⁴⁵ They were accusing her on the basis of the testimony of a non-Christian. In addressing this situation Ellen White settled an important principle on issues of church discipline. In her understanding there is a line of separation between the realm of the faith and the realm of the world, so the testimony of unbelievers against a "child of God" is not a conclusive proof in the church:

I saw that Brother and Sister Chase did very wrong in listening to the reports of that wicked girl of Sister Gorham's, that God hated her cruel disobedience to her mother and her rebellion to Him. I saw that it was the work of Satan to bring trouble into the camp by wicked children, and their stories never should be listened to and encouraged, and confidence put in them. When they talk against a child of God, they must be silenced at once, and their testimony should never be received or preferred before the testimony of one who has professed the truth of God, and has been united with the body.⁴⁶

She clearly interpreted those difficulties in the church as the result of the behavior of "some [that] have run before they have been sent." The fact that these men were proceeding "without being responsible for their acts to any body" led her to affirm that "there has been too much moving at random without the counsel and strength of God."⁴⁷ Her appeal for order suggests that Sabbatarianism was to succeed only if the authority of the leaders of the movement was recognized.⁴⁸

2.2.2. Dealing with Rebellion

In the second half of the 1850s, Ellen White expounded another important principle regarding church discipline: this was related to dealing with those in rebellion. In the summer of 1854 the first offshoot movement among Adventists—the "Messenger party"—had come to maturity.⁴⁹ By the end of

church, it ought to have been brought to her, and have given her [a] chance to have answered for herself, and to have cleared herself if she could." *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Mustard suggests that the series of articles that James White would write one year later on church order pointed precisely to the authority of those truly called to serve as ministers: "The main thrust of the [articles] is related to the authority of the minister and his role as the one to maintain discipline in the church. White's solution to the challenges presented by false teachers and fanatics is to be found in what he perceived to be the 'divine' and 'sufficient' order in the New Testament." Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 128.

⁴⁹ See "Messenger Party," in *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (rev. ed.; Commentary Reference Series 10; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1976), 870–71.

1855 another one—the “Age to Come”—was at its height.⁵⁰ Ellen White affirmed that “decided efforts should be made to show those who are unchristian in life their wrongs, and if they do not reform, they should be separated from the precious and holy.”⁵¹

The separation she was referring to was not just related to the permanence of those people in the band of Sabbatarians. She was talking also about the time some of the leaders of Sabbatarianism were wearying themselves in replying to criticism. She warned the leaders of the movement not to be distracted by offshoots:

I saw that the people of God must arouse and put on the armor. Christ is coming, and the great work of the last message of mercy is of too much importance for us to leave it and come down to answer such falsehoods, misrepresentations, and slanders as the Messenger party have fed upon and have scattered abroad. Truth, present truth, we must dwell upon it. We are doing a great work, and cannot come down. Satan is in all this, to divert our minds from the present truth and the coming of Christ. Said the angel: ‘Jesus knows it all.’⁵²

Her appeal regarding “not to come down to answer” false accusations suggests organizational concerns because the problem of these men was related to ecclesiastical order. She asserted that these men “have wanted to be foremost, when neither God nor their brethren placed them there. Selfishness and exaltation have marked their course.”⁵³ In such a situation, it would be unprofitable for the leaders of the cause to engage in discussions with them.

2.3. Ellen G. White’s Early Views on Church Government

Ellen White had evident concerns for issues regarding church government. As we will see in this section she addressed issues of church government within the whole spectrum of the term. Leadership, the Bible as source of authority, money, the church and the world, and the ministers and their qualifications were subjects she addressed.

⁵⁰ The “age-to-come” movement arose in Wisconsin under the leadership of J. M. Stephenson and D. P. Hall. They had been converted through the influence of J. H. Waggoner. Later they aligned themselves with the Messenger party. *Ibid.*

⁵¹ White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:117.

⁵² Ellen G. White, “Testimony for the Church, Numbers One to Ten,” in *Spiritual Gifts*. Vols. 3–4 (Battle Creek: Steam Press, 1864; facsimile reproduction, Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1945), 10; *idem*, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:123.

⁵³ White, “Testimony for the Church,” 9; *idem*, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:122.

2.3.1. *Support for Leading Brethren*

From the early years of the movement she stated that the truths gained by deep searching of the Scriptures had to be preserved.⁵⁴ In November 1850, through the pages of the *Present Truth*, she advocated the recognition of the leadership of “those who have been in all the messages, and are firm in all the present truth.”⁵⁵ Her call was directed to those who were leaders of the flock and that were tempted to advocate unscriptural teachings:

I also saw that the shepherds should consult those in whom they have reason to have confidence, those who have been in all the messages, and are firm in all the present truth, before they advocate any new point of importance, which they may think the Bible sustains. Then the shepherds will be perfectly united, and the union of the shepherds will be felt by the church. Such a course I saw would prevent unhappy divisions, and then there would be no danger of the precious flock being divided, and the sheep scattered, without a shepherd.⁵⁶

Here she was establishing an important “ordering principle” through which brethren of experience and leading pioneers of the movement had to be respected.⁵⁷ She admonished the early Adventists to support the authority that James White and Joseph Bates had to exert as leading ministers in the earliest stages of Adventism.⁵⁸ There is no doubt that at that time the movement “required forceful, goal-oriented leadership”⁵⁹ to head the movement in spreading the truths they had just discovered.

⁵⁴ Some years later she recalled the challenges they had to face in establishing the truth on solid ground. “When the cause was young, if there was one who did not view some point of truth as the body viewed it, a day of fasting and prayer was observed. We did not then try to see how far apart we could get; but we prayed, and searched the Scriptures, until the light of truth illuminated the darkened mind, and all could see eye to eye.” Ellen G. White, “Unity among Laborers,” in *Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists. With Reports of the European Missionary Councils of 1883, 1884, and 1885, and a Narrative of Mrs. E. G. White of Her Visit and Labor in These Missions* (Basle: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886; reprint, *Historical Sketches of Foreign Missions* with introduction by George R. Knight; Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2005), 125; C. C. Crisler, *Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1938), 22.

⁵⁵ Ellen G. White, “Dear Brethren and Sisters,” *The Present Truth* (Nov. 1850), 86.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 86. This is the only portion of the entire article that appears emphasized in the original.

⁵⁷ Graybill, “The Power of Prophecy,” 137.

⁵⁸ Graybill affirms that “by establishing the authority of those who had been longest in the movement, she insured continuity.” *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ George R. Knight, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: The Development of Adventist Church Structure* (Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 2001), 31.

This point was made clearer in November 1851, when Ellen White called again to the early Adventists to stand united in doctrinal teachings. In a letter she referred to the incidents that James White reported in the *Review* a couple of weeks later.⁶⁰ In it she refers to a man that was disfellowshipped due to wrong biblical teachings.⁶¹ She stated: "We all felt it duty to act, and by a unanimous vote of the brethren, S. Smith was disfellowshipped by the church until he should forever lay down his erroneous views."⁶²

Doctrinal consensus was very important for a movement that had to reach the "East and West, North and South" with the third angel's message. She affirmed that God had shown to her that "the messengers⁶³ [leading brethren] of God should be perfectly united in their views of [the] Bible."

The messengers of God should be perfectly united in their views of Bible truth and should consult with each other and should not advance any new view until they first went to the messengers and examined those views with the Bible, and if they were correct let all the messengers spread them, and if they were error lay them to one side. Then the gospel seed would be sown in union and raised in strength; and all the messengers, East and West, North and South, would be telling the same story.⁶⁴

The fact that she is appealing to those leading brethren having "new views" of the Scripture to lay those views before the other "messengers" suggests her support of joint decision above individualism. It also suggests again her decided support for the leaders of the movement.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ White, "Our Tour East," *Review and Herald* (Nov. 25, 1851), 52.

⁶¹ Reporting this incident and the doctrinal issue involved, James White wrote: "Here [in Washington, NH], the brethren felt called upon to withdraw fellowship from one who had fallen into, and taught dangerous errors relative to setting up the kingdom, the Son of man on the white cloud, Rev. xiv, 14, and the Eden state, &c." *Ibid.*, 52.

⁶² Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Howland, 12 November 1851, Letter 8, 1851, EGWRC-AIIAS; *idem*, *Manuscript Releases*, 3:242-43.

⁶³ Ellen White's use of this term refers to leading brethren of the Sabbatarian cause. Graybill claims that they were "itinerant Adventist preachers [who] moved from place to place like Methodist circuit riders." Graybill, "The Power of Prophecy," 140.

⁶⁴ Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Howland, Letter 8, 1851, EGWRC-AIIAS; *idem*, Arthur White, *Ellen G. White. Volume 3: The Lonely Years 1876-1891* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1984), 255.

⁶⁵ In this letter she reported her role in supporting the leaders of Sabbatarianism. She asserted: "I talked plainly. The Lord helped me. I showed them [those with novel teachings] how the messengers that had been toiling in the scattering time had labored to get the truth before them, how much they had suffered, and now when God's cause was prospering, they embrace the third angel's message and enter into the labors of

Her appeal came from a vigorous theological conviction. Ellen White saw a close connection between doctrinal unity and the effectiveness of the movement in its mission. In talking about a brother that had adopted spiritualist ideas, she affirmed: "He had lost the power of the third angel's message, and I saw that the accursed thing must be put out of the camp or Israel would be sickly."⁶⁶ Evidently the Bible message was the basis for this appeal.

2.3.2. An Appropriate Understanding of Leadership

In a time when many "volunteer preachers" were moving among Sabbatarian congregations, Ellen White addressed the issue of a right understanding of Christian leadership. She advocated a kind of leadership that is based on ministering rather than in being ministered to. In 1853 she affirmed that in the Sabbatarian congregation of Jackson, Michigan, "there has been a lording it over God's heritage." She was referring to the bad influence of a group of leaders which was being spread as "unholy leaven," bringing with it the destruction of the local church:

I saw an oppressive spirit exercised by some of the brethren toward others. Brother Bowles has partaken largely of this oppressive exalted spirit. So, also, has [*sic*] Brethren Case and Russell, drunk deeply of it. Some others have been affected with it. The little leaven has almost leavened the whole lump, and in order for sweet union and harmony to be in the church this unholy leaven must be entirely purged from it.⁶⁷

These men were giving the impression that infallibility was almost inherent to their position: "I saw that this feeling that the messenger's course must not be questioned, and that their judgment and understanding is correct in almost everything, and that they must be exalted above the brethren, is all wrong. There has been a lording it over God's heritage."⁶⁸

Her concern was not so much to describe the problem by itself but the way it might be corrected. She appealed for a right and higher understanding of the meaning of leadership among early Sabbatarian Adventists. "I saw that those who profess to be teachers should be patterns of piety, meekness and great humility, possessing a loving, kind spirit, winning souls to Jesus, and the truth of the Bible."⁶⁹ Recalling Matt 22:20, she advocated for a company of workers that would set the right example as minis-

the chosen messengers of God and lift up their heel against them." Ellen G. White to Brother and Sister Howland, Letter 8, 1851, EGWRC-AIIAS.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; *idem Manuscript Releases*, 8:227.

⁶⁷ Ellen G. White, "A Vision Given at Jackson, Michigan," MS 1, 1853, EGWRC-AIIAS.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

ters in their ranks: "I saw that those who profess to be servants of the living God, to lead souls to Christ, must be willing to be servants of all, instead of being exalted above the brethren, and they must possess a kind courteous spirit."⁷⁰

Her words, directed to those in the congregation of Jackson, were setting up the necessary qualifications required by any one aspiring to church leadership.

2.3.3. *The Use of God's Money*

Early in the 1850s Ellen White also addressed the issue of money in the church. In her references to those in Jackson she pointed out that the wrong understanding of their role as leaders had precipitated a bad course of action. Unwise decisions of these men in the handling of the church's money were badly affecting the congregation. They had given "wrong impressions ... concerning the brethren's property."⁷¹ The congregation had been encouraged to give their properties to them in order that "they must lay out their treasure in heaven."⁷² The brethren did that "without having the true object set before them."⁷³ As a result those leaders "handed [it] out freely, too much and too often."⁷⁴ Ellen White asserted that one of these men [Hiram S. Case]—a Millerite preacher won to Adventism by S. W. Rhodes and who in 1854 joined an opposition group—"was hurt by too much means being put into his hands. He did not study economy but lived extravagantly."⁷⁵ She went further in affirming that there had been carelessness in God's business.

She strongly called the attention to those who had authority in the congregation and had done nothing to prevent this situation. She declared: "I saw that the teachers should have stood in a place to correct these errors, and exerted a good influence in the church."⁷⁶ Ellen White was opposed to the "careless" use of God's resources and demanded a reformation.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ White, *MS 1*, 1853.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ It seems that for a time he accepted the rebukes that came to him. See H. S. Case, "From Bro[ther] Case," *Review and Herald* (Aug. 28, 1853), 64. In spite of this confession in 1854 he joined the *Messenger Party*. See "Case, Hiram S.," in *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* (rev. ed.; Commentary Reference Series 10; Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1976), 243.

I saw that there had been a careless, profligate use of the Lord's money, by brother Case, and he has not got rid of this error yet, nor seen it in its true light—has much to learn yet, and others have been affected by these things somewhat, by some of the messengers not setting the right example, or casting the right influence. I saw that these things must be understood in their true light, and these evils which have grown out of false teachings must be corrected, and right impressions be cast.⁷⁸

In 1849, based on a vision, she had appealed "that those who had the means, were required to help speed those messengers that God had called to labor in his cause."⁷⁹ Some years later she appealed to the church to combat the excesses in which self-appointed messengers had fallen. It was necessary to do so in view of the impact that this wrong course of action would have on the cause as a whole. The small band of Sabbatarian members should not be discouraged by the wrong course of action taken by these men. Faithful stewardship ought to be foundational to the success of the movement. It was indispensable to cast a "right influence" in the use of the resources that belong to God.

2.3.4. The Church and the World

In her message about the congregation in Jackson, Michigan, Ellen White also alluded to the relationship between the church and the world. It appears that there were two different approaches toward unbelievers. A wrong spirit and negative feelings toward them characterized one approach. It seems that as a result of the disrespect and scorn that some unbelievers had manifested towards believers of the church in that place, a woman called "sister Palmer," had fed strong feelings of hostility towards them. Ellen White did not favor this course of action for "scorn and derision of unbelievers should not move"⁸⁰ God's people. She did not approve a course of action characterized by a reactive rather than proactive behavior toward those who had not accepted the message. She pointed out that this sister

...had not possessed right feelings and a right spirit towards unbelievers. There was a feeling of hatred in her heart toward them, and words were spoken concerning them which should never have been said, and God had been grieved and Jesus wounded by these things. I saw that the Christian should have noble feelings, and all the scorn and derision of unbelievers should not move them, and cause a disturbed feeling to arise

⁷⁸ White, MS 1, 1853.

⁷⁹ White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *The Present Truth* (Sept. 1849), 32.

⁸⁰ White, MS 1, 1853.

in their hearts, and anything like retaliation should never be felt or resorted to by Christians.⁸¹

She stated that it is against the principles of God's kingdom to be moved by the behavior of unbelievers. In every action church believers should imitate Jesus and should not allow disturbing impressions "to arise in their hearts."⁸²

On the other hand, Ellen White stood against brother Case, whose conduct had gone too far in sharing with unbelievers the trials and challenges of the congregation at Jackson in "almost every place he went." She affirmed that Case's conduct was mistaken and that "God was displeased with such a course."⁸³ Believers should

... never intimate [their] trials in any way to the wicked. I saw that Satan had laughed as he saw those who professed to have wisdom from God, and believing they were having the last message of mercy to the world, should make the wicked acquainted with their troubles and trials, and let them in to see the weakness of the Band. I was pointed back to the time when Hezekiah led the enemies into the house of God, and shewed them the sacred, secret things there, the vessels of gold . . . of the temple, which was a heinous sin in the sight of God, and He pronounced a heavy curse upon them.⁸⁴

In her view there were clear evidences that the realm of God must be separated from the realm of the world. Those who trespass these limits are declared "unfit to have to do with the holy cause of God." She emphasized that the "weaknesses" and "affairs" of the church have to be kept in the church because

... great dishonor was brought upon the cause of God by letting the wicked ... know their weakness even so much as to come to them for testimony. If they had been left to do this, decide the case of the church on such testimony, God would leave forever those who did it, in perfect darkness, unfit to have to do with the holy cause of God. I saw that we had nothing to do with the wicked, that the affairs of the church should be kept in the church.⁸⁵

Her understanding of the church as a holy institution composed by people who are responsible to God by their own actions moved her to affirm that corporate confessions to the world had no place among the believers. Regarding the situation experienced at Jackson she stated: "We have no con-

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

fessions to make to the wicked, unless we have done them a personal injury."⁸⁶

The idea that the children of God are a special people and hence, there are areas that should not be mixed with unbelievers, had been presented to the Sabbatarian Adventists some years before. In 1850 Ellen White did not approve Joseph Bates' offering prayer for healing before unbelievers. She pointed out that such behavior was erroneous.

I saw that Bro. Bates erred again in praying for the sick before unbelievers. I saw if any among us were sick and called for the elders of the church to pray over them we should follow the example of Jesus. He went into an inner chamber, and we should go into a room by ourselves separate entirely from unbelievers, and then the atmosphere would not be polluted by them. By faith we could take hold on God and draw down the blessing. I saw that God's cause was dishonored and reproached in W. New York at the general conference by praying for the sick in the midst of unbelievers.⁸⁷

This idea was further developed in an article that appeared in the *Present Truth* some months later. Based on the example of Jesus, she justified the separation "from unbelievers as possible" when performing Christian ordinances. She wrote:

Some, I saw, had erred in praying for the sick to be healed before unbelievers. If any among us are sick, and call for the elders of the church to pray over them, according to James 5:14, 15, we should follow the example of Jesus. He put unbelievers out of the room, then healed the sick; so we should seek to be separated from the unbelief of those who have not faith, when we pray for the sick among us.⁸⁸

Ellen White extended her appeal to regular meetings of the church, such as the communion service. She believed that privacy, even in those occasions, was needed not only for practical reasons but to follow the example of Jesus. She pointed out:

Then I was pointed back to the time that Jesus took his disciples away alone, into an upper room, and first washed their feet, and then gave them to eat of the broken bread, to represent his broken body, and juice of the vine to represent his spilled blood. I saw that all should move understandingly, and follow the example of Jesus in these things, and

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ellen G. White, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me at Sutton, Vermont," MS 14, 1850, EGWRC-A11AS; idem, *Manuscript Releases*, 12:247.

⁸⁸ White, "Dear Brethren and Sisters," *The Present Truth* (Nov. 1850), 86.

when attending to these ordinances, should be as separate from unbelievers as possible.⁸⁹

Ellen White's high regard for the church as a community of faith, composed of those called out of the world, was the basis of her thinking. It suggests that her visions of heaven played an important role in shaping her understanding of this separation.⁹⁰

2.3.5. *Unqualified Ministers*

By the end of 1853 administrative problems regarding incompetent "volunteer preachers" were troubling Sabbatarian Adventism. The lack of an official organization was making it hard to identify the true shepherds of the flock. In such circumstances Ellen White affirmed that the movement was being damaged by the bad influence of "men . . . whose lives are not holy, who are unqualified to teach the present truth."⁹¹ The lack of an official organization had given opportunity to some people to enter "the field without being acknowledged by the church or brethren generally, and confusion and disunion [was] the result."⁹² That this situation was a real concern for her seems evident. In 1852 she had affirmed: "The cause was wounded by the reason of some moving out of their place, and taking a work on them that God had never laid on them."⁹³

She pointed out that as a result of the unwise movement of these people the movement as a whole was under a cloud. Ellen White was fully aware of the fact that it is impossible to disengage the content of the message from the messenger. She argued that these men were making "many wrong

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ After her first vision, the young Ellen affirmed: "Then an angel bore me gently down to this dark world. Sometimes I think I can stay here no longer; all things of earth look so dreary. I feel very lonely here, for I have seen a better land." Ellen G. White, "To the Remnant Scattered Abroad," 18–19; idem, *Early Writings* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1945), 20; idem, *Testimonies for the Church*, 1:70.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 15; idem, *Early Writings*, 97–104.

⁹³ Ellen G. White to Friend, Letter 4, 1852, EGWRC-AIIAS. As a way of avoiding unauthorized leadership, the leaders of Sabbatarianism began to extend credentials to the authorized representatives of the cause. John Loughborough claimed that those "approved in the work of the gospel ministry" were given "a card recommending them to the fellowship of the Lord's people everywhere." He follows by affirming that he received his in January 1853, which James White and Joseph Bates signed "in behalf of the church." See J. N. Loughborough, *The Church: Its Organization, Order and Discipline* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1907), 100–1. He also affirmed that these letters began to be granted in 1850; idem, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald, 1905), 348; cf. Mustard, *James White and SDA Organization*, 124–25.

moves, and all the messengers are thought, by those unacquainted with our faith, to be like these self-sent men; and the cause of God is reproached, and the truth shunned by many unbelievers."⁹⁴ She affirmed that these men lacked "spirituality, judgment and experience,"⁹⁵ three necessary qualifications for those attempting to become leaders among them. In her view the appointment of leaders for the movement had to be set into an eschatological framework as well. The expectation of a near second coming of Jesus had to determine every decision and action among them. For this reason she affirmed that God "does not call such to labor in these perilous times."⁹⁶

Ellen White favored a ministry that "at all times, and in all places ... [could] shed a holy influence." In her appeal she alluded to seven ministerial qualifications necessary for those called to the ministry among them. These ministerial qualifications were (1) *Ordination*. She declared that leading brethren among them "should lay hands upon those who have given full proof that they have received their commission of God, and set them apart to devote themselves entirely to the work";⁹⁷ (2) *Holy living*. Her understanding of God's holiness moved her to observe that nothing less than likeness to God was required of ministers. They "must be holy, pure and without blemish, or God would destroy them";⁹⁸ (3) *Right judgment*. In a time when opposition to the cause was strong and when self-sacrifice was a necessary demand, she argued for a ministry constituted of "men of judgment" able "to bear opposition, and not get excited";⁹⁹ (4) *Service*. Long trips, little sleep, scarce food, and intensive pastoral work made the task hard. In such conditions she advocated for ministers "willing to be servants of all ... [with] a kind courteous spirit";¹⁰⁰ (5) *Models of piety and meekness*. Ellen White always advocated high standards in the lives of those called to minister¹⁰¹; (6) *Purity*.¹⁰² She declared that purity was an indispensable condition to the lives of ministers and closely related to the role they had to

⁹⁴ Ellen G. White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White* (Rochester: James White, 1854), 15.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20; *idem*, MS 2, 1853.

⁹⁹ White, *Supplement to the Christian Experience and Views*, 20.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰¹ She declared: "Those who profess to be teachers should be patterns of piety, meekness, and of great humility, possessing a kind spirit, to win souls to Jesus, and the truth of the Bible." *Ibid.*

¹⁰² She appealed to the ministers to be "pure in conversation and in actions." Like priests in the OT times, she affirmed that the minister "should ever bear in mind that he is handling words of inspiration, words of a holy God." *Ibid.*

exert as intercessors. She insisted that the minister had not to forget that the "flock is entrusted to his care, and he to bear their cases to Jesus, and plead for them as Jesus pleads for us to the Father"¹⁰³ and (7) *Experience*.¹⁰⁴ Ellen White uniformly sustained the role of those of experience in the ranks of the movement.¹⁰⁵ "Experience and deep piety"¹⁰⁶ were basic conditions for any willing to serve.

The impact this appeal had on the Sabbatarian movement, while they were struggling with inefficient ministers and with the need for organization, was beyond doubt. That year and before the publication of this appeal, two important organizational steps had been taken: the first ordination of Sabbatarian Adventist ministers and, secondly, the granting of letters of recommendation to those called to the ministry. It seems that Ellen White's article might have provided the inspired approval for such a course of action.

3. Summary and Conclusion

Since 1849, Ellen White manifested organizational concerns among the scattered band of Sabbatarian Adventists. She appealed for order in the three main areas that the expression "church order" involves, namely, worship, church discipline, and church government. The bulk of her writings in addressing "order" in the early stages of the movement is related to church government. In doing so she decidedly supported the leading brethren of the cause and appealed to the Bible as the source of any organizational attempt among them. "Heavenly order" was the main theological argument behind her appeals for church order. Early in her ministry she talked about leadership, the use of God's money, and the relationship between the church and the world. At the end of 1853, in her first extensive article on this subject, she referred to the perils of false teachers, to the responsibility of the church in the appointment of its leaders, and to the essential ministerial qualifications. It was her prophetic influence which enabled her in her twenties and with little formal education to address a variety of sensitive ecclesiastical subjects. This study concludes that during the years 1849–1854

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.; idem, *MS 2*, 1853.

¹⁰⁵ In 1885 Ellen White would affirm: "There are a thousand temptations in disguise prepared for those who have the light of truth; and the only safety for any of us is in receiving no new doctrine, no new interpretation of the Scriptures, without first submitting it to brethren of experience. Lay it before them in a humble, teachable spirit, with earnest prayer; and if they see no light in it, yield to their judgment; for 'in the multitude of counselors there is safety.'" White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 5:293

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 22.

Ellen White's views on church order were critical to the bringing of basic organization and harmony into the ranks of Sabbatarian Adventism. Her role in dealing with particular situations of some Sabbatarian congregations was important because through it she laid fundamental principles on ecclesiastical order that would be essential to the Advent movement as a whole. In these views we can find the theological reasoning of some Adventist ordering practices that have continued into present times.

SUMMING UP A LIFE'S WORK: SOME RECENT *FESTSCHRIFTEN* IN BIBLICAL AND ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

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Taking as its point of departure a brief discussion of the merits and drawbacks of the genre of *Festschriften*, the article introduces and reviews five more recent entries into the field, including volumes honoring Michael Heltzer (1999), Manfred Dietrich (2002), Yitzhak Avishur (2004), Othmar Keel (2007), and Gerhard Pfandl (2007).

Key Words: *Festschrift*, biblical studies, ANE studies, iconography, exegesis, comparative method, academia, theology

1. Introduction

When scholars celebrate significant birthdays they do not receive flowers, cakes or chocolates. More often than not (at least in the field of the humanities) they receive volumes containing research presented in homage to the honored scholar by former students, colleagues and friends. As will become apparent, when faced with a *Festschrift* for review, the reviewer undertakes an increasingly difficult task, since they are usually very extensive (thus reflecting the large number of those wishing the honoree) and also very diverse. Therefore, when a number of these volumes had gathered in the editorial offices of *JAAS* I decided to take the opportunity and look beyond the specific offerings to a discussion of the merits and drawbacks of the genre itself. This will be followed by a brief introduction to the honorees and their particular contributions to the fields of biblical and ANE studies, together with a commented overview of the most relevant contributions.

2. *Festschrift*: A Genre Critique

The *Festschrift* genre has a long tradition in academia, dating back several centuries. Editing a *Festschrift* is considered a significant academic achievement¹ and is often a sign of high recognition in the establishment of a par-

¹ "Festschrift," in *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia*, n.p. [cited 11 February 2009]. Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Festschrift#cite_note-0.

ticular academic discipline. The German term *Festschrift* means literally a “celebratory volume.” The term has been used in volumes not written or edited in German.² Sometimes, English *Festschriften* use the phrase “Essays/Studies in Honor of...” to indicate the nature of the collection as a *Festschrift*.³ Contributions to *Festschriften* often include different languages, reflecting the breadth of international interaction, even though the majority of authors nowadays opt for English as the preferred medium of academic discourse.⁴

The publication of *Festschriften* has become a veritable business enterprise. Often these volumes are included as part of an academic series, honoring a member of an editorial board or an outgoing editor,⁵ and often reflect the exorbitant price point of the series—particularly when published in Europe.⁶ Eisenbrauns, a small but vibrant publisher of quality research in biblical and ANE studies has become one of the best addresses for the publication of *Festschriften* in the international market in this area.⁷ Fortunately, their pricing model is significantly lower than their European counterparts, without sacrificing editorial and production quality. However, it is custom-

- ² See, for example, the volume honoring Avishur included in this review, Michael Heltzer and Meir Malul, eds., *Tʿshūrôt LaAvishur: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, in Hebrew and Semitic Languages. Festschrift Presented to Prof. Yitzhak Avishur on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications, 2004).
- ³ Compare Martin Pröbstle, Gerald A. Klingbeil and Martin G. Klingbeil, eds., “For You Have Strengthened Me”: *Biblical and Theological Studies in Honor of Gerhard Pfandl in Celebration of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (St. Peter/Hart: Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen, 2007).
- ⁴ While the majority of studies included in the five volumes of this review are in English, there are a number of studies written in German, modern Hebrew, French, and Italian. In terms of quantity, however, English has the clear lead, followed by German and modern Hebrew (which is due to the fact that two of the five *Festschriften* were published in Israel).
- ⁵ As, for example, the *Festschrift* for Hans-Christoph Schmitt, who for many years served as a member of the editorial team of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, that appeared in the accompanying monograph series *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Cf. Martin Beck and Ulrike Schorn, eds., *Auf dem Weg zur Endgestalt von Genesis bis II Regum: Festschrift Hans-Christoph Schmitt zum 65. Geburtstag* (BZAW 370; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006). Similar also the *Festschrift* for Otto Kaiser, see Markus Witte, ed., *Gott und Mensch im Dialog. Festschrift für Otto Kaiser zum 80. Geburtstag* (BZAW 345/II; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004).
- ⁶ The publishers de Gruyter (Germany), Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Germany), Ugarit Verlag (Germany), Brill (Netherlands), etc. come readily to mind.
- ⁷ I have counted 50+ *Festschriften* published by Eisenbrauns, beginning in 1981 with the Cross volume (Baruch Halpern and Jon D. Levenson, eds., *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith. Festschrift Honoring Frank Moore Cross* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981]) to the Martens *Festschrift* in 2009 (Jon Isaak, ed., *The Old Testament in the Life of God’s People: Essays in Honor of Elmer A. Martens* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009]).

ary that most of these *Festschriften*, published by institutions or departments, require a significant subsidy of that institution/department to the publisher in order to delimit the financial risks involved in publishing a volume that (a) can contain a plethora of different approaches and perspectives, (b) often covers a wide area of research interests, (c) cannot be used as a textbook (thus limiting significantly the capacity of the publisher to recuperate the investment), and (d) due to their often multi-lingual contents (including different languages) cannot be easily understood by undergraduate (or sometimes even postgraduate) students.⁸ Added to these limitations is also the fact that a *Festschrift* in biblical or ANE studies often require specialized typesetting and fonts (due to use of different ancient languages, such as cuneiform or hieroglyphics) which added to the price. Fortunately, with the arrival of desktop publishing, more standardized Unicode fonts and easily available specialized fonts, this should no longer be a major prohibitive issue.

Due to their eclectic nature *Festschriften* often contain a wide range of studies dealing with different interests of the honoree, which make them less attractive to buyers who focus on topical collections or reference works. However, it is this possible caveat that marks an inherent strength of *Festschriften* including studies from rather distant fields (such as the wide spectrum of theological research included in the Pfandl *Festschrift*, ranging from Old Testament, New Testament, Systematic Theology, as well as studies focusing on Historical Theology and Applied Theology). While cross-disciplinary research is an often repeated credo in academia,⁹ its implementation is not always easy, particularly considering that each (sub)discipline has (often implicitly) underlying paradigms that may or may not be easy to adapt to a different discipline—or even negotiable by practitioners of a discipline.

Different from peer-refereed journals or an editorial board managing an academic series, quality control is not generally built into the process for the production of honorary volumes. Since the qualifying characteristics of contributions to a *Festschrift* is some type of link to the honoree (perhaps as a student or colleague), the circle of potential contributors is often limited. In consequence, "a *Festschrift* frequently enough also serves as a convenient

⁸ Judging from my experience in different academic institutions around the world, while most PhD programs in North America require students to be able to read German and (to a lesser degree) French publications, many faculty later on do not maintain these skills and consequently limit their access to non-English scholarship.

⁹ Note my take on this issue in Gerald A. Klingbeil, "Methods and Daily Life: Understanding the Use of Animals in Daily Life in a Multi-Disciplinary Framework," in *Life and Culture in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Richard Averbeck, David B. Weisberg and Mark W. Chavalas; Bethesda: CDL, 2003), 401–3.

place in which those who are invited to contribute find a permanent resting place for their otherwise unpublishable or at least difficult-to-publish papers," as noted by Canadian neuroscientist Endel Tulving, reflecting on the merits of a *Festschrift*.¹⁰

Some scholars receive a number of *Festschriften*, usually at different junctures of their professional life. A good example is David Noel Freedman who prior to his death received no less than three honorary volumes of significant proportions, reflecting his different teaching careers at the University of Michigan and the University of California, San Diego, as well as his monumental contribution (and influence) in biblical and ANE studies, particularly when considering the North American scene.¹¹

In some instances, a *Festschrift* can be published as part of a special issue of a journal.¹² It may also be produced in digital and in paper format as was the case for a volume published in honor of Boris Ilich Marshak.¹³

From a sociological perspective, *Festschriften* reflect the social nets, as well as the geographical borders, that link (or separate) scholars and often show clearly the north-south divide. It is the exception to find a scholar from the Two-Third world contributing to the honorary volume of a colleague teaching at Yale, Princeton, Berlin or Vienna. This particular aspect involving the internationality of academia is not easily resolved, even though some initiatives are under way which aim to provide professors and

¹⁰ Endel Tulving, "Are There 256 Different Kinds of Memory?" in *The Foundations of Remembering: Essays in Honor of Henry L. Roediger III* (ed. James S. Nairne; Psychology Press Festschrift Series; New York: Psychology Press, 2007), 39.

¹¹ Carol L. Meyers and M. P. O'Connor, eds., *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Winona Lake: American Schools of Oriental Research/Eisenbrauns, 1983); Astrid B. Beck, et al., eds., *Fortunate the Eyes That See. Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of his Seventieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995); Richard Elliott Friedman and William H. C. Propp, eds., *Le-David Maskil. A Birthday Tribute for David Noel Freedman* (Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego 9; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004).

¹² See, for example, the first issue of volume 11 of *Theologika*, an academic journal focusing on biblical and theological research, published in 1996 by the Faculty of Theology of the Universidad Peruana Unión, Lima, Peru, that was published in honor of the then recently deceased Gerhard Hasel, professor of the Theological Seminary at Andrews University, USA.

¹³ "Ēran ud Anērān: Studies Presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday," [cited 3 March 2009]. Online: <http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran>. The volume was also published in printed format, Matteo Compareti, Paola Raffeta, and Gianroberto Scarcia, eds., *Ēran ud Anērān: Studies Presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Venice: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2006).

students of these regions with more affordable access to first-class scholarly resources and a voice in the international choir of scholarship.¹⁴

With these comments in mind I will now introduce each of the five *Festschriften* included in this review article, following a chronological sequence from earlier to more recent. The fact that I have focused on these volumes is not due to some intricate and logical pattern or rationale. Rather it reflects the fact that publishing houses send their products to different journals for review. In each case I will try to include a brief summary of the honoree's main contribution, followed by a list of the included chapters which will be interspersed with the selective occasional comment.

3. The Michael Heltzer *Festschrift* (1999)¹⁵

Born in Tallin, Estonia, in 1928, Michael Heltzer spent a significant number of years teaching in Vilnius, Lithuania.¹⁶ In 1969 he defended his doctoral dissertation submitted to the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow and two years later he was granted an exit visa to Israel by Lithuanian officials. From 1972 onwards Heltzer taught at the University of Haifa and in 1980 he became a full professor of the Departments of History of the Jewish People, Bible, and Archaeology. Heltzer's particular research interests involved the economy and social order of Ugarit, Northwest Semitic languages and epigraphy, the Bible dealing broadly with the Iron Age periods, as well as important contributions in the study of Persian period Palestine. By 1999 he had authored 14 books, edited four more, published 192 academic articles as well as 100+ critical book reviews and numerous more popular articles.¹⁷

¹⁴ See, for example, the important International Cooperation Initiative (ICI) of the Society of Biblical Literature. This initiative, chaired by Prof. Ehud Ben Zvi of the University of Alberta, involves a drastically reduced membership rate to the Society for students and professors residing in the Two-Third world, access to an increasing number of volumes published by the Society of Biblical Literature in pdf format, the establishment of a number of new monograph series, among them the *Voices from...* series.

¹⁵ Yitzhak Avishur and Robert Deutsch, eds., *Michael: Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer* (Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications, 1999). The volume contains 301 pages of English, French and German studies and 145 pages of contributions written in Hebrew. The hardcover volume is sold for US\$ 80.00.

¹⁶ The brief sketch of Heltzer's life is based on Yitzhak Avishur, "Professor Michael Heltzer: The Man and His Research," in *Michael: Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer* (ed. Yitzhak Avishur and Robert Deutsch; Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications, 1999), 1-4.

¹⁷ See the very helpful bibliography of Michael Heltzer (pp. 5-32), which is another added benefit of a *Festschrift* since it provides a (usually) complete list of publication of

The volume contains 36 chapters, plus two introductory notes dealing with Heltzer's life (pp. 1–4; also 1*–4*) and his extensive bibliography (pp. 5–32). A number of contributions focus on Northwest Semitic epigraphy, including the *editio princeps* of an Edomite Ostrakon,¹⁸ the discussion of four "tickets" inscribed with Phoenician letters, interpreted as an exemption-from-a-payment docket,¹⁹ a new reading of a Qatabanite inscription from Timna',²⁰ a royal Ammonite seal impression, bought on the antiquities market and part of the Moussaieff collection,²¹ a careful discussion of the important Tel Dan stele and its historical significance for the study of the history of the Iron Age II period,²² as well as an Aramaic bowl containing astral imagery, dated to the eighth century B.C.E.²³ Reflecting Heltzer's life-long interest in linguistic matters, a number of contributions focus on these matters (including grammar, etymology, syntax, and semantics).²⁴ The remaining chapters deal with more specific issues, such as a study of clothing at Ebla,²⁵ a very insightful review of the importance and possibilities of Israeli scholarship in Ebla studies (which touches the important, though often silently overlooked element of *Realpolitik* and its effects on academia),²⁶ a study of pack animals (including mules) and wagons in the context of second and first millennium B.C.E. transport and commerce,²⁷ a discussion of

a particular scholar which often is of significant help for scholars working in the same field.

¹⁸ Shmuel Ahituv, "An Edomite Ostrakon," 33–37.

¹⁹ Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "Hypothèses sur quatre 'tessères' phéniciennes inscrites," 39–43.

²⁰ François Bron, "L'inscription qatabanite de la porte nord de Timna'," 69–74.

²¹ Robert Deutsch, "A Royal Ammonite Seal Impression," 121–25.

²² Paul E. Dion, "The Tel Dan Stele and Its Historical Significance," 145–56.

²³ André Lemaire, "Coupe astrale inscrite et astronomie araméenne," 195–211.

²⁴ Including Gregorio del Olmo Lete, "The Semitic Personal Pronoun: A Preliminary Etymological Approach," 99–120; Oswald Loretz, "Die ugaritische El-Dämonologie: Untersuchungen zu den Wortpaaren *tkm* || *il šty* und *aklm* || *qqm*," 127–44; Aharon Dolgopolsky, "On the Etymology of Hebrew *תָּהָיָה*," 157–60; Yaakov Grunfest, "The Consecutive Imperfect in Semitic Epigraphy," 171–80; Edward Lipiński, "'Lion' and 'Lioness' in Northwest Semitic," 213–20; Hans-Peter Müller, "Hebräisch *תָּהָיָה* und punisch *ml'(t)k(t)*," 243–53; and Gary A. Rendsburg, "Notes on Israelian Hebrew (I)," 255–58.

²⁵ Alfonso Archi, "Clothes in Ebla," 45–54.

²⁶ Pinhas Artzi, "Ebla and Us," 55–67.

²⁷ Hans-Günter Buchholz, "Lasttiere und einige Landfahrzeuge (zum Transportwesen des 2. und 1. Jahrhunderts vor der Zeitrechnung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum)," 75–94. I was not aware of this resource (which is typical of studies published in *Festschriften* due to their already mentioned "broad" nature) which intersects with my own research interests, namely, Gerald A. Klingbeil, "Los mulos como índice de posición social en los días de David y durante el siglo X aC: un estudio arqueológico, literario e iconográfico," *Theologika* 14 (1999): 232–71, idem, "Methods and Daily Life: Under-

temple archers in Neo-Babylonian Sippar based on a cuneiform text,²⁸ an innovative study of Gen 1:1 in the light of ANE archaeology, affirming important OT creation theology and highlighting the polemic function of the verse in the larger ANE context.²⁹

Other insightful contributions include a study on the undisciplined son in ANE law collections,³⁰ the intriguing review of epidemics in Late Bronze Age Syria-Palestine,³¹ a discussion of measures of population control in the ANE (both prior to birth and following birth),³² the significant interaction between oral proclamation and written record in ancient Israel (which has important repercussions for one's understanding of writing and transmission of biblical texts),³³ the study of Assyrian lion weights from Nimrud and the "mina of the land,"³⁴ as well as an analysis of the ethno-linguistic character of the Semitic-speaking population of Syria in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, based on onomastic data.³⁵

The volume is well produced and contains a number of pictures and drawings. Each study concludes with its own bibliography. Unfortunately, the editors did not include any indexes. The contributions are generally well researched and their wide range will attract scholars from different disciplines and varying research interests.

standing the Use of Animals in Daily Life in a Multi-Disciplinary Framework," 401-33; idem, "Man's Other Best Friend: The Interaction of Equids and Man in Daily Life in Iron Age II Palestine as Seen in Texts, Artifacts, and Images," *UF* 35 (2003): 259-90.

- ²⁸ Mohammed A. Dandamayev, "Temple Archers in the [sic] Neo-Babylonian Sippar," 95-98.
- ²⁹ Anthony J. Frendo, "Genesis 1:1, an Archaeological Approach," 161-69.
- ³⁰ Richard Haase, "Der unbotmäßige Sohn in altorientalischen Rechts corpora," 181-85.
- ³¹ Horst Klengel, "Epidemien im spätbronzezeitlichen Syrien-Palästina," 187-93.
- ³² Meir Malul, "Some Measures of Population Control in the Ancient Near East," 221-36.
- ³³ Alan Millard, "Oral Proclamation and Written Record. Spreading and Preserving Information in Ancient Israel," 237-41.
- ³⁴ Carlo Zaccagnini, "The Assyrian Lion Weights from Nimrud and the 'Mina of the Land'," 259-65.
- ³⁵ Ran Zadok, "The Ethno-Linguistic Character of the Semitic-Speaking Population (excluding Judeo-Samaritans) of Syria in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods—A Preliminary and Tentative Survey of the Onomastic Evidence," 267-301.

4. The Manfred Dietrich *Festschrift* (2002)³⁶

The scholarly work of Manfred Dietrich is characterized by careful study of the textual witness of the ANE, with particular emphasis on Hebrew, Mandaean, Ugaritic, Akkadian, and also Hurrian texts. After completing his doctoral dissertation focusing on the body of Mandaean vocabulary at the University of Tübingen in 1958 the honoree published 17 monographic studies (up to 2001), most of which focused on the texts and language from Ugarit. The most significant contribution (and in my mind the most widely used), apart from the helpful bibliographical updates of the blossoming field of Ugaritic studies, are the *Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (1976), co-edited with O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, that soon became the de-facto standard for quoting Ugaritic texts (at least in the European context). The volume appeared in a second enlarged edition in 1995 in English.

Dietrich's list of publications is enormous (pp. xiii–xxxiv) and in itself a treasure trove of helpful material and references. The driving force of his research agenda involved a desire to work with the texts and not just the discussions pertaining to specific texts. *Ad fontem* is an often heard notion in academia but seems to have driven Dietrich's research, as demonstrated by the significant amount of suggestive new readings of texts. However, the honoree's academic contribution was not just limited to his own research but involved also significant editorial activity. Dietrich edited numerous volumes of *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* (AOAT), *Ugarit-Forschungen* (UF), *Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syriens-Palästinas* (ALASP), *Alttertumskunde des Vorderen Orients* (AVO), *Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte* (FARG), *Mitteilungen für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte* (MARG), etc. (p. xxxv).

Instead of opting to organize the volume thematically, the editors of the *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux* decided for an alphabetic approach. Thus, the contributor's last name determined the location of the study in the volume. A number of the contributions try to integrate biblical scholarship into the larger context of ANE studies, often using a comparative approach. For example, Emanuel Bouzon compares the laws dealing with fruit trees in the soon-to-be conquered Canaan (Lev 19:23–25) to law 60 of the Hamurabi code,³⁷ while Walter Dietrich reviews the biblical data re Nineveh.³⁸ Other

³⁶ Oswald Loretz, Kai A. Metzler, and Hanspeter Schaudig, eds., *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux: Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (AOAT 281; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002). The monumental hardcover volume contains 51 contributions in German, French, and English, covering 950+ pages. It is sold for €138.00.

³⁷ Emanuel Bouzon, "Einige Bemerkungen zum § 60 der Hammurapi-Stele," 73–87.

³⁸ Walter Dietrich, "Ninive in der Bibel," 115–31.

contributions that are directly relevant for biblical scholars include a discussion of the phrase "Ancient of Days" in Dan 7 in the context of the religious history of Canaan and Israel,³⁹ a suggestive translation of the difficult phrase *הַקֶּסֶף תְּמַת* in Neh 5:11 in the light of interest rates of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian debt certificates,⁴⁰ a study dealing with the concept of "freedom" in the Old Testament,⁴¹ a comparative analysis of depositing weapons in a sanctuary (involving Mari texts and the David and Saul narrative of the OT),⁴² as well as a discussion of Eve and Paradise within the context of temple gardens.⁴³ Other studies directly related to the study of the OT include Peter Weimar's review of the structure and composition of the creation narrative in Gen 1:1–2:4a⁴⁴ and the more conceptual discussion of the relationship between JAHWE and the sun god.⁴⁵

Besides studies with direct bearings on biblical interpretation and/or theology I appreciated a number of more general topics. These included a methodological focus on the interaction of material culture (archaeology), text (philology) and anthropology,⁴⁶ as well as a study mapping exorcist rites to a specific temple plan (ziggurat) during the Neo-Sumerian period.⁴⁷

Like other publications from Ugarit-Verlag, the volume is printed on high quality paper, well edited, and includes numerous pictures and drawing, as well as a number of helpful indexes (objects, text references, names

³⁹ Wolfgang Fauth, "Der ‚Alte der Tage‘ (Dan. 7,9–14.22)," 133–57.

⁴⁰ Michael Heltzer, "The Question of *m'at kesef* Reconsidered," 169–70.

⁴¹ Otto Kaiser, "Freiheit im Alten Testament," 177–90.

⁴² A. Malamat, "Weapons Deposited in a Sanctuary by Zimri-Lim of Mari and David and Saul of Israel," 325–27.

⁴³ Hans-Peter Müller, "Eva und das Paradies," 501–10.

⁴⁴ Peter Weimar, "Struktur und Komposition der priesterschriftlichen Schöpfungserzählung (Gen 1,1–2,4a)," 803–43.

⁴⁵ Frank Zeeb, "Jahwe und der Sonnengott," 899–917. Zeeb rejects the sometimes suggested link between Israel's covenant God and known solar deities (p. 914).

⁴⁶ Maria Krafeld-Daugherty, "Archäologie, Philologie und Anthropologie: eine Synthese," 245–87. This approach resonates with similar suggestions I have made, including another helpful source of information, i.e., iconography. See Klingbeil, "Methods and Daily Life: Understanding the Use of Animals in Daily Life in a Multi-Disciplinary Framework," 401–33, and most recently idem, "'Between North and South': The Archaeology of Religion in Late Bronze Age Palestine and the Period of the Settlement," in *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History* (ed. Richard S. Hess, Gerald A. Klingbeil and Paul J. Ray, Jr.; Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplements 3; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 114–18.

⁴⁷ See Walther Sallaberger, "Der ‚Ziqqurat-Plan von Nippur und exorzistische Riten in neusumerischer Zeit: Einige Anmerkungen,'" 609–18. Sallaberger discusses the drawings and text of a difficult to interpret Sumerian text, housed in the Hilprecht-collection of Jena.

of deities, individuals, places and regions and foreign words), followed by a list of used abbreviations. There is no consistent system of indicating references and some contributions employ the in-text references, common in archaeological research (with a final bibliography) while others have opted for footnoting. While I recognize the added editorial work, I wish the editorial team would have opted for one system and applied it to all chapters. The work is a fitting volume for an extremely productive scholar whose width of expertise has earned him the respect of his students and colleagues.

5. The Yitzhak Avishur *Festschrift* (2004)⁴⁸

Yitzhak Avishur was born in 1939 in the town of 'Ana in Iraq.⁴⁹ His family emigrated to Israel in 1951 where he completed his high school and after further study received his high school diploma. After admission to Hebrew University in 1966 he completed a B.A. degree in 1968, followed by a M.A. degree in 1970 ("Patterns of the Double and Triple Rhetorical Question in the Bible and in Ugaritic") and finally received his doctorate in 1975 ("The Word Pairs in the Bible and Their Parallels in the Semitic Languages of the Ancient Near East"), written under the supervision of Prof. S. E. Loewenstamm. Over the next decades Avishur taught at Ben-Gurion University in the Negev in the department of Bible, the Hebrew University, as well as the University of Haifa (beginning in 1984 to the present). The research interests of Avishur are broad but have focused particularly on the language and style of biblical Hebrew, with particular consideration to comparative Semitics (including Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic and various Arabic dialects). His *opus magnum* is doubtlessly the revised published version of his PhD dissertation.⁵⁰ Based on the helpful bibliography of Avishur included in the volume,⁵¹ he has published 26 books (five of which were published in English, the remainder being in modern Hebrew), edited or co-edited 27 volumes and contributed hundreds of scholarly articles in academic jour-

⁴⁸ Michael Heltzer and Meir Malul, eds., *T'shūrôt LaAvishur: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, in Hebrew and Semitic Languages. Festschrift Presented to Prof. Yitzhak Avishur on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications, 2004). The hardcover volume contains nearly 600 pages of research, 350 of which are written in modern Hebrew, with the remaining pages including English, French, and German contributions. The book sells for US\$ 90.00.

⁴⁹ The following summary is based on Meir Malul, "Yitzhak Avishur: The Man and his Achievements," 9*-12* in the present volume.

⁵⁰ Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word Pairs in Biblical and in the Ancient Semitic Literatures* (AOAT 210; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984).

⁵¹ "Publications of Prof. Yitzhak Avishur," 15-40.

nals or edited volumes, including also numerous lexica and encyclopedia entries.

Avishur's interest in comparative Semitics and lexicography is amply reflected in a number of contributions,⁵² focusing on grammar, stylistic features, lexicography, and semantics of biblical Hebrew. A number of chapters deal with specific interpretative problems, such as a possible link between the water retrieval mission of David's three warriors to the battle of the valley of Refaim,⁵³ a study of premonarchic political units in the Southern Levant during the twelfth and eleventh century B.C.E.,⁵⁴ or an essay by Wyatt arguing that androgyny should be understood as a theological strategy in West Semitic thought.⁵⁵ Further studies helpful for biblical scholars include a programmatic review of political doctrines and ideology in biblical historiography, a topic which has been heatedly debated in the past.⁵⁶ Other contributions involving historical topics include a folklore analysis of king David's biography,⁵⁷ a discussion of the exile-homeland relations dur-

⁵² Chaim Cohen, "Ugaritic Lexicography and Comparative Semitic Philology," 13*-23*; Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz, "'Singen' und 'sich freuen' im Ugaritischen und Hebräischen. Zum Parallelismus *'nyl Hdy* und seinem Reflex in der Lexikographie," 29*-46*; Aharon Dolgopolsky, "Hebrew Etymology in Comparativistic Perspective," 47*-50*; Yaakov Gruntfest, "אִתּ with 'Nominative' in Terms of Fillmore's Theory of Cases," 63*-79*; Hayim Tawil, "Hebrew אִתּ, Akkadian *esēru*: A Term of Forced Labor," 185*-90*; Uzzi Ornan, "Waw Connective—A Consonant Forever [Hebrew]," 55-64; Moshe Azar, "Language Contradicting Intention: An Example of a Pragmatic Interpretation of a Contract [Hebrew]," 65-76; Joshua Blau, "Classical Arabic as Obstacle to the Reconstruction of Ancient Hebrew and the 'Syndrome of Inferences Bereft of Their Promises' [Hebrew]," 115-18; Shamir Yona, "Stylistic and Syntactic Variants in Repeated Texts in the Bible [Hebrew]," 225-32; Yona Sabar, "A Comparative Study between the Hebrew Elements in the Judeo-Arabic Dialects of Iraq and Its Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialects [Hebrew]," 261-94; and Elisha Kimron, "*Né'ûm* and the History of the *qu'l* Pattern [Hebrew]," 295-300.

⁵³ Moshe Garsiel, "The Water Retrieval Mission of David's Three Warriors and Its Relationship to the Battle of the Valley of Refaim," 51*-62*. Garsiel suggests that the warriors spotted a Philistine troop movement and thus gave David an edge in the subsequent battle with the Philistines.

⁵⁴ Michael Heltzer, "On Premonarchical Political Units in the Southern Levant in the 12th(?)–11th Century BCE," 81*-86*. Heltzer focuses upon 55 inscribed bronze arrowheads, of which only one has been recovered in a controlled excavation.

⁵⁵ Nicolas Wyatt, "Androgyny as a Theological Strategy in West Semitic Thought: Some Preliminary Reflections," 191*-98*. Wyatt's suggestions have significant repercussions for studies dealing with the "gender" of God.

⁵⁶ Zecharia Kallai, "Political Doctrines and Ideology in Biblical Historiography. A Programmatic Review," 107*-15*.

⁵⁷ Heda Jason, "King David: A Folklore Analysis of His Biography," 87*-106*.

ing the exilic and postexilic periods,⁵⁸ as well as some thoughts regarding the location of Taanath-Shiloh along the Mannasseh-Ephraim border (Josh 16:6).⁵⁹

Parallel to the Heltzer *Festschrift* already described above (and most likely due to the interest of one of the editors) a significant number of epigraphical studies are included. Deutsch publishes the *editio princeps* of two beautiful personal Hebrew seals which were acquired on the antiquities market and thus their authenticity cannot be verified.⁶⁰ Lemaire publishes a Phoenician royal inscription from a private collection whose whereabouts is currently unknown,⁶¹ while Porten and Yardeni revisit the identity and chronology of the Idumean ostraca⁶² that have appeared on the antiquities market and have been published over the past decade by different scholars.

More general subjects, connecting comparative data from the ANE with biblical questions include Artzi's discussion of two key terms of international relations of the mid-second millennium ANE,⁶³ some insights into Jacob's nuptials with Leah and Rachel from Mesopotamian cultural conventions,⁶⁴ a review of the function of the dog image in the El-Amarna letters,⁶⁵ a new interpretation of Jacob's dream,⁶⁶ the notion of the king's table and

⁵⁸ Bustenay Oded, "Exile-Homeland Relations during the Exilic Period and Restoration," 153*-60*.

⁵⁹ Adam Zertal, "Taanath Shiloh (Joshua 16:6)," 229*-37*.

⁶⁰ Robert Deutsch, "Two Personal Hebrew Seals," 25*-28*. The issue of publishing objects not originating from official digs represents a never-ending discussion in scholarship and does not need to be repeated here.

⁶¹ André Lemaire, "Inscription Royale Phénicienne sur Bateau Votif," 117*-29*.

⁶² Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, "On Problems of Identity and Chronology in the Idumean Ostraca," 161*-83*. These Aramaic ostraca, numbering over 1,600, have generated a significant amount of discussion regarding the historical, social and religious background of the fourth century B.C.E. Cf. André Lemaire, "New Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea and Their Historical Interpretation," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 413-56, and Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, "Social, Economic, and Onomastic Issues in the Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century B.C.E.," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 457-88.

⁶³ Pinhas Artzi, "Two Principal Terms of International Relations in the Ancient Near East of the Mid-Second Millennium [Hebrew]," 103-14.

⁶⁴ Zafira Ben-Barak, "Insights into the Episode of Jacob's Nuptials with Leah and Rachel from the Domain of Mesopotamian Customs [Hebrew]," 119-36.

⁶⁵ Idan Breier, "The Dog as an Image in the El-Amarna Letters [Hebrew]," 169-78.

⁶⁶ Victor A. Hurowitz, "Babylon in Bethel—New Light on Jacob's Dream [Hebrew]," 185-94.

food supply in the city of Tuttul and the Bible,⁶⁷ as well as some aspects of biblical hospitality and its significance for biblical interpretation.⁶⁸

As is typical for contributions to a volume honoring a colleague, the length and depth of the chapters vary from two page affairs to lengthy 20+ page treatises. It would have been nice to include brief abstracts of the contributions written in modern Hebrew (even though one notes an improvement over the Heltzer *Festschrift* from the same publisher inasmuch as a list of English titles of the Hebrew articles has been included) in order to facilitate their appreciation by scholars who do not customarily read modern Hebrew. Many of the chapters include high quality drawings and photos and show careful editorial work, even though (in line with the Dietrich *Festschrift*) the editors did not opt for a uniform reference system. Unfortunately, the volume shares with the Heltzer *Festschrift* the lack of any indexes.

6. The Othmar Keel Non-*Festschrift* (2007)⁶⁹

As indicated by the editors, *Images as Sources* is not really a *Festschrift*, due to the reservations of the honoree to this particular academic genre.⁷⁰ However, in spite of Keel's critical stance towards the genre, the editors felt that the celebration of his 70th birthday required a special measure, particularly in light of the major influence Keel has had on biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies in particular over the past decades. The key issue discussed in this important volume includes the importance of images in the larger context of the material culture for a religious and cultural history of Israel/Palestine, reflecting a life-long research question of Keel.

Keel's academic contribution is irrevocably linked to his work as Professor of Old Testament exegesis at Fribourg University, Switzerland, where he founded an important "school of thought," focusing upon the interplay

⁶⁷ Avraham Malamat, "The King's Table and Food Supply to Messengers in the City of Tuttul and in the Bible [Hebrew]," 253–55.

⁶⁸ Meir Malul, "Some Aspects of Biblical Hospitality and Their Significance [Hebrew]," 233–51.

⁶⁹ Susanne Bickel, Silvia Schroer, René Schurte, and Christoph Uehlinger, eds., *Bilder as Quellen/Images as Sources: Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts and the Bible Inspired by the Work of Othmar Keel* (OBO Sonderband; Fribourg: Academic Press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007). The hardcover volume contains over 600 pages as well as 34 photographic plates. Twenty-six chapters written in German [13] and English [13] include contributions of Keel's students and colleagues. The book sells for €119.00.

⁷⁰ Susanne Bickel, Silvia Schroer, René Schurte, and Christoph Uehlinger, "Vorwort," ix.

between texts and images that is so relevant for exegesis and history.⁷¹ As the founder of the *Orbis biblicus et orientalis* series (including also the related series of *Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Series archaeologica* with close to 30 major volumes and the new *Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Subsidia linguistica* with two volumes) which is now approaching 240 published volumes and can be found in every major university library, Keel has extended his influence even further beyond the classroom of Fribourg University. Following a long *tabula gratulatoria* with hundreds of names, resembling a who's who list of biblical and ANE studies (pp. xiii–xx), as well as a brief review of Keel's creative and original contributions,⁷² the volume contains a helpful chronologically organized bibliography of Keel's prolific academic publications (beginning in 1955 and up to 2007).⁷³ The contributions are divided in four main sections. The first one deals with artifacts (including also those not resulting from legal scientific archaeological excavations). It contains eight chapters and covers a large spectrum of topics, ranging from a discussion of the head of an Early Dynastic statuette (which is linked to decapitation practices),⁷⁴ Canaanite head-shaped cups,⁷⁵ the illustrated catalog of stamp seals from the Liebefeld collection,⁷⁶ another catalogue of scarabs, scaraboids and stamp seals unearthed during the Tel Kinrot (Tell el-'Orême) excavations,⁷⁷ a unique ivory statuette depicting an enthroned figure from Tel Rehov,⁷⁸ an elaborately decorated clay model shrine from the

⁷¹ The term "Fribourg school" has been used repeatedly. See, for example, Christoph Uehlinger, "Preface and Acknowledgements," in *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium BCE)* (ed. Christoph Uehlinger OBO 175; Fribourg: Academic Press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), vii.

⁷² Susanne Bickel, Silvia Schroer and Christoph Uehlinger, "Die Würde des Originals – Ein Dank an Othmar Keel von FreundInnen und SchülerInnen," xxi–xxvii.

⁷³ Izaak de Hulster, Stefan Münger, Silvia Schroer, René Schurte and Christoph Uehlinger, "Bibliographie Othmar Keel," xxix–xlvi.

⁷⁴ Ursula Seidl, "Weiterleben eines Kopfes: Vom Beter zum Schutzgeist," 1–8.

⁷⁵ Uza Zevulun and Irit Ziffer, "A Human Face from Tel Haror and the Beginning of Canaanite Head-Shaped Cups," 9–44.

⁷⁶ Thomas Staubli, "Sammlung Liebefeld: 60 Siegelamulette aus der Südlevante," 45–80. With one exception, the sixty stamp seals were purchased between 1985 to 2005 from Jerusalem antiquity dealers as part of a "rescue buying" operation. The objects are included in the online database of the BIBEL+ORIENT MUSEUM (www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo).

⁷⁷ Stefan Münger, "Amulets in Context: Catalogue of Scarabs, Scaraboids and Stamp-Seals from Tel Kinrot/Tell el-'Orême (Israel)," 81–99.

⁷⁸ Amiḥai Mazar, "An Ivory Statuette Depicting an Enthroned Figure from Tel Rehov," 101–10.

Moussaeiff collection (containing numerous iconographic motifs),⁷⁹ a discussion of Iron Age stone altars from Ḥirbet el-Mudēyine (Jordan),⁸⁰ as well as a Persian period seal from Amman which contains the well-known Master of lions motif.⁸¹

The second major section, entitled *Analyses*, focuses on the larger issues of iconography and illustrates the move from the description of primary source material to the analytical step. Chapters directly linked to Palestine/Syria and the Bible include a study on the headgear and hairstyles of pre-Persian Palestinian female plague figurines,⁸² a discussion of horned altars on seals from Palestine/Israel,⁸³ a review of votive figurines from the Beersheba area,⁸⁴ as well as a discussion of Hellenistic amphora sealings and their historical and religious significance (which covers a period not usually dealt with by practitioner of the Fribourg school).⁸⁵

The third section highlights *Interpretations* and contains seven contributions, four of which are directly linked to the Hebrew Bible. René Schurte asks if the incense cult described in Ezek 8:7–13 is linked to Egyptian incense cults (suggesting a complex redactional history which complicates the matter even further),⁸⁶ while Silvia Schroer attempts a reading of Ps 144:12 which understands the metaphor of the female body within the larger context of the temple.⁸⁷ Strawn and LeMon's contribution discusses the notion of animal praise in Ps 150:6 in the light of relevant ANE iconographic examples⁸⁸ and Bernd Schipper focuses on wisdom literature and the possible reflection of cosmic order.⁸⁹

⁷⁹ Aren M. Maeir and Michal Dayagi-Mendels, "An Elaborately Decorated Clay Model Shrine from the Moussaeiff Collection," 111–23.

⁸⁰ P. M. Michèle-Daviau, "Stone Altars Large and Small: The Iron Age Altars from *Ḥirbet el-Mudēyine* (Jordan)," 125–49.

⁸¹ Jürg Egger and Christoph Uehlinger, "Ḥašabayah and the 'Herr der Löwen': Ein bemerkenswertes Siegel aus dem perserzeitlichen Amman," 151–76.

⁸² Izak Cornelius, "The Headgear and Hairstyles of Pre-Persian Palestinian Female Plague Figurines," 237–52.

⁸³ Wolfgang Zwickel, "Der Hörneraltar auf Siegeln aus Palästina/Israel," 269–92.

⁸⁴ Ephraim Stern, "Votive Figurines from the Beersheba Area," 321–27.

⁸⁵ Max Küchler, "Amphorenstempel in Jerusalem: Ein übersehener Bildträger im Palästina der hellenistischen Zeit," 329–48.

⁸⁶ René Schurte, "Der Räucher kult in Ezechiel 8,7–13—ein ägyptischer Kult?," 403–23.

⁸⁷ Silvia Schroer, "Frauenkörper als architektonische Elemente: Zum Hintergrund von Ps 144,12," 425–50.

⁸⁸ Brent A. Strawn and Joel M. LeMon, "'Everything That Has Breath': Animal Praise in Psalm 150:6 in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Iconography," 451–85.

⁸⁹ Bernd U. Schipper, "Kosmotheistisches Wissen: Prov 3,19f. und die Weisheit Israels," 487–510.

The final brief section, containing only two chapters, is entitled *Horizons* and seeks to integrate larger issues. Long-time University of Fribourg colleague Adrian Schenker discusses the theological implications of Deut 4:15–20 in the context of monotheism and YHWH's relationship to the other gods.⁹⁰ The final contribution by Albert de Pury reviews the claims on Jerusalem throughout the ages (beginning with Israel, Judaism, imperial Rome, Christianity and Islam) as expressed in their buildings and constructions (including temples) and searches for "vertical ecumenism," a term coined by the honoree and one of his important concerns.

True to Keel's concern for direct contact with primary sources, most of the contributions deal with relevant source material before attempting more general conclusions. As already observed in the *Festschriften* for Heltzer and Avishur a significant number of these primary sources did not come to light in legal excavations but were bought on the antiquities' market. This reflects another of Keel's concerns and convictions. Keel would prefer preserving a priceless ancient piece of art over politically correct procedures that would exclude such an item from academic discussion. Different from some of the already discussed *Festschriften* the chapters in *Images as Sources* are generally more balanced in length and depth, avoiding the 2–5 page contributions. Each is introduced by an English abstract (following the practice common in academic journals), describing the main points and results of the chapter, thus opening it quickly to the interested reader. Unfortunately, no indexes have been included, thus making the access to the valuable information contained in the volume more difficult.

7. The Gerhard Pfandl *Festschrift* (2007)⁹¹

Prior to the introduction of the Pfandl *Festschrift* let me state a disclaimer: as a co-editor and contributor I am clearly biased when it comes to a critical review of the volume. Thus, I will limit myself to listing the relevant contributions and more general comments.

Gerhard Pfandl was born in 1943 in Zombkovic, Poland, and is a native of Austria.⁹² After completing an apprenticeship as an electrician following

⁹⁰ Adrian Schenker, "Das Paradox des israelitischen Monotheismus in Dtn 4,15–20. Israel's Gott stiftet Religion und Kultbilder der Völker," 511–28.

⁹¹ Martin Pröbstle, Gerald A. Klingbeil and Martin G. Klingbeil, eds., "For You Have Strengthened Me": *Biblical and Theological Studies in Honor of Gerhard Pfandl in Celebration of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (St. Peter/Hart: Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen, 2007). The hardcover volume contains 27 English [23] and German [4] chapters, covering 500 pages, and is sold for (the comparative bargain price of) €24.95.

⁹² The following comments are based on Martin Pröbstle, "A Tribute to Gerhard Pfandl," xix–xxi.

his schooling, Pfandl felt God's call to the ministry and undertook undergraduate theological training at Newbold College, England, and Avondale College, Australia, before entering the ministry in his native Austria from 1971 onwards. Over the next years he completed a M.A. in Religion from Andrews University and was invited to lecture at Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen, Austria, where he trained a group of young theologians and ministers (including the present author). During his time at Bogenhofen he was also advancing the writing of his PhD dissertation during the yearly two-month summer break and finally graduated with a PhD in Old Testament Studies from Andrews University in 1990, guided by his *Doktorvater* Gerhard Hasel, and focusing on "The Latter Days and the Time of the End in the Book of Daniel."

From 1992–1999 he served as the Field Secretary of the South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists in Sydney, Australia, and following this until the present he is working as an Associate Director of the Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Silver Spring, USA.

The Rabbi (as he is affectionately known to his students) has had a lasting effect on his students as he combined rigorous academic work and research with careful and responsible theological interpretations and pastoral concerns. His own research interests include the study of the book of Daniel, biblical apocalyptic literature, the overarching important issues of biblical hermeneutics, the biblical prophetic gift, as well as Christian apologetics. Pfandl published over 120 articles and studies (including three books and one edited volume),⁹³ but his influence cannot just be measured by the academic litmus test of publications, but is manifested in the life and contribution of his students which he has always sought to support, guide, strengthen and pay tribute to.

The volume is divided into five sections, reflecting with breadth of interest of the honoree. With ten contributions the *Biblical Studies—Old Testament* section is by far the largest. Studies in this section look at the conception and notion of the "church" in the Pentateuch,⁹⁴ a detailed analysis of the blessing of Judah in Gen 49:8–12,⁹⁵ a study of the prayer of Hannah,⁹⁶ the importance of image and imagery in the Hebrew Psalter against the larger issue of iconography,⁹⁷ the people of God in prophetic literature,⁹⁸ a discussion of the

⁹³ Martin Pröbstle, "Publications of Gerhard Pfandl," xxiii–xxx.

⁹⁴ Jiří Moskala, "The Concept and Notion of the Church in the Pentateuch," 3–22.

⁹⁵ Martin Pröbstle, "'Lion of Judah': The Blessing on Judah in Genesis 49:8–12," 23–49.

⁹⁶ Jo Ann Davidson, "'Deep Breathing,'" 51–58.

⁹⁷ Martin G. Klingbeil, "'I Will Be Satisfied with Seeing Your Likeness': Image and Imagery in the Hebrew Psalter," 59–74.

messianic dimension of Isa 7:14 in the larger context of Isa 7–12,⁹⁹ as well as a study dealing with the interpretation of Zech 11.¹⁰⁰ Three studies focus on the book of Daniel, including the topic of prayer in Daniel,¹⁰¹ the characterization of God in the Aramaic chapters of Daniel,¹⁰² and an exegetical and comparative study of the rock becoming a mountain in Dan 2 within the frame work of missiological concerns.¹⁰³

The second section entitled *Biblical Studies—New Testament* contains five contributions. They range from a helpful review of the New Testament Use of the Old Testament,¹⁰⁴ a discussion of Jesus and covenant in the Epistle to the Hebrews,¹⁰⁵ to three studies on the book of Revelation,¹⁰⁶ whose interpretation (being apocalyptic literature) has always played a major role in Pfandl's research interests.

The next section, *Theological Studies*, includes seven chapters, dealing with Jesus Christ and other founders of world religions,¹⁰⁷ the doctrinal essence of Adventism,¹⁰⁸ the development of an Adventist theology of hope,¹⁰⁹ another look at the pre-Advent judgment (which is intricately linked to Adventist eschatological interpretation),¹¹⁰ a historical review of the Seventh-day Adventist doctrine of the sanctuary (1844–2007),¹¹¹ the question of

⁹⁸ David Tasker, "The People of God in Prophetic Literature," 75–84.

⁹⁹ Richard M. Davidson, "The Messianic Hope in Isaiah 7:14 and the Volume of Immanuel (Isaiah 7–12)," 85–96.

¹⁰⁰ William H. Shea, "The Seleucids as Cedars and the Maccabees, Messiah, and Herodians as the Shepherds in Zechariah 11," 141–63.

¹⁰¹ Paul B. Petersen, "God—the Great Giver," 97–105.

¹⁰² Tarsee Li, "The Characterization of God in the Aramaic Chapters of Daniel," 107–16.

¹⁰³ Gerald A. Klingbeil, "'Rocking the Mountain': Text, Theology, and Mission in Daniel 2," 117–39.

¹⁰⁴ Jon Paulien, "New Testament Use of the Old Testament," 167–88.

¹⁰⁵ Ekkehardt Müller, "Jesus and the Covenant in Hebrews," 189–208.

¹⁰⁶ The studies dealing with the book of Revelation vary from a structural analysis [George E. Rice, "Thematic Structure of Revelation," 209–21], via a discussion of the theological concept of the Sabbath [Mathilde Frey, "Theological Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Revelation," 223–39] to the issue of the nature of the commandments mentioned in Rev 12:17 [Johannes Kovar, "Die Gebote in Offenbarung 12,17," 241–63].

¹⁰⁷ Hans Heinz, "Jesus Christus und die Heilsverkündiger in den Weltreligionen," 267–74.

¹⁰⁸ Jack J. Blanco, "The Essence of Adventism," 275–88.

¹⁰⁹ Ángel Manuel Rodríguez, "Towards an Adventist Theology of Hope," 289–304.

¹¹⁰ Norman R. Gulley, "Another Look at the Pre-Advent Judgment," 305–29.

¹¹¹ Alberto Timm, "The Seventh-day Adventist Doctrine of the Sanctuary (1844–2007): A Brief Historical Overview," 331–45.

whether Ellen G. White was a fundamentalist,¹¹² as well as a theology of tithing in the writings of Ellen G. White.¹¹³

The following section focuses on *Practical-Theological issues* and contains three helpful studies, including a rationale for spiritual formation in theological education,¹¹⁴ the interaction between self-discipline and spirituality,¹¹⁵ and the importance of the prophetic gift for the end-time church of God (Rev 12:17).¹¹⁶

The final brief section, dealing with historical studies, includes two chapters. Heinz Schaidinger reviews the data concerning the Christianization of the Frank kingdom in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages,¹¹⁷ while Daniel Heinz discusses the experience of Adventists in the Turkish Empire as an example of Islamic intolerance.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately (and in line with the majority of the earlier discussed *Festschriften*), *"For You Have Strengthened Me"* does not contain any indexes.

8. Conclusion

The *Festschrift* genre enjoys continued popularity and is an appropriate media to communicate appreciation and recognition. Depending on the honoree it tends to be limited to specific circles¹¹⁹ and seems to be a means of crystallizing different schools, a time-honored tradition in academia where respected teachers would form networks of students and colleagues.¹²⁰ In an epoch of internationalization and increased geographical integration one would hope to see less homogeneous lists of contributors and more truly international and cross-cultural participation. Unfortunately, *Festschriften* are generally extremely costly, thus reducing their impact (again) to established educational institutions with healthy book acquisition budgets. Their

¹¹² Frank Hasel, "Was Ellen G. White a Fundamentalist," 347–59. After presenting the relevant data the author denies this, while affirming her strong and faithful commitment to Scripture.

¹¹³ Kwabena Donkor, "Theology of Tithing in Ellen G. White," 361–78.

¹¹⁴ Carol M. Tasker, "A Rationale for Spiritual Formation in Theological Education," 381–98.

¹¹⁵ Rex D. Edwards, "Self-Discipline and Spirituality," 399–408.

¹¹⁶ Ted N. C. Wilson, "An Extraordinary Last-Day Gift from God," 409–17.

¹¹⁷ Heinz Schaidinger, "Über die Christianisierung des Frankenreichs in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter," 421–51.

¹¹⁸ Daniel Heinz, "Adventisten im Osmanischen Reich—Ein Fallbeispiel für Islamische Intoleranz," 453–78. Heinz includes the transcript of a number of original documents from the period.

¹¹⁹ Note the overlap of scholars for the first four *Festschriften* reviewed in this article.

¹²⁰ One should just think of the competing schools of Hillel and Shammai.

quality can range from extremely creative and substantial to a less than stellar submission that is included not due to its academic merit but rather due to the personal link the author maintained to the honoree. The five *Festschriften* introduced in this review article contain significant contributions in their respective fields and show a high level of quality editing and publishing.

THESIS AND DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies

“A Comparative Study of the Christology of Edward Irving, Ellet Joseph Waggoner and Alonzo Trevier Jones”

Researcher: Remwil R. Tornalejo, Master of Theology, 2009

Advisor: Woodrow Whidden, Ph.D.

There is a divergence of the views as to what kind of human nature Christ assumed during the incarnation. Two main camps regarding this subject have been in bitter tension. One camp believes that during the incarnation, Christ assumed a pre-fall sinless human nature. The other camp holds the position that Christ assumed the post-fall sinful nature. The antecedents of this debate are very much rooted in the following figures.

Edward Irving, a Scottish preacher, claimed that during the incarnation, Christ assumed the sinful human nature. E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones, early Adventist writers, held similar views. This study attempts to compare their Christologies. The main question that this study addresses is, what are the similarities and dissimilarities between their christological views? Furthermore, is there any textual evidence which proves that Irving was read by both Waggoner and Jones? Finding the similarities and dissimilarities between their ideas will prove helpful to understand whether Christ during the incarnation assumed the pre-fall sinless nature or the post-fall sinful nature.

This study uses the historical and theological method of investigation. From the results of comparing their respective Christologies, similarities and dissimilarities were noted.

In the course of this research, it became apparent that their christological views are strikingly similar, particularly on the subject of Christ's fallen human nature. They all asserted that Christ, during the incarnation, assumed sinful flesh. They were in consonance that since Christ came to redeem fallen humanity he had to take humanity's fallen substance and agreed that even though Christ's flesh was sinful, he was sinless in character for he never committed actual acts of sin.

Irving's, Waggoner's and Jones' christological views manifest a very close resemblance. But in spite of these similarities a definitive answer as to whether Irving influenced Waggoner and Jones could not be directly established.

"Possible Correspondences between Church Growth Principles and Nine Chinese Churches in Metro Manila"

Researcher: Jadaza M. Hintay, D.Min., 2008

Advisor: James H. Park, Ph.D.

Several attempts by the Central Luzon Conference of Seventh-day Adventists to increase the number of members at the Manila Chinese Seventh-day Adventist Church have not met with success over the years. In contrast, nine non-Seventh-day Adventist Chinese churches in Metro Manila have exhibited excellent growth.

The purpose of this study is to describe what major factors contributed to the growth of the Chinese Christian churches based on the literature, personal observation and interviews. The findings show that small groups, leadership, spiritual gifts, dynamic worship, loving relationships, family and evangelism are important church growth factors among the nine Chinese Christian churches.

The study also shows that contextualization is a very important factor as well in the growth of the Chinese Christian churches. Based on the findings of this study, seven recommendations were proposed for effective church growth for the Manila Chinese Seventh-day Adventist Church.

"A Comparative Study between the Teaching and Compassion Model of Jesus with Buddhists in Thailand"

Researcher: Surachet Insom, D.Min., 2008

Advisor: James H. Park, Ph.D.

This study seeks to contextualize Christ's teaching and compassion into Buddha's teaching and compassion to reaching out to Buddhists in Thailand. To reach this goal, it first examines the biblical-theological foundations of Christ's teaching and compassion as the mandate of his disciples. Second, it explores Buddha's teaching and compassion, its practice and influence in the Thai culture, and how the Thai Buddhists practice their religion.

Third, it explores the success and failure of Christian churches in general and the Seventh-day Adventist Church in particular in how they have applied Christ's method in Thailand. The Adventist practice of teaching and compassion was studied in Chiangmai Adventist Academy by reaching Buddhist students.

A summary with conclusions and outlines provides recommendations for the Thai Seventh-day Adventist schools, church institutions, and church

members. Practical suggestions on how to implement Christ's teaching and compassionate methods for reaching Buddhists are given, along with further suggestions for future study.

"The Identification and Timing of the Marriage of the Lamb in Revelation 19:6-8"

Researcher: Chawngdinpui J. Tlau, Ph.D. in Religion, 2008

Advisor: Richard A. Sabuin, Ph.D.

The marriage of the Lamb in Rev 19:6-8 has been subjected to diverse interpretations by scholars: preterists generally hold the marriage of the Lamb as God taking the church as his new bride after divorcing his unfaithful wife Israel in A.D. 70; idealists interpret it as the present spiritual bliss enjoyed by the church; futurists see it as the union between Christ and the church at the end of the judgment of God which is just prior to the *Parousia*; and, finally, historicists consider it to be the union between Christ and the church at the *Parousia*. Employing the historical-grammatical method of exegesis, this study seeks to answer two pertinent questions concerning the marriage of the Lamb: What is it? And when will it take place?

In order to find appropriate answers to these questions some background such as the Exodus motif, the theme of kingship and marriage in Ps 45, the reception of the eternal kingdom by the Son of Man in Dan 7:13-14, the concept of the "Day of the LORD" in the prophetic writings, and the theme of restoration described in nuptial language are considered. These backgrounds indicate that the marriage of the Lamb is to be understood in the context of the eschatological day of the LORD.

The exegetical analysis of Rev 19:6-8 demonstrates that the marriage of the Lamb is in apposition to the eschatological reign of God. It shows that God's eschatological reign covers a series of events, beginning with the last seven bowl plagues and culminating with God making his dwelling with humanity. Thus, the marriage of the Lamb must be seen neither as a single event nor simply as spiritual bliss as claimed by the four schools of interpretation, but rather as representing all the events associated with the eschatological reign of God.

"The 'Hardening' and Salvation of Israel in Romans 9:14-18; 11:1-10; 11:25-29"

Researcher: Myline Decilos Asumbrado, Ph.D. in Religion, 2009

Advisor: Kim Papaioannou, Ph.D.

The issue of the "hardening" and salvation of Israel in Rom 9-11 has resulted in different views among scholars relating to God's faithfulness to his covenant with Abraham, election and predestination, the identity of "all Israel" in 11:26, and the "way" of salvation for both Jews and Gentiles. To clarify these issues, the historical-grammatical and inner-biblical study of "hardening" and Israel's salvation are considered in the plague narrative (Exod 7-11, i.e., the hardening of Pharaoh's heart) and some "hardening" passages in the book of Isaiah (6:8-13; 29:9-14; 63:15-19; 65:1-7). The analysis of the Old Testament background of "hardening," whether in the case of Pharaoh or Israel, shows that the initiative came from the people.

In the context of Rom 9-11, three passages are studied closely, employing the Greek words for the "hardening" of Israel in 9:18; 11:7, 25 (σκληρύνω, and the verbal and noun forms of πωρόω). A superficial reading of these passages could suggest the notion that the "hardening" of Israel is the work of God. However, placing these texts within the whole context of Rom 9-11 illustrates that the "hardening" is the people's prerogative, similar to the experience of Pharaoh in the plague narrative (Exod 7-11) and Israel at the time of Isaiah. The failure of Israel to attain righteousness by keeping the law and to acknowledge Christ as their Savior led to their "hardening" (cf. 9:27; 11:1-10, majority of Israel). In this way the "hardening" of Israel became a means for the Gentiles to be part of God's people which would eventually provoke Israel to jealousy, and return to God. Thus, God used the very "hardening" of his chosen people for the salvation of the Gentiles and Israelites themselves (cf. 11:11-24). This implies that the "way" of salvation for both Jews and Gentiles is through faith in Christ. Hence, this study rejects the two different "ways" of salvation for Jews and Gentiles (single-covenantal theory versus the double-covenantal theory).

"The Use of Jeremiah in the Book of Revelation"

Researcher: Dong-gee Lyu, Ph.D. in Religion, 2009

Advisor: Aecio E. Cairus, Ph.D.

The present study deals with the source background of the book of Revelation. It is recognized that a proper understanding of the Old Testament background of Revelation is necessary in order to do justice to the intention

of the author. John the Revelator is indebted to the prophetic traditions of the authors of the Old Testament. Though John does not directly quote the passages of the Old Testament as entire sentences or with exactly identical wording, so many names, events, themes, and images that allude to the Old Testament are ubiquitous in his book. This study has explored, in particular, the allusions to the OT book of Jeremiah.

The Jeremiah allusions in Revelation include three remarkable thematic patterns discussed in the second chapter of this research: Christological, ecclesiological, and eschatological applications. John finds fulfillment of OT prophecies in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Messianic or divine titles, features, and events are often used to refer to Christ. The author of Revelation draws on passages of the Old Testament that deal with ethnic Israel to designate the church, or "spiritual Israel." The Old Testament Israel finds its ultimate fulfillment in the Christian church. The Apocalypse is oriented toward the end-time. By borrowing from the Old Testament, the author gives the readers clues to what will happen to the people of God during the days before the *parousia* of Christ.

Of the forty-seven possible allusions to Jeremiah in Revelation identified in the United Bible Societies' edition of the Greek New Testament, twenty-eight have been found to be especially relevant. The allusions to Jeremiah, as in his general use of the Old Testament, include the three thematic patterns of christological, ecclesiological, and eschatological application discussed in the second chapter of this research. The Revelator's use of Jeremiah is densely placed in Rev 17 and 18, which describe the ultimate destruction of Babylon and the release of God's people. More parallels between Revelation and Jeremiah are thematic rather than verbal. Some allusions seem just a detail, but they are all accumulated and strengthened by one another to make sure the final fulfillment of the promise. Thus, John reasserts and assures the readers, by alluding to the book of Jeremiah with a specific intention, i.e., that the destruction of end-time Babylon will be as surely realized as was the ultimate fulfillment of the OT prophecy.

CRITICAL BOOK REVIEWS

Beetham, Christopher A. <i>Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians</i> (Mxolisi Michael Sokupa).....	99–103
Martin, Carlos. <i>Christianity among the Religions of the World</i> (James H. Park)	103–105
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Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians, by Christopher A. Beetham. BINS 96. Leiden: Brill, 2008. Pp. xviii + 342. ISBN 978-90-04-17081-0. Hardcover. US\$ 189.00.

Christopher Beetham was at the time of the publication of this volume Assistant Professor of Biblical Studies at the Evangelical Theological College and simultaneously Assistant Professor of New Testament at the Ethiopia Graduate School of Theology, both institutions located in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This volume is a slightly revised and expanded edition of his Ph.D. dissertation, completed at Wheaton College Graduate School.

Past studies have focused on OT quotations in the NT (p. 1). It is only recently that scholars have begun to recognize allusions and echoes of the Hebrew Bible in the NT. This significant stride calls for a clearly defined criteria and method. Beetham breaks new ground in this new wave in Pauline studies because his volume is not preceded by any monograph or journal article that explores the use of the OT in Colossians (pp. 1–2).

This book is divided into 14 chapters with helpful appendices that provide charts with summaries and additional data. A selection of bibliographic material apart from the elaborate footnotes is provided. Sets of indexes are also annexed at the end of the book.

Chapter one introduces the subject and outlines the history of research with reference to OT allusions and echoes in Colossians. These range from early and sketchy references to more recent and extensive lists (pp. 2–8).

Chapter two introduces the reader to a dilemma that all researchers have to come to terms with in dealing with allusions and echoes: a choice between an author-oriented or reader-oriented approach (p. 12). On the one hand, the audience- or reader-oriented approach poses the question whether the audience would have recognized an allusion proposed by a researcher (p. 13). Beetham in this volume, however, aims at orienting his argument in the direction of an author-oriented approach (p. 13). The au-

thor opts for the literary-critical method which is usually presupposed by an audience-oriented approach (p. 14).

Beetham employs the historical-critical and literary-critical methods as tools but claims to disregard their presuppositions (p. 15). Beetham, however, seems to avoid the use of the term "intertextuality." This may be because intertextuality tends to be text-focused not author-focused. Intertextuality has been defined by Susan Hylen (*Allusion and Meaning in John 6* [BZNT 137; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005], 50) as "a feature of texts; it is a way of understanding how texts intersect ... on the other hand allusion is a device of a text, a specific means of establishing relations with other texts." This demonstrates that there is a need to clarify the relationship between intertextuality and allusions and echoes, particularly in the light of Beetham's author-oriented approach. This particular chapter also provides helpful definitions of terms: quotations (pp. 15–17); allusions (pp. 17–20); echoes (pp. 20–24) and parallels (pp. 24–27). Beetham also proposes methodologies for determining both allusions and echoes (p. 27).

For allusions he suggests the key elements of (1) availability; (2) word agreement or rare concept similarity; and (3) essential interpretation link. He also suggests other complementary criteria: (1) scholarly assessment; (2) OT and Jewish interpretive tradition; (3) other verified references from the same OT context in Colossians; (4) occurrence elsewhere in the Pauline corpus; and (5) thematic coherence (pp. 32–34).

In determining echoes Beetham refers back to the first set of criteria (as outlined above), used for determining allusions as a starting point. The next step seems to be subjective: he suggests that "there is an element of intuition and judgment in the detection and verification of an echo" (p. 35). A person who is steeped in the Hebrew Bible may more easily recognize echoes than a person who is not well-tuned to it.

The methods outlined above for determining and verifying allusions and echoes are applied by Beetham to eleven passages in Colossians (chapters 3–13). The author suggests six steps for determining the use of the identified echoes and allusions in Colossians in the light of their context and use in the OT (p. 36). These include (1) "exegesis of the Old Testament passage alluded to and echoed in both its broad and immediate context" (p. 36); (2) "comparison of the versions and analysis of Paul's textual use" (p. 38); (3) "investigation of the interpretive tradition of the Old Testament text" (p. 38); (4) "exegesis of the appropriate text in Colossians" (p. 38); (5) "examination of the other uses of the same OT text elsewhere in the NT as well as in the early Church Fathers" (p. 39); and (6) "analysis of Paul's hermeneutical use of the OT" (p. 39). The ultimate key question that this set of criteria promises to address is "what Paul has done with the Scriptures of Israel in his

letter to the church in Colossae?" (p. 40). Beetham's efforts in this volume to develop a method for determining and verifying allusions and echoes will meet the suspicion of those who believe that a precise definition of terms may not be achievable (cf. Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John* [WUNT II.158; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003]).

The 11 passages are neatly summarized in appendix one of this volume, with columns indicating the respective OT references, Colossians references, whether it is an echo or an allusion, indicators of shared language or concepts, and hermeneutical presuppositions (pp. 267–70). However, in this summary the author does not give the entire OT passage that is explored for the meaning of the allusion or echo. The themes he provides, i.e., "new creation", "Christ as Messianic son of David", "temple", "Exodus motif", "circumcision" and "idolatry" are not clearly explained. Neither is it indicated whether they refer to the OT, Colossians or both. The author seems to be aware of the dangers of parallelomania (pp. 5, 11).

In chapters 3–13, dealing with echoes and allusions, Beetham carefully examines both the OT and Colossian passages. It may be an interesting exercise to use the criteria that Beetham proposes to test the allusions and echoes that have been identified by other authors. This may be a good test for the method that he proposes. It is not clear to the reader whether all these texts have been tested and the 11 were selected as those that best passed the tests. He cites as his contribution, "to put forward and defend the 11 allusions and echoes detected by the methodology" (p. 8). The 11 allusions and echoes seem to be well defended by the proposed methodology.

Chapter fourteen enumerates the ramifications for this research. It is in this chapter that the author summarizes what he recognizes as the contribution of this volume.

(1) The detection of allusions and echoes itself contributes to the OT in NT research. The letter to the Colossians was almost abandoned in the search until this volume emerged to stimulate a discussion that has been started by some and viewed with suspicion by many.

(2) There is a contribution in the letter's Christology by identifying, for example, echoes of the Davidic lineage (2 Sam 7:12–18 echoed in Col 1:13b; Col 1:9 echoes Col 1:13b; Col 1:9 echoes Isa 11:1–9). Hendrikus Boers in his volume entitled *Christ in the Letters of Paul: In Place of a Christology* calls for a focus on Scripture rather than imposing external categories of Christology onto Scripture. His focus is on Romans, Corinthians, Galatians and Thessalonians. Again Colossians and other letters are left out for lack of direct quotations on the subject (see the present author's review of Boers' work in

Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary 10 [2007]: 91–94). Beetham should be commended for opening a window to the depths into which the subject of Christology can be taken in Colossians.

(3) Beetham grabs the bull by the horns in his analysis of the long debated subject of the opponents in Colossians. His proposal calls for the abandonment of the widely-held position that there is syncretism to be perceived from the way the opponents are presented in the letter to the Colossians. However, he does not solve the problem of the juxtaposition of Jewish elements with elements that do not resonate with Judaism. Nor does he attempt to harmonize all these elements into Judaism. He seems to still perpetuate the same problem of putting everything in one category of opponents.

Jerry Sumney, in his earlier work, relates to the key residual problems that one finds in Beetham's approach regarding the opponents. He argues: "The most certain characteristics of the teachers Colossians opposes (e.g., mild asceticism and attaining visions) could be related to many religious and philosophical movements of the time. But no cluster of beliefs or practices is sufficient to affirm a definite connection with any of them" (Jerry L. Sumney, "Studying Paul's Opponents: Advances and Challenges," in *Paul and His Opponents* [ed. Stanley E. Porter; Pauline Studies 3; Leiden: Brill, 2005], 58). I have suggested elsewhere that a careful analysis of the literary structure of Colossians may contribute towards a better understanding of the opponents in Colossians. This view develops a possibility in the same direction with Sumney's proposal. Although the view has been suggested by a few scholars, there has been a lack of support from the text itself (see Mxolisi M. Sokupa "Holy Persons and Holiness in Colossians," *Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary* 11 [2008]: 145–58).

(4) Another contribution is made that seems to fit well in the category of NT theology. Beetham relates some of the echoes and allusions to the promise-fulfillment scheme. Five out of the 11 references have this prophetic or typological fulfillment. In his discussion the author marginalizes Col 2:16, 17 which has been acknowledged even by one of the standard lexicons (*BAGD*) as typological. In this volume it is relegated into the concluding chapter and appendix section with little acknowledgment of its import on the subject. At the least this passage should have featured among the 11 identified echoes and allusions of the OT in this letter. Proper attention given to this passage will also bring to light other relationships with Galatians and Hebrews where only Ephesians has been recognized. There is a need to acknowledge and adequately interpret the typological scheme in this neglected passage as well, an issue I am currently addressing in my Ph.D. dissertation. The discovery of OT echoes and allusions that surface in

other Pauline letters leads the argument against Pauline authorship to its place of final rest.

This book is a must read for all Pauline scholars and students. It maps a new path for a direction of investigation that has been neglected in Colossian studies for a long time. The rigorous approach in the development of methodology for the study of allusions and echoes is highly commendable and may serve as a firm foundation for such studies within and beyond Pauline studies.

Mxolisi Michael Sokupa

Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

Christianity among the Religions of the World, by Carlos G. Martin. Lanham: University Press of America, 2007. Pp. xiv + 439. ISBN 978-0-7618-3793-0. Paperback. \$55.00.

Carlos G. Martin is currently director of the Institute of Missions and Evangelism at Southern Adventist University, Collegedale, Tennessee. He obtained a Ph.D. in Missions and Evangelism from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas. His eight years of teaching and missionary work in Asia provided him with an opportunity to meet people of most religions and he has done additional seminars in Europe, Africa, Australia and all three Americas. He is also author of *The Science of Soul Winning and Turning the World Upside Down*.

According to the preface, this work grew out of Martin's own class and lecture notes which he developed over the years. It is meant to serve as an introduction to World Religions and was designed as a textbook for Christian colleges, seminaries and universities. It is written from an Interdenominational Protestant/Evangelical perspective and is meant not only to inform the student about the religions of the world but also to inspire them for mission work (pp. xiii-xiv).

The textbook was designed in the form of a very clear outline in order for teachers and students to have easy access to the plethora of information contained in the book, (somewhat akin to Wikipedia). Each of the chapters not only focuses on giving a very helpful historical overview of the religion and its theology, but also includes suggestions for Christian witness to that particular group. There are excellent diagrams, tables and figures throughout the book which aid in the understanding of complex subjects. The book is very well researched, with an excellent endnote section of both print and web resources to provide pathways for further exploration of the subject matter.

The book is divided into seven parts. The first section begins with an excellent overview of the concept of religion and its major categories (pp. 3–16). It then discusses the rather thorny issue of “Is there salvation outside of Christianity?” (pp. 17–22) and provides a good rationale for evangelism (pp. 23–32). The next three sections deal with the major religions of South Asia including Hinduism (pp. 35–72); Jainism (pp. 73–83); Sikhism (pp. 85–99); the major divisions of Buddhism (pp. 103–51). Part four begins with an introduction to Chinese religions (pp. 155–65) and discusses in detail the East Asia religions of Confucianism (pp. 167–181); Taoism (pp. 183–97) and Shintoism (pp. 199–218). The final chapter in this section gives insights in how to witness to other East Asians (pp. 219–30). This section of the book is particularly strong and shows that Martin’s eight years of missionary work and teaching in Asia provided him with an intimate knowledge of the people and the challenges facing Christianity in that part of the world.

Part five discusses the religions of the Middle East including Judaism (pp. 233–53); Zoroastrianism (pp. 255–63); Islam (pp. 265–304) and Bahá’ism (pp. 305–13). As missiologists and practitioners of Christian religion know, the challenge facing the church in understanding and relating to Muslims is almost overwhelming. Martin does a good job here of introducing the basic tenets of Islam, giving a brief overview of the challenge of contextualization and providing an excellent bibliography to promote further study.

The sixth part begins with a chapter outlining a brief history of Christianity (pp. 317–28) which is then followed by chapters on Catholicism (pp. 329–49), Protestantism (pp. 351–59); Christian sects and cults (pp. 361–72) with a final chapter on the secular mind and Christianity (pp. 373–84). Although Martin is right on the mark for including secularism in this section, he perhaps needs to broaden his scope by not only discussing the atheistic secularist but the growing influence of secularism within “religious” people as well. In addition, although the discussion of the Catholic Church is excellent, the size and historical influence of the Orthodox religion should have perhaps garnered further exploration (pp. 331–33). The last part discusses Traditional Folk Religions (pp. 387–403) and Occultism (pp. 405–18). The book concludes with a very good general index (pp. 419–35) and an index to biblical references (pp. 437–39).

In my opinion, Martin has more than met his goal in providing a good introduction to World Religions for colleges, seminaries and university teachers and students. It was an invaluable resource to me recently when I was given the task of teaching a graduate level class on world religions here in Asia. I found the organization, writing and illustrations in the book to be

clear and very useful, a real compendium of valuable information for the teacher and student alike.

I would have further appreciated the book if a hard bound copy would be available for about the same price as the current soft bound version. I would also observe that the small graphics used to introduce some of the chapters did not measure up to the content of the book. These quibbles aside, the book is a valuable asset for those who want to both understand and witness to the religions we find in our world today.

James H. Park

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More than Meets the Ear: Discovering the Hidden Contexts of Old Testament Conversations, by Victor H. Matthews. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008. Pp. xii + 198. ISBN 978-0-8028-0384-9. US\$ 25.00.

This book begins with an important preface by the author in which he explains that the book aims to focus on the embedded dialogue in biblical stories, utilizing "the method and techniques current in sociology, critical geography, socio-linguistics, and social psychology" (p. vi). The objective of the book is to equip the reader to "step more effectively into the world of ancient Israelite conversations" and make the written text "become living social artifacts of their or the author's time and social environment" (p. viii).

In each of the five chapters which follow the brief list of abbreviations (pp. xi-xii), Matthews attempts to briefly introduce a method from the social sciences or communication theory and then apply it to a particular biblical narrative in order to demonstrate its usefulness to the biblical reader.

Chapter one spends time explaining some of the current methods developed within the fields of social psychology and sociology. Matthews draws heavily on the theoretical groundwork of leaders within the field such as Gilles Fauconnier, Maxwell Atkinson, Mark Knapp and John Daly, and then goes on to explain the use of embedded dialogue as a way of engaging the biblical text. The author focuses on the "formal speeches and debates, casual conversations, and commercial transactions" (p. 1) within the OT narratives. These embedded dialogues are included in the narrations for a purpose and uncovering both the purpose and exploring the choice of words, as well as the situation and culture in which the dialogue takes place gives the reader of the biblical text more opportunities to fully understand the communicative intent of the biblical author. Chapter two further develops the application of the methods described in chapter one with an extended exegesis of the story of Judah and Tamar found in Gen 38. Particular attention is given to the structural analysis drawing on cognitive linguistics and mental space

theory. Mental space theory explores the position a speaker takes within a conversation. This is “based not only on what is said, but on the nuances of the words, the emotional and physical situation, and the reaction of the other participants in the conversation” (p. 53).

In chapter three conversation analysis is further explored using the work of Harvey Sacks and Erving Goffman to formulate methods used in the exegetical study of David and Michal found in 2 Sam 6 and the story of David, Nabal and Abigail found in 1 Sam 25. Conversation analysis assumes that when people talk they are not only giving information, their thoughts or particular knowledge, but they are also “communicating their identities and their relative positions, and they are engaging in active social interaction...the process therefore provides a key to the study of their society through its forms of conversation” (p. 68). Chapter four turns to public discourse and uses positioning theory to illuminate the confrontation between King Ahab and the prophet Micaiah in 1 Kgs 22, examining the strategies used to attempt to intimidate or challenge. Positioning theory attempts to “examine the varying skills of individuals as well as the ethics of manipulating others” (p. 104). Although the word manipulate holds in itself negative connotations, Matthews points out that all communication is manipulative in the sense that the speaker wishes to change something—the physical environment, or the thoughts and perceptions of the hearers. This knowledge is fraught with moral implications “since those who have the power to position others may do so for personal gain or glory or for altruistic or perceived ‘greatest good’ purposes” (p. 105). In the final chapter the author draws on the work of urban geographers such as Edward Soja and Setha Low as well as psychologists Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Levinson to explore spatial context as a cognitive factor in social interaction. Here the focus is on “the physical and perceived qualities of particular space that provide both opportunity for and restraints on speech” (p. 131). Particular attention is given to the differences between public and private space within different cultural settings. Recognizing these spaces is of vital importance in understanding dialogue as what one is free to say and how one’s words depend largely on whether you are in the privacy of your home with only family members present or on national TV making an inauguration speech. Matthews then presents an interesting comparative analysis of the use of space in Isa 7 and 36 and Baruch and his scroll in Jer 36. The final chapter is followed by a very useful glossary of technical terms (pp. 156–68). The 19-page current bibliography (pp. 169–87) serves as a useful introduction to the most important literature in the social sciences and communication theory. A subject index, as well as a brief Scripture index, is also included. The Scripture index reflects the volume’s focus on the Old Testament, but a few New Testament, deuterocanonical works and extrabiblical texts are also included.

Even though this book introduces numerous methodologies and precisely explains theories which are normally new ground for the biblical scholar, the book proves to be extremely readable and one soon gets the feeling that one is uncovering a treasure trove of new tools. The volume is highly didactic with its well-designed layout, and numerous insets and text-boxes which highlight information or provide background and definition of technical terms. Each chapter ends with several thought provoking questions. Matthews uses numerous OT examples to illustrate the various methodologies, but it would have perhaps even been more useful to see a particular biblical section interpreted using several of the methodologies, in order to see how the text itself could benefit and not simply serve as an example. Given the number of new concepts and methodologies introduced, more help could be given to a biblical exegete on how to match a method for a biblical text in order to gain the most insight. Perhaps something like this could have been included in a final chapter as one is left with the feeling that the volume ends rather abruptly without connections being drawn between the different chapters. A few other small features could also add to the value of the book, such as, area subheadings in the bibliography. While the list of abbreviations shows an impressive use of journals from the area of biblical studies, no journals from any of the other fields are included. This would have been helpful to biblical scholars interested in digging deeper into a new field. The volume aims at the "serious student of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament who is willing to stretch beyond traditional exegetical methods" (p. x). This groundbreaking book is a wonderful addition to interdisciplinary exegetical analysis. While this book will be of tremendous use in the classroom it can also be used in private study. After having read this volume one will not be able to look at OT conversations in the same way knowing that there is so much "more than meets the ear."

Chantal J. Klingbeil

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E. J. Waggoner: From the Physician of Good News to the Agent of Division, by Woodrow W. Whidden II. Hagerstown: Review & Herald, 2008. Pp. 401. ISBN 978-08-280-1982-8. Hardcover. US\$ 22.99.

This work was planned as part of a Review and Herald series by different authors on important figures of Adventist history. There is a work on James White, a co-founder of the church, entitled *Innovator and Overcomer of Difficulties*. Another, on Joseph Bates, is titled *The True Founder of Seventh-day Adventism*, considering the man who brought James and Ellen G. White, and the entire circle of believers in the 1844 message, to the Sabbath truth

and a clear understanding of the three angels' message. W. W. Prescott is a *Forgotten Giant of Adventism's Second Generation*, and John H. Kellogg, a *Pioneering Health Reformer*, but also a serious threat to the unity of the church during his last years.

Thanks to Whidden we now have a work on Ellet J. Waggoner, who also started as a medical missionary and finally associated himself with the same Dr. Kellogg in his divisive enterprise. But this is not the way in which we want to remember Waggoner.

Ellet Waggoner trained as a physician, but his most important healing performance was not medical but theological. Adventism in the late 1800 was ailing with legalism and Arianism. When Adventists tried to shake the Christian world free from the Sunday tradition they took the side of the often scorned Decalogue with such vigor that they sounded Pharisaical. In 1888 Ellet Waggoner, editor of *Signs of the Times*, together with Alonzo T. Jones, helped to bring the church back to the New Testament emphasis on righteousness by faith. The support of Ellen White was the key factor in this restoration, as it was later in helping the church to overcome Arianism, which denied Christ's full divinity. Waggoner was never fully cured from Arianism, but he did improve, and Alonzo T. Jones became fully Trinitarian.

After 1888 Waggoner helped Ellen White and Alonzo Jones in preaching tours which spread the message of righteousness by faith among the rank and file of the church and its ministers in spite of entrenched opposition from some church administrators. In 1892 Waggoner was sent to England as editor of the local church paper, and he became the first president of the South England Conference ten years later. But then he requested a change of career and became a theology teacher.

At this point standard biographical information on Waggoner becomes puzzling. Against the counsel of E. G. White, Waggoner became in 1904 a teacher in a Battle Creek College resurrected by Kellogg, in opposition to the church leadership, after the faculty and students of that College had been moved from Battle Creek to Berrien Springs in 1902 (Emmanuel Missionary College, today Andrews University). Then, at the end of 1905 Waggoner's wife divorced him for adultery. She immediately married another man, and Waggoner had to leave the Adventist ministry.

In his book Whidden illuminates these strange events with both an in-depth biography and a penetrating analysis of Waggoners' thought and pilgrimage through truth and then theological deviations.

The "Early Years" section, covering the family of Ellet's parents, his birth, infancy, youth and education, quickly establishes the acumen of Whidden as a biographer. Even though little (such as letters from this pe-

riod) is extant in the way of direct documents on Ellet and his family, Whidden is able to reconstruct in detail a very complete picture through public records and recollections of descendants, correcting in the process points such as the School of Medicine which graduated Ellet, which is not Bellevue but Long Island, New York, a fruit of persistent investigation (pp. 40, 41).

The second part, on the 1888 General Conference session, describes the formation of the theological crisis of the church, the work of Waggoner in the General Conference session and its aftermath, and his theological thought at the time. This is a terrain so often trodden that it is difficult to blaze a new trail. However, the theological analysis of Whidden makes the study relevant to current theological discussion. For example, Whidden shows that, in spite of superficial similarities, the early Waggoner cannot be cited as a precedent of the "universal legal justification" position. He maintained that faith is a prerequisite of forgiveness (p. 75).

The third part, on the British years (1892–1903), describes the pernicious effects of new theological orientations in Waggoner's thought. Here the analysis is particularly illuminating. Whidden is able to put a finger on the ulcer which slowly permeated the thought of Waggoner and led to his decline. While in 1888 Waggoner had emphasized the objective action of salvation by God—what he did for us by means of his Son in Calvary—in the 1890s he started to move in the direction of a subjective salvation, i.e., what God is accomplishing in me through his Spirit, namely, the Christ living in me. In this way, human accomplishments—the fibers of human devising which had been brushed away from the robe of Christ's righteousness in 1888—returned by the back door under the guise of sanctification and perfection. By the early 1900s Waggoner was moving in the direction of positing a final perfect generation of Christians who will complete the work initiated by Christ on Calvary by showing the falsehood of the accusations of Satan.

A particular point in the system of ideas of Waggoner is very telling in this regard. Waggoner, with A. T. Jones, inaugurated in the early 1890s a new way to speak of the human nature of Christ. While J. N. Andrews had carefully distinguished in the pages of the *Review* between our sinful flesh and the mere likeness of a sinful flesh in Christ—a biblical distinction made by Paul in Romans—and specifically denied any sinful propensity in Christ, the new theologians stated both that there was no difference in the sinfulness of our flesh and Christ's flesh, and also that Jesus had our evil propensities. Never mind that this forced Waggoner to explain the actual sinlessness of the life of Christ through the virtues of his "miraculous birth," thus erasing with the elbow what he was writing with his hand (pp. 265, 266). Waggoner liked the sound of the phrase "Christ's sinful flesh" because he

wanted, through the idea of a mystical reproduction of Christ's experience in our own lives, to preach a sinlessness attained in the present.

This ran counter to the clear presentation by E. G. White of sanctification as a work never finished in our lifetime. Indeed, E. G. White specifically warned Waggoner that his new presentation of sanctification constituted an "alpha of deception" that would later lead to lethal practical consequences. She had seen among Millerites around 1844, and later in Indiana, defenders of the idea of a "holy flesh" in this life which was supposed to make one ready for translation at the Second Coming in contrast with a lower standard for being resurrected. She knew the outcome: holy fleshers became blind to the very real evidence of continuing sinfulness in their flesh. Whidden shows that E. G. White warned Waggoner that the result of this blindness would be "free-lovism," which actually transpired in his life. In spite of these warnings, he could not see the sinful side of the "spiritual affinity" he felt for a woman who was not his wife.

Adultery was not the only result of his mystical leanings. Together with A. T. Jones, Waggoner fought for a concept of the church which had no place for structures such as a president. In England he wanted a constitution to be approved which would have done away with any fundamental statement of beliefs and placed each member directly under the direction of the Holy Spirit. These ideas suited the thoughts of Kellogg in his struggle against the GC president at the time.

Finally, we have the account of "The Years of Decline" (1904-1916). Readers would be interested to know what happened during these years. The work of Whidden, carefully done through years of research, will no doubt remain a standard for future studies on the life of Waggoner and other figures of the past, especially in its balance between theological analysis and careful biographical investigation. But more importantly, it may help to lead us away from theological theories with pernicious effects. The author is to be commended for this comprehensive approach to events in Seventh-day Adventist denominational history.

Aecio E. Cairus

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