

# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

# SEMINARY STUDIES

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VOLUME IV

JANUARY 1966

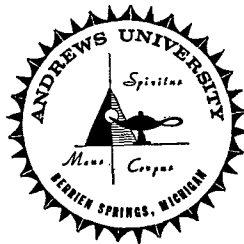
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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY, BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN, USA

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY  
SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary  
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.

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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in January and July of each year or as a double issue in July. Annual subscription rates of \$2.50 are payable to Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, USA.

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## DID SENNACHERIB CAMPAIGN ONCE OR TWICE AGAINST HEZEKIAH?

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

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There is no lack of literature on the subject under discussion. Articles, too numerous to mention,<sup>1</sup> and several monographs,<sup>2</sup> have dealt with the problems of Sennacherib's dealings with King Hezekiah of Judah, especially with the question whether the Assyrian king conducted one campaign or two campaigns against Palestine.

There are two principal reasons why until recently it has been impossible to give a clear-cut answer to this question. The first reason is that the Biblical records agree in some parts with Sennacherib's version of the one and only Palestinian campaign recorded by him, but in other parts seem to refer to events difficult to connect with the campaign mentioned in the Assyrian annals. The second reason is that the Biblical records bring Sennacherib's campaign—or one of his campaigns, if there were two—in connection with "Tirhakah king of Ethiopia" (2 Ki 19 : 9; Is 37 : 9); but the campaign of Sennacherib, of which numerous Assyrian annal editions have come to light, took place in 701 B.C., some 12 years before Tirhakah came to the throne.

<sup>1</sup> A bibliography on articles in periodicals and treatments of the subject in commentaries and histories of Israel or of Assyria up to 1926 is found on pp. 117-122 of Honor's dissertation mentioned in n. 2. For more recent discussions see H. H. Rowley, "Hezekiah's Reform and Rebellion," *BJRL*, XLIV (1962), especially the footnotes on pp. 404-406.

<sup>2</sup> G. Nagel, *Der Zug des Sanherib gegen Jerusalem nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1902); J. V. Prášek, *Sanheribs Feldzüge gegen Juda* ("Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft," vol. VIII; Berlin, 1903); Leo. L. Honor, *Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine* ("Contributions to Oriental History and Philology," No. 12; New York, 1926).

In the past the historical problems involved have been treated in three ways: (1) Some historians think that the mention of Tirhakah in the Biblical records is an anachronism and must be considered a historical error made either by the original narrator or by the later compiler.<sup>3</sup> (2) Other scholars maintain that Tirhakah with his army actually fought against the Assyrians in 701 B.C., although he could not have done so as a king, but probably as commander-in-chief of King Shabaka, who ruled at that time over Egypt, and that Tirhakah was called "king" by the Biblical narrator after he had acceded to the throne.<sup>4</sup> (3) Again, some historians believe that the mention of Tirhakah reveals clearly that parts of the Biblical narrative refer to a second campaign of Sennacherib against Judah, of which no Assyrian records have been found so far.<sup>5</sup>

In recent years evidence has come to light which eliminates the second of the three arguments, making it impossible to assume that Tirhakah could have confronted Sennacherib with an army in 701 B.C. Since, however, some scholars have questioned the validity of this evidence,<sup>6</sup> a new discussion of

<sup>3</sup> For example M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (2d ed.; New York, 1958), p. 268: "The reference . . . to the intervention of 'King Tirhakah of Ethiopia' against Sennacherib (2 Kings xix, 9) is evidently due to a mistake." Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 425: "It is true that there is an anachronism in naming the Ethiopian king Tirhakah, but since there has to be an anachronism somewhere, this is no count against the view here presented or in favor of the two-campaign theory."

<sup>4</sup> For example André Parrot, *Nineveh and the Old Testament* (London, 1955), p. 55, n. 3: "It may be pointed out, however, that before his [Tirhakah's] accession he occupied a very important position in the Egyptian army."

<sup>5</sup> For example W. F. Albright, *The Jews*, ed. L. Finkelstein (New York, 1949), p. 43: "Deuteronomic tradition connects a disastrous pestilence with an Assyrian invasion which took place after the accession of the Ethiopian prince Taharqo (Tirhakah) to the Egyptian throne in 689. Since Hezekiah died in 686, the invasion would have occurred between 689 and 686."

<sup>6</sup> For example K. A. Kitchen, in *The Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin*, No. 39 (Summer 1964), Supplement, p. V; *ibid.*, No. 41 (Spring 1965), p. 21.

the problem is justified, especially with regard to the recently discovered Tirhakah inscriptions.

### *Tirhakah*

Tirhakah (using the Biblical spelling instead of the Egyptian Taharqa) was the third Ethiopian king of the 25th Dynasty. He is one of the many kings of the late Egyptian period—from the 21st to 25th Dynasties—concerning which our historical knowledge is fragmentary and in many respects rather meager.

The rule of the Ethiopians over Egypt started about 750 B.C. when Kashta, the king of Napata, a city lying between the third and fourth Nile cataracts, made himself master of Upper Egypt and had his daughter Amenerdas made "God's wife of Amen" in the great temple of Amen at Thebes. In this way he gave to his dynasty legal status in Egypt. Kashta's son and successor, Piankhi, conquered all of Egypt around 730 B.C. His military campaign is recorded in detail on a stela found in 1862 in the temple at Jebel Barkal.<sup>7</sup> Although he seems to have overrun all of Egypt, he did not occupy the country, but returned to Nubia after having received the submission of the principal local Egyptian rulers including Tefnakhte, the prince of Saïs and founder of the 23d Dynasty. Tefnakhte was later followed by his son Bochchoris, whom the Greeks praised as a righteous and wise ruler.

After this brief Ethiopian intermezzo of Kashta and Piankhi in Egyptian history, an actual and more lasting rule over Egypt by the Ethiopians was established by Shabaka, the younger brother of Piankhi, who according to Manetho conquered all of Egypt, took Bochchoris captive and had him burned alive.<sup>8</sup> The texts of Sargon II of Assyria seem to indicate that Egypt fell to the Ethiopians between 715 and

<sup>7</sup> J. W. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1906), IV, 406-444.

<sup>8</sup> Manetho, Fragment 67b (Loeb ed., p. 169).

711 B.C.<sup>9</sup> A date in that period agrees with the statement of Herodotus that "the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for 50 years,"<sup>10</sup> although Manetho, according to the preserved fragments, allows only 40 or 44 years for the 25th (Ethiopian) Dynasty.<sup>11</sup> After Shabaka's death, Shabataka, a son of Piankhi, took the throne. He was later followed by his brother Tirhakah.

The chronology of the 25th Dynasty kings depends entirely on the date for the commencement of the 26th Dynasty, which for the first time after the 12th Dynasty is based on unassailable chronological data and is therefore well established. According to good historical evidence Psamtik I, the first king of the 26th Dynasty, came to the throne during the Egyptian year which began Feb. 5, 663 B.C., and ended Feb. 4, 662.<sup>12</sup>

The connection between the first king of the 26th Dynasty and the Ethiopian King Tirhakah is made by the "First Serapeum Stela," known for more than a century. This stela, being the tombstone of a deceased sacred Apis bull, is now in the Louvre, Paris (No. 190). It contains the valuable chronological information that the animal was born in the 26th regnal year of Tirhakah, and that after having lived for 21 years and 2 months, it died in its 22d year on the 21st day of the 12th month in Psamtik's 20th year.<sup>13</sup> This means that

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (3d ed.; Stuttgart, 1953), vol. II, part II, p. 57: "zwischen 720 und 711"; Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), p. 342: "The texts of Sargon appear to indicate 711 B.C. as the likely date"; J. Leclant and J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, LI (1952), 27: "Les textes de Sargon permettent de placer cette conquête après 715 et au plus tard en 711."

<sup>10</sup> Herodotus, ii. 137 (Loeb ed., I, 441).

<sup>11</sup> Manetho, Fragments 66 and 67 (Loeb ed., p. 166-169).

<sup>12</sup> The data on which the chronology of the 26th Dynasty are based are conveniently collected by F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953), pp. 154-159.

<sup>13</sup> A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1857), Pl. XXXVI; É. Chassinat, "Textes provenant du Sérapéum," *Recueil Travaux*, XXII (1900), 19; Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 492; Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, V (Cairo, 1915), 34, 35. (On the chronological difficulties

Tirhakah's 27th year was the year which preceded Psamtik's first year. Since Psamtik I's first year was 663/662, Tirhakah's 27th regnal year was the year 664/663 B.C.,<sup>14</sup> which leads back to 690/689 as Tirhakah's first regnal year. This date is, however, at variance with dates obtained from Manetho, who according to Eusebius gave Tirhakah a reign of 20 years, but according to Africanus 18 years.<sup>14</sup> If Manetho's data were valid, Tirhakah could not have come to the throne before 682 or 680 B.C., depending on which of Manetho's figures is accepted with regard to the length of Tirhakah's reign—the one transmitted to us by Africanus or the one preserved by Eusebius. It is possible, however, that the 20 (or 18) years of Manetho's statement refer only to the years of Tirhakah's sole reign following the death of his brother Shabataka. Since the new Kawa inscriptions (to be discussed below) provide hints that a coregency of six years between Shabataka and Tirhakah took place, it is possible that Manetho's data refer to Tirhakah's sole reign.

For Shabataka's reign we are on much less secure grounds than for that of Tirhakah. The highest regnal year of that king attested by any inscription is his third year, recorded on the quay in front of the great temple at Karnak. When this inscription, published by Legrain in 1896, was discovered, it provided for the first time inscriptional evidence for the correct sequence of the following three kings of the 25th Dynasty: Shabaka, Shabataka, and Tirhakah. Furthermore, this inscription states that the third year of Shabataka was the year "when his majesty was crowned as king."<sup>15</sup> This

with regard to the end of Tirhakah's reign, and the relationship of his reign and the Assyrian conquest, see G. Goossens, "Taharqa le conquérant," *CdÉ*, XXII (1947), 239-244.

<sup>14</sup> Manetho, *loc. cit.* For the latest computations of Tirhakah's reign see, G. Schmidt, "Das Jahr des Regierungsantritts Königs Taharqas," *Kush*, VI (1958), 121-123.

<sup>15</sup> G. Legrain, "Textes gravés sur le quai de Karnak," *ZÄS*, XXXIV (1896), 111-121; Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-453.

seems to indicate that Shabataka had ruled for two years together with his uncle Shabaka, and that he did not assume a sole reign until his third year, presumably after Shabaka had died. Manetho gives to Shabataka 14 years, according to Africanus, or 12 years, according to Eusebius.<sup>16</sup> For lack of any other evidence scholars have therefore generally regarded a date somewhere in the neighborhood of 700 B.C. as the accession year of Shabataka.

On the length of Shabaka's reign some inscriptional evidence is available. One inscription in the Wadi Hammamat is dated in the king's 12th year,<sup>17</sup> and another one on a statue in the British Museum in the 15th year,<sup>18</sup> while Manetho gives him 12 years according to Eusebius, but only 8 years according to Africanus.<sup>19</sup> In view of the various uncertainties with regard to the length of reign of Shabaka and Shabataka, it is understandable that the chronologies of these two kings, as adopted by scholars in recent works, reveal a great variety of opinion. The comparative table on page 7 shows this.

After an interval of many years during which no additional historical information concerning the 25th Dynasty came to light, some important evidence with regard to Tirhakah was discovered in recent years during the excavations at Kawa, the ancient Gematen, a Nubian site lying south of the Third Cataract. This additional information is of special interest to Biblical scholars since it seems to provide the answer to the question whether the Assyrian campaign of 701 B.C. was the only one carried out by Sennacherib against Palestine. Since discoveries made in Egypt have seldom shed direct light on Biblical events, the Kawa finds are therefore unusually important.

<sup>16</sup> Manetho, *loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 14, No. VI; J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (Cairo, 1912), p. 96, No. 187.

<sup>18</sup> Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 14, No. VII; E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Kings of Egypt*, II (London, 1908), 70; J. Černý, *ASAE*, LI (1951), 441, 442; Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, LI (1952), 25; Albright, *BASOR*, No. 130 (April, 1953), p. 11, n. 33; *ibid.*, No. 141 (Febr., 1956), p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Manetho, *loc. cit.*



	Drioton- Vandier <sup>20</sup> (1946)	Macadam <sup>21</sup> (1949)	Leclant- Yoyotte <sup>22</sup> (1952)	Albright <sup>23</sup> (1953)	van der Meer <sup>24</sup> (1955)	Gardiner <sup>25</sup> (1961)
Shabaka	716-701	708-697	717-701	710/09-696/5	710-696	716-695
Shabataka	701-690	699-684	701-689	698/7-685/4	697-684	695-690
Tirhakah	690-664	689-664	689-664	690/89-	689-664	689-664

During the excavations at Kawa, carried out in 1930-1931 under the direction of F. Ll. Griffith and in 1935-1936 under L. P. Kirwan, a large number of inscriptions ranging from the Middle Kingdom to Christian times came to light.<sup>26</sup> The most important inscriptions are those of King Tirhakah. They contain records of his benefactions to the temple of "Amen-Re of Gematen [= Kawa]." Among them Stela IV and Stela V, both dated to year 6 of Tirhakah, occupy first place in historical importance.<sup>27</sup> Actually, Stela V contains no new text, since it is a duplicate text of several known inscriptions. Its first part, presenting an account of an exceptionally high Nile in Tirhakah's sixth year, is a duplicate of two texts of

<sup>20</sup> É. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (2d ed.; Paris, 1946), p. 601.

<sup>21</sup> M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa; I. The Inscriptions* (London, 1949), p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Leclant and Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, p. 27. The parenthetical note "au plus tôt" is added by Leclant and Yoyotte to the year 701 in both instances, *i.e.*, where it stands for the terminal year of Shabaka and for the beginning regnal year of Shabataka's reign.

<sup>23</sup> Albright, *BASOR*, No. 130 (April, 1953), p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> P. van der Meer, *The Chronology of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt* (2d ed.; Leiden, 1955), pp. 81, 82, table 4.

<sup>25</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

<sup>26</sup> The inscriptions, Egyptian and Meroitic, were published by the expedition's epigrapher, M. F. Laming Macadam, in a 2-vol. work in 1949 after a delay of many years caused by World War II, for the preface is dated 1940; see above, note 21. The following important articles reviewing this publication are worth noting: J. J. Clère, *BiOr*, VIII (1951), 174-180; B. van de Walle, *CdÉ*, XXVI (1951), 94-101; A. J. Arkell, *JEA*, XXXVII (1951), 115-116; Leclant and Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-39; J. A. Wilson, *JNES*, XII (1953), 63-65; J. M. A. Janssen, *Biblica*, XXXIV (1953), 23-43.

<sup>27</sup> Stela IV is now in the Merowe Museum in the Sudan, while Stela V is in the Ny Carlsbad Glyptotek in Copenhagen, Denmark.

which one was found at Coptos and the other at Maṭa'nah.<sup>28</sup> The last part of the new Stela V is a duplicate of a stela of which fragments were found at Tanis by E. de Rougé and Flinders Petrie many years ago, which, however, because of its fragmentary condition was greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted.<sup>29</sup>

Because of their unusual importance those points which throw light on Tirhakah's life or on the historical events of his time must be listed.

Stela IV, erected in year 6 of Tirhakah, contains the following items of historical interest:<sup>30</sup>

1. Tirhakah is the ruling king's brother.
2. He had spent his youth in Nubia.
3. He came to Thebes in the company of young men "whom his majesty, King Shabataka, had sent to fetch [Tirhakah] from Nubia, in order that he might be there with him, since he [= Shabataka] loved him [= Tirhakah] more than all his brothers."
4. He was accompanied on his trip to Thebes by "the army of his Majesty."
5. On his way to Egypt he visited the temple of Amen-Re at Gematen (= Kawa) and was disturbed to see it in a ruinous state.
6. After he was crowned he sent workmen from Egypt to Gematen to repair the temple.
7. At that time he was in Memphis.

Stela V, erected also in year 6 of Tirhakah<sup>31</sup> is mainly

<sup>28</sup> V. Vikentieff, *La haute crue du Nil et l'averse de l'an 6 du roi Taharqa* (Cairo, 1930).

<sup>29</sup> F. Petrie, *Tanis*, II (London, 1889), pl. IX; the translation, made by F. Ll. Griffith, is found on pp. 29-30. See Breasted's translation and brief discussion of the Tanis Stela in his *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 455-457. Some additional fragments were recovered by P. Montet during his excavations at Tanis and published by Leclant and Yoyotte in *Kémi*, X (1949), 28-42.

<sup>30</sup> See Macadam's translation and commentary of Stela IV in *op. cit.*, pp. 14-21.

<sup>31</sup> See Macadam's transcription, translation and commentary of Stela V in *op. cit.*, pp. 22-32.

concerned with four events, repeatedly called "wonders," which had all occurred in the sixth year of the king's reign:

1. An unusually high Nile of 21 cubits.
2. Heavy rains in Nubia, a land which ordinarily has no rainfall.
3. The coronation of Tirhakah in Memphis after Shabataka's death.
4. The visit of his mother Abar, whom he had not seen for several years, ever since he had left her in Nubia at the age of 20, when he had been summoned by his royal brother to join him in Egypt.

The evidence of the two Kawa stelae seems clear enough to conclude that Tirhakah had spent the first 20 years of his life in Nubia, and had not been in Egypt before being called by his brother Shabataka to share the throne with him. In establishing this coregulation, Shabataka merely followed what his uncle Shabaka had done when he made Shabataka coregent. Since the date of Tirhakah's coronation in 690/89 is certain, Tirhakah must have been born in 710 or 709 B.C. as Macadam first pointed out,<sup>32</sup> a conclusion which since the publication of the Kawa stelae has been endorsed by several scholars.<sup>33</sup>

Those who have been doubtful about a coregency between Shabataka and Tirhakah point to the ambiguous sentence in lines 12/13 of Kawa Stela IV which says either (1) that Tirhakah "called to mind this temple [of Amen-Re at Gematen], which he had beheld as a youth [at the age of 20] in the first year of his reign," or (2) that he "called to mind this temple in the first year of his reign, which he had beheld as a youth." Macadam has discussed this passage and marshals weighty arguments in favor of the first reading, which he endorses.<sup>34</sup> It would indeed be difficult to understand why

<sup>32</sup> Macadam, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Albright, *BASOR*, No. 130 (April, 1953), p. 9; Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 344, 345; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>34</sup> Macadam, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19. Leclant and Yoyotte (*BIFAO*, LI, 19-23) disagree with Macadam's readings and interpretations of the

Tirhakah, if he became sole ruler in 690/89 B.C., says that he remembered in his first year the bad condition of the temple at Gematen, but then waited another five years before doing anything to remedy the situation, because he states clearly that the repair work was begun in his sixth year. On the other hand, it makes perfect sense to see him starting to repair the temple in his sixth year, as soon as he had become sole ruler, having at that time a free hand to act as he desired, after remembering what the temple had looked like when he had seen it on his way to Egypt some five years earlier.

Adding the evidence as presented in the Kawa Stelae to the known dates of Tirhakah's reign as attested by the First Sereapeum Stela, the following historical conclusions can be reached: Tirhakah was born in 710 or 709 in Nubia, where he spent his youth until, at the age of 20, King Shabataka, his brother, summoned him to Egypt. He left his mother behind, and on his trip, being deeply religious, was greatly disturbed by the dilapidated state of repair in which he found the temple of Amen-Re at Gematen. Reaching Thebes in 690 or 689, he was made coregent by Shabataka and began to reckon his regnal years from that event on. When during his sixth year, *ca.* 684, Shabataka died in Memphis, Tirhakah became sole ruler. Several happy events seem to have made that same year, Tirhakah's coronation year as sole ruler, even more propitious, namely, unusual heavy rains in Nubia which "made all the hills [of that dry country] glisten," an exceptionally high inundation level of the Nile in Egypt, and the visit of his mother, whom he had not seen for several years. She probably came to witness the coronation ceremonies in Memphis.

passages which seem to point to a coregency, and Schmidt (*op. cit.*, p. 127, 128) has pointed to some weighty evidence against a six-year coregency between Shabataka and Tirhakah, though the last-mentioned scholar would allow a short coregency lasting up to one year. Since the matter of the coregency has no bearing on the main argument, that Tirhakah became king—either as coregent or sole ruler—at the age of 20 in 690/89 the question of the coregency will no longer here be pursued.

This evidence makes it impossible to date Sennacherib's campaign, which is connected in 2 Ki 19 : 9 and Is 37 : 9 with Tirhakah's arrival in Palestine, earlier than 690/89 B.C. It also makes it impossible to see in Tirhakah the Egyptian king who fought against Sennacherib in the battle of Eltekeh in 701 B.C., although the various records mentioning this battle lack the name of the king of Egypt whose army supposedly was defeated at Eltekeh. The result of this evidence is that those who defend the theory that Sennacherib carried out two campaigns against Hezekiah, one in 701 B.C. and a second one after 690/89, are now in a much stronger position than they were before the discovery of the Kawa stela.

Having discussed the Egyptian evidence favoring a two-campaign theory, we must now turn to the Assyrian records to determine how they fit into it.

#### *Sennacherib's Annals*

A large number of cuneiform texts, mostly building inscriptions, contain information about Sennacherib's military campaigns. These sources, called annals, are conveniently listed by D. D. Luckenbill in his publication of the "Oriental Institute Prism" of 689 B.C.<sup>35</sup> The final edition of Sennacherib's campaigns, as far as presently known, is contained in this prism. It presents the records of eight campaigns, as does also the "Taylor Prism" of the British Museum, composed two years earlier, in 691 B.C. The various texts recovered in the course of the last century contain the records of either one, two, three, four, five, six or eight campaigns, depending on the year of Sennacherib's reign in which each was composed. The "Bellino Cylinder," for example, written in 702 B.C. describes only the first two campaigns, while the "Rassam Cylinder," written in 700, as well as six other duplicate cylinders, three in the British Museum and three in the Berlin

<sup>35</sup> D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 20-22.

Museum, contain the records of the three first campaigns of Sennacherib.

While on the one hand a minor military action, called merely a raid by Luckenbill,<sup>36</sup> carried out against a few villages in the neighborhood of Nineveh, was listed as the fifth campaign, on the other hand, expeditions undertaken by Sennacherib's generals against Cilicia in 696 and Til-garimmu in 695, were not listed in the official annals.<sup>37</sup> They are known from other documents. Strangely enough, no annals have so far been found which contain a record of Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon, the most violent act of his reign, which is known only from a rock inscription at Bavian and from a foundation stela found at Assur.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, of the last seven years of Sennacherib (689-681) no historical records have come to light except a fragmentary report of an undated campaign against the Arabs mentioned on an alabaster slab in the Berlin Museum.<sup>39</sup>

This brief survey of the Assyrian records dealing with the military activity of Sennacherib shows clearly the varied character of these records, and also, that they have not yet provided us with a complete picture of what actually happened during Sennacherib's reign. Certain campaigns were repeated in all official records, others were mentioned only occasionally, as for example the campaigns against Cilicia and Til-garimmu; one battle which ended in defeat—the battle at Halulê—was described as a victory,<sup>40</sup> and some other battles or campaigns of which the king may not have had reason to boast may have been left unrecorded. It is therefore entirely possible to assume that a campaign to Palestine, which ended in a catastrophe, carried out during Sennacherib's last seven years, was not entered in any official records.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1927), II, 137, 138.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151-153, 185.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>40</sup> See Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>41</sup> It may be in order, in this connection, to quote a statement made

It may be simply an accident that no annals of Sennacherib composed later than 689 have come to light so far, and any further discoveries of such later annals may alter the picture as we see it now. On the other hand, it appears that from Sennacherib's last years there simply was nothing to boast about, for which reason no annals were produced. It would certainly be strange if fate should have given to archaeologists and Assyriologists annalistic records of Sennacherib for almost every one of the first 15 years of his reign, and for some years several duplicates, but not a single copy of the annals from his last years if such annals had been written.

If therefore historical reasons, like those connected with Tirhakah, discussed above, lead us to the conclusion that Sennacherib must have led a military campaign to Palestine after 690 B.C., the Assyrian records cannot be called upon to rule out such a later campaign. In fact, it is reasonable to assume that as war-loving a king as Sennacherib would not have been satisfied to sit at home for eight years without going on another military campaign. Probably he carried out more than one campaign during the last eight years of his reign, although we have no Assyrian records of such undertakings, except for the one undated campaign against the Arabs, which has already been mentioned.

many years ago, but still valid today, about the historical reliability of Assyrian records: "All official historical literature of the Assyrians culminates in the excessive praise of the king, and has as its only aim the transmission of this praise to posterity. It is clear that under these circumstances the credibility of royal inscriptions is subject to suspicion. Not one royal inscription admits a failure in clear words; instead we know of cases in which an obvious defeat has been converted into a brilliant victory by the accommodating historiographer. In most cases, however, it was common practice to pass in silence over any enterprises of which the king had little reason to boast. Even where the king was successful, one must not fail to deduct much from the enthusiastic battle reports, and one should not forget to remain critical toward unexpected transitions or sudden breaks in the narrative where the reader hoped to hear much more." O. Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 227, 228.

*Sennacherib's Third Campaign*

After these general remarks about the annals and other records of Sennacherib containing historical information, a discussion of his third campaign, conducted in 701 B.C., is in order. As has already been stated, this third campaign is described in practically every historical document of Sennacherib written after this event had taken place. The various copies giving detailed descriptions of the third campaign are practically identical and show that they all go back to one master copy. However, some non-annalistic records mention this campaign only briefly.

The latest known edition of Sennacherib's annals is found in the "Oriental Institute Prism" of 689 B.C., and practically all modern translations of Sennacherib's account of his Palestinian campaign in 701 go back either to this edition<sup>42</sup> or to the "Taylor Prism" of the British Museum of 691 B.C.<sup>43</sup>

Sennacherib's first military action during his third campaign was directed against Phoenicia, controlled at that time by Sidon. Luli, King of Sidon, was defeated and fled, after which all coastal cities as far as Acre are said to have fallen into the hands of the Assyrians. A new king by the name of Ethba'al was installed over Sidon and Tyre, and the submission of the rulers of Amurru, Arvad, Byblos, Ashdod, Ammon, Moab, and Edom was accepted. Continuing his campaign southward along the coast, Sennacherib invaded the territory of Ashkelon and captured its rebellious king Sidqia, who was sent to Assyria into exile. Detaching from Ashkelon several cities over which Sidqia had ruled, he installed over the remaining part Rukibtu, a former king of Ashkelon, who evidently had

<sup>42</sup> See for example, A. Leo Oppenheim, in J. B. Pritchard, ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (2d ed.; Princeton, 1955), pp. 287, 288.

<sup>43</sup> See for example, E. Ebeling in H. Gressmann, ed., *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1926), pp. 352-354; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (2d ed.; New York, 1926), pp. 340-344; Parrot, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54; D. J. Wiseman, in D. W. Thomas, ed., *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York, 1961), pp. 66, 67.



been loyal to Assyria but had been pushed from the throne by Sidqia.

In the meantime an Egyptian army had arrived in support of the anti-Assyrian forces in Palestine. This army is said by Sennacherib to have consisted of chariotry of Egyptian (*Musri*) kings and of the king of Ethiopia (*Meluhha*), which would mean, if correctly reported by the Assyrians, that Shabaka's army was supported by forces of Egyptian princes, probably of the Delta region. Sennacherib claims to have decisively defeated the Egyptian and Ethiopian army at Eltekeh.<sup>44</sup> He then turned against Ekron, a neighboring city whose king, Padi, had tried to remain loyal to Sennacherib, but whom his own subjects had turned over as prisoner to King Hezekiah of Judah. Ekron was taken and its leading citizens were severely punished. Later Hezekiah was forced to release Padi, whom Sennacherib re-established on his throne at Ekron, and whose territory was enlarged by areas taken away from Judah and Ashkelon.

Having secured the coastal areas of Palestine and repelled the Egyptian forces which had attempted to aid the anti-Assyrian coalition, Sennacherib was now free to turn his attention to Hezekiah of Judah, who seems to have been more or less the soul of the western anti-Assyrian alliance. Sennacherib claims to have captured 46 of Hezekiah's fortified cities and numerous open villages, from which he said he deported 200,150 people<sup>45</sup> and great numbers of livestock. He further-

<sup>44</sup> Eltekeh was located at *Khirbet el-Muqenna*<sup>s</sup> by W. F. Albright (*BASOR*, No. 15 [Oct., 1924], p. 8; No. 17 [Febr., 1925], pp. 5, 6). However, that site has recently been identified as Ekron by J. Naveh (*IEJ*, VIII [1958], 87-100). Whatever the exact location of Eltekeh and Ekron is, there can be no doubt that they lay near each other, as can be gathered from Josh 19: 43, 44, and from Sennacherib's statements.

<sup>45</sup> This number has often been considered as an exaggeration (see for example A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* [New York, 1923], p. 305; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* [7th ed.; Stuttgart, 1925], p. 389, n. 4), and A. Ungnad has tried to show how the number 2,150 in the original records became 200,150 in the official annals, "Die Zahl der von Sanherib deportierten Judäer," *ZAW*, LIX (1943), 199-202.

more says that he besieged Jerusalem, Hezekiah's capital, although he makes no mention of having taken it, which he would certainly not have left unrecorded if Jerusalem had been captured or surrendered. However, his claims, that he "made Padi, their [Ekron's] king, come from Jerusalem,"<sup>46</sup> and that he forced Hezekiah to pay a great tribute which was sent "later, to Nineveh, my lordly city,"<sup>47</sup> seem to indicate that Hezekiah somehow was able to buy himself off,<sup>48</sup> and that Sennacherib departed from Palestine before having conquered Jerusalem.

Those who believe in only one campaign consider the catastrophe, recorded in 2 Ki 19 : 35, to have been the cause of Sennacherib's hasty return to Assyria, and think that he thus was prevented from accomplishing the full aim of his campaign. However, we may find other possible reasons for his return. News from the east, where Elam and Babylonia were ever-festering sores in the Assyrian empire, may have been of such a nature that it seemed wise to be satisfied with the voluntary submission of Hezekiah, without losing precious time which a prolonged siege and attack of the strongly fortified city of Jerusalem would have taken.<sup>49</sup>

The question remains whether the reliefs from Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, now in the British Museum, showing the siege and conquest of Lachish,<sup>50</sup> depict an event during the earlier campaign of Sennacherib to Palestine or whether they refer to a later campaign. If Lachish was one of the 46 cities taken by the Assyrians, as seems likely, there is nothing to

<sup>46</sup> Translation is that of Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> In a Bull Inscription Sennacherib said that he "laid waste the large district of Judah and made the overbearing and proud Hezekiah, its king, bow in submission," Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

<sup>49</sup> The reader may be reminded of the fact that it took Nebuchadnezzar II more than a year and a half to take Jerusalem, a century later.

<sup>50</sup> Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954), Nos. 371-374; R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs* (London, n.d.), Nos. 44-49.

prevent us from attributing the events depicted in these sculptures to the campaign of 701 B.C., although the Assyrian annals do not mention Lachish. However, the possibility should not be ruled out that the Lachish sculptures refer to the second campaign, of which Sennacherib may have had little reason to boast except for the capture of the strong city of Lachish, the fall of which during the later campaign is implied in 2 Ki 19 : 8, though not specifically spelled out.<sup>51</sup>

That the reliefs definitely deal with a campaign against Judah is proved by two inscriptions accompanying them. One inscription, engraved over a scene depicting Sennacherib receiving prisoners and spoil of the conquered city, reads: "Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, sat upon a *nîmedu*-throne and passed in review the booty from Lachish (*Lakisu*)."<sup>52</sup> Another inscription, engraved above the picture of the royal tent, reads: "Tent of Sennacherib, king of Assyria."<sup>53</sup> While it is certain that the reliefs refer to Sennacherib's conquest of Lachish, the question must remain open whether the conquest depicted occurred during his first or second campaign to Palestine.

### *The Biblical Records*

The Biblical records of Sennacherib's campaign or campaigns are found mainly in two parallel passages—2 Ki 18 : 13 to 19 : 36 and Is 36 : 1 to 37 : 37—which are almost identical, except that 2 Ki 18 : 14-16 has no parallel in Is. The Chronicler's story in 2 Chr 32 : 1-21, on the other hand, summarizes some parts of the 2 Ki/Is report but leaves out many details, though it contains some additional information with regard to the preparations made by Hezekiah to meet the expected Assyrian onslaught. In our discussion of Sennacherib's campaigns the narrative of 2 Chr will be disregarded, and

<sup>51</sup> This argument is based on my view that 2 Ki 19 : 8 and parallel texts refer to the second campaign of Sennacherib, as will be discussed below.

<sup>52</sup> Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

<sup>53</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 198.

quotations, unless otherwise indicated, refer to the recension of 2 Ki 18 and 19.

A study of the Biblical record shows that it easily falls into three parts:

(1) 2 Ki 18:13-16 contains a brief statement paralleling essentially the main features of Sennacherib's annals. It says that Sennacherib campaigned against Judah and captured all fortified cities. The Assyrian success convinced Hezekiah of the uselessness of further resistance, for which reason he sent an offer of submission to Sennacherib, who was at Lachish at that time. This offer was accepted, and a large tribute was placed upon Hezekiah.

(2) 2 Ki 18: 17 to 19: 8 contains the story of the mission of Rabshakeh to Jerusalem. It tells in detail how this high officer, accompanied by an army, made fruitless efforts to talk the population of Jerusalem and the ministers of Hezekiah into a surrender. However, Hezekiah, assured by Isaiah that Sennacherib on hearing "a rumor" (ch. 19: 7) would return to his land without making an effort to take Jerusalem, refused to surrender. Thereupon Rabshakeh returned to Sennacherib, whom he found fighting against Libnah.

(3) 2 Ki 19: 9-36 contains the story of a second mission sent to Hezekiah by Sennacherib. This time messengers carrying a threatening letter were sent to Jerusalem after hearing of the approach of Tirhakah's army. Isaiah, predicting the downfall of the Assyrians, assured Hezekiah that Sennacherib would return to his land without taking Jerusalem. His prediction was fulfilled when 185,000 soldiers in the Assyrian army lost their lives in one night, weakening Sennacherib's forces to such an extent that he had to return to Assyria.

Scholars who believe in only one campaign have usually considered (1) to be a résumé of the whole campaign, with more details given in (2) and (3), though they generally do not agree in their views whether (2) and (3) should be considered as two parallel though somewhat different narratives of the same events, or should be treated as one continuous narrative

of successive events. Hence, some scholars believe that Sennacherib sent two embassies to Hezekiah while others think that only one was dispatched. All reconstructions of the events, if one believes in only one campaign, pose serious problems. Some of these will be mentioned in the following brief discussion of a few reconstructions of the course of events as seen by defenders of the one-campaign theory:

A. T. Olmstead in his *History of Assyria*,<sup>54</sup> believing in only one embassy to Hezekiah, describes the following sequence of events. After Sennacherib had taken Phoenicia and accepted the submission and tribute of the Ammonites and several other nations, he fought against Tirhakah at Eltekeh and defeated him. He then took Ekron and punished the city, subsequently also Ashkelon. In the meantime Rabshakeh was dispatched to Jerusalem. Hezekiah, who had learned by bitter experience not to lean on Egypt, offered his submission and paid a high tribute. He thus bought himself off, since Sennacherib was found willing to accept his vassalage instead of an unconditional surrender. During Rabshakeh's visit to Jerusalem to receive Hezekiah's tribute, Lachish was taken by Sennacherib, after which he moved his army to Libnah, where he heard of the new approach of an Egyptian army which had recovered from the earlier defeat at Eltekeh. However, the outbreak of the plague ravaged the Assyrian army, with the result that Sennacherib came to terms with Shabaka of Egypt and then returned to Assyria.

Rudolf Kittel, also believing in only one embassy, defends the following reconstruction of events in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*.<sup>55</sup> He thinks that the battle of Eltekeh, fought after the taking of Ashkelon, was not a decisive victory for the Assyrians, which would explain the continued resistance of Hezekiah. Sennacherib therefore turned against the fortified Judean cities. They surrendered without a fight (see Is 22 : 3).

<sup>54</sup> Olmstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-309; see also Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria* (New York, 1931), pp. 471-481.

<sup>55</sup> Kittel, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-390, 430-439.

This unforeseen course of events forced Hezekiah to offer his submission to Sennacherib by sending a heavy tribute to Lachish and surrendering Padi, the loyal king of Ekron. Sennacherib, however, demanding Hezekiah's unconditional surrender, sent Rabshakeh with an army to Jerusalem to enforce it. In the meantime Lachish was captured, and when the Assyrians moved to Libnah, the Egyptians under Tirhakah approached again. However, a catastrophic disease broke out in the Assyrian army and forced Sennacherib to return to Assyria and to give up any further ambitions of conquest.

Theodore H. Robinson in his *History of Israel*,<sup>56</sup> Vol. I, believing in two embassies, has a different reconstruction of events. He thinks that the battle of Eltekeh was fought against Tirhakah after Rabshakeh's return from Jerusalem, where he had obtained Hezekiah's surrender and tribute. Sennacherib, however, being unsure of Hezekiah's loyalty, when he heard of the approach of the Egyptian army sent messengers with a letter to Hezekiah to demand an immediate unconditional surrender. In the meantime Sennacherib defeated the Egyptians, then took Ekron, but was prevented from following up his victory by the outbreak of the plague in his army.

André Parrot in his *Nineveh and the Old Testament*,<sup>57</sup> believing also in two embassies to Jerusalem, follows as closely as possible the sequence of events as described in the Biblical record. He believes that Hezekiah, after Sennacherib's arrival in the Philistine plain, on the one hand prepared Jerusalem for resistance (2 Chr 32 : 1-8), but nevertheless sent envoys to Sennacherib at Lachish to ask for peace terms. Sennacherib, while concentrating his efforts on the siege of

<sup>56</sup> W. O. E. Oesterly and T. H. Robinson, *A History of Israel* (Oxford, 1932), I, 394-399, 409, 500.

<sup>57</sup> Parrot, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-62. Parrot, who knows about the new evidence concerning Tirhakah, and that "he was only nine years old in 701" (see *op. cit.*, p. 55, n. 3), nevertheless maintains without any further explanation on p. 60 of his work that Tirhakah fought against Sennacherib at Eltekeh.

Lachish, thereupon sent officers and some forces to Hezekiah for negotiations. Bolstered by Isaiah's support, Hezekiah stiffened up and refused to surrender, so that Rabshakeh had to return with a negative answer. He rejoined Sennacherib at Libnah, to which city he had moved after the fall of Lachish. When Sennacherib heard of the approach of Tirhakah and his army, which led to the battle at Eltekeh and a victory of the Assyrians over the Egyptians, he sent a second embassy to Hezekiah, this time with a threatening letter. Hezekiah gives in and pays a high tribute, though he is spared further humiliations by the hasty retreat of Sennacherib from Palestine caused by the outbreak of the plague in his army.

These four examples of scholarly reconstructions of the events connected with Sennacherib's 701 B.C. campaign, using the Biblical and Assyrian records, show a variety of opinions which could be increased indefinitely if more authorities were drawn into the picture. However, the reconstructions by the defenders of the one-campaign theory do not by any means meet all the problems involved, and many objections can be made against various items in them. Only a few of these objections will be discussed.<sup>58</sup>

(1) *Two encounters with the Egyptians.* Is it reasonable to assume that Sennacherib had to meet the Egyptian army twice in the same year, as some scholars think (e.g., Olmstead, Kittel), first at Eltekeh and again a little later, after the defeated Egyptians had recovered from the Eltekeh disaster? Both the Assyrian records and the Bible mention only one encounter, the former the battle at Eltekeh early in Sennacherib's campaign, the latter the approach of Tirhakah in the later part of the campaign.

(2) *One encounter with the Egyptians.* Some scholars (e.g., Robinson, Parrot), seeing the difficulty just mentioned, attempt to circumvent it by compressing it into one encounter,

<sup>58</sup> For some other arguments raised against the one-campaign theories, see also John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 284-286.

assuming that the Assyrian annals place the battle of Eltekeh too early in the narrative, and that it should be seen as the result of Tirhakah's arrival in Palestine after the fall of Lachish. However, this view creates another problem. Eltekeh and Ekron lay close together at some distance to the north of Lachish. Sennacherib describes logically that he first fought the battle of Eltekeh and conquered Ekron before moving inland against Judah. Is it likely that he would have passed the hostile city of Ekron and left it unconquered at his back while besieging Lachish, and that he moved back to Ekron only after the fall of Lachish?

(3) *Why did Hezekiah both surrender and refuse to surrender?*

All kinds of historical juggling have to be performed to explain how Hezekiah is said first to have surrendered and to have paid a high tribute (2 Ki 18: 14-16), but afterwards to have refused to do this very thing, for Sennacherib through envoys and letter accused him of active rebellion and stubborn defiance (ch. 18: 19-22, 29, 30; 19: 10-13). That all this should have happened at the same time is not easy to believe.

(4) *Would Hezekiah have continued to rely on Egypt after the battle of Eltekeh?* He was accused of relying on Egypt (ch. 18: 21). Would Rabshakeh not have pointed out that the Egyptians had just been beaten, instead of saying that they were merely an unreliable "broken reed"? Scholars who have recognized this difficulty have put the battle of Eltekeh later, but in doing that have created the difficulties mentioned under (2).

(5) *Did Hezekiah surrender, and was he spared a surrender by a deliverance?* To assume that Sennacherib's campaign ended in an unconditional surrender of Hezekiah, as the Assyrian annals claim, and as the Bible confirms (ch. 18: 14-16), and also to believe that it ended through a miraculous deliverance, seems rather contradictory.

In the author's opinion all these and several other historical difficulties are solved by accepting a two-campaign theory, as is now being done by an increasing number of scholars.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Hugo Winckler seems to have been the first who suggested the



(1) *The First Campaign* (701 B.C.).<sup>60</sup> It has generally been observed that there are virtually no disagreements between Sennacherib's annals and the Biblical narrative of 2 Ki 18: 13-16, although the latter mentions only the military events pertaining to Judah. It confirms Sennacherib's claim of having conquered all fortified cities of Judah, 46 in number, according to the Assyrian annals, and admits Hezekiah's submission and his payment of a heavy tribute to Sennacherib. The only discrepancy between the two reports appears in the payment of tribute. Both accounts agree with regard to the

two-campaign theory in his *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 31-35, and in several of his works written later. Among scholars who followed this theory were Prásek, *op. cit.*; Otto Weber, "Sanherib König von Assyrien 705-681," *Der alte Orient*, VI: 2 (Leipzig, 1905), p. 21; K. Fullerton, *BS*, LXIII (1906), 611; P. Dhorme, *RB*, VII (1910), 503-520; Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* (4th ed.; Leipzig, 1930), pp. 588-596; Albright, *JQR*, XXIV (1934), 370, 371; *BASOR*, No. 130 (April, 1953), pp. 8, 9; *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra* (New York, 1963), pp. 78, 79; Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 282. Bright calls the one-campaign theory the "majority opinion," but the present writer in his preparation for this article has come to the conclusion that the number of scholars who accept a two-campaign theory is steadily increasing, especially since the discovery of the Kawa stela of Tirhakah.

<sup>60</sup> Although scholars differ in their views with regard to the chronology of Hezekiah's reign (see my article in *AUSS*, II [1964], 40-52), there can hardly be any doubt with regard to the date of Hezekiah's death: ca. 687/86 B.C. See E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (2d ed.; Chicago, 1955), pp. 153-157; Albright, *BASOR*, No. 100 (Dec., 1945), p. 22, n. 28. This date is based on the statement made in 2 Ki 18: 13 and Is 36: 1, that Sennacherib's campaign took place in the 14th year of Hezekiah. The Assyrian annals date this campaign rather definitely in the year 701 B.C.: "Since the latest edition [of the annals] which does not contain an account of the Palestine campaign is that of the year 702, and the earliest known edition which does contain the account is of the year 700, it is certain that the campaign must have taken place prior to 700 and it is safe to assume that it took place after 702—consequently the date that is usually assigned for the campaign is 701." Honor, *op. cit.*, p. 4. If Hezekiah's 14th year of (sole) reign was the year 702/01 (autumn-autumn) and he died after a reign of 29 years (2 Ki 18: 2), his death year must have been 687/86 B.C.

gold (30 talents), but while the Bible speaks of a tribute of 300 talents of silver paid by Hezekiah, Sennacherib claims to have received 800 talents. Whether his claim is an exaggeration or whether the discrepancy has to be explained by assuming the existence of two different types of talents, the Babylonian lighter talent and the Jewish heavier silver talent, as many scholars believe,<sup>61</sup> cannot be ascertained with the information available at the present time.

It can easily be understood that Hezekiah, learning of the defeat of the Egyptian army at Eltekeh and the break-up of the anti-Assyrian alliance, and seeing that all his cities were captured and his country was overrun, would ask for peace terms while the Assyrians were still at Lachish in the Shephelah before they would appear at Jerusalem. There is nothing inconsistent and incredible in this interpretation of the course of events of the 701 campaign as known from Sennacherib's annals and from 2 Ki 18 : 13-16. It should also be pointed out that several prophecies of Isaiah, whose genuineness no one denies, had clearly foreseen a national disaster as the result of Hezekiah's unfortunate pro-Egyptian and anti-Assyrian activities (*e.g.*, Is 28 : 14-22; 30 : 1-17; 31 : 1-3).

That Sennacherib in his annals says that Hezekiah's tribute was sent to Nineveh after the Assyrian army's return, seems to indicate that Sennacherib had urgent reasons to break off his western campaign in a hurry and return to the east before the troubles in Babylonia or Elam, or in both of those countries, should get out of hand. He may therefore have been satisfied with Hezekiah's submission and promise of tribute, without insisting on an unconditional surrender or capture of the capital of Judah at that time.

(2) *The Second Campaign.* The date for the second campaign can be fixed only within the limits of Tirhakah's arrival in

<sup>61</sup> To the references given by James A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings* (New York, 1951), p. 485, can be added the *Bible du Centenaire*, note g to 2 Ki 18 : 14; A. Pohl, *Historia populi Israël* (Rome, 1933), p. 130.

Egypt in 690/89<sup>62</sup> and the year of Hezekiah's death in 687/86.<sup>63</sup> For this later campaign no Assyrian records are available, as has already been pointed out; in fact, nothing is known about Sennacherib's activities during these years, except that he carried out a campaign against the Arabs of which the date remains unknown.<sup>64</sup> Hence, our sole information for this campaign is the Biblical narratives and possibly Herodotus' somewhat legendary statement concerning Sennacherib's defeat while fighting against Egypt.<sup>65</sup>

The Biblical parallel records of 2 Ki 18: 17 to 19: 36 and Is 36: 2 to 37: 37 probably contain only some highlights of Sennacherib's second Palestinian campaign. In the first place they lack a date, and furthermore, they fail to say how much military success, if any, Sennacherib had in Judah,<sup>66</sup> and whether he was successful in his encounter with Tirhakah's army, if an encounter took place, before his army suffered the catastrophe described at the end of the Biblical narratives.

The main features of these parallel stories are Sennacherib's two embassies to Jerusalem, the first sent from Lachish during the siege of that city (2 Ki 18: 17), the second apparently dispatched from Libnah (ch. 19: 8, 9). Both embassies were unsuccessful, because Hezekiah, strongly supported in his

<sup>62</sup> See above, p. 10.

<sup>63</sup> See above, note 60.

<sup>64</sup> See above, p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Herodotus, ii. 141 (Loeb. ed., I, 447-449): King Sennacherib "with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians" marched against King Sethos of Egypt. When the army was encamped at Pelusium, "a multitude of field mice swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inasmuch that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell." It has been thought that the legend was based on a historical kernel, namely, that the ancients knew that the plague had been carried into the Assyrian camp by rats (here called field mice). Herodotus adds that to "this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaistus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: 'Look on me, and fear the gods.'" He claims to have received this information from Egyptian priests (*ibid.*, 142).

<sup>66</sup> The capture of Lachish is implied in 2 Ki 19: 8, though not explicitly spelled out.

defiance by Isaiah, refused to submit to Assyrian rule and to surrender his city voluntarily.

The culmination of the narratives is the disaster which befell Sennacherib's army in Judah and which forced the remnants of the Assyrian army to retreat. It is not impossible that Herodotus' story of Sennacherib's defeat at Pelusium, already referred to, is a vague memory of that disaster, although he places it in a wrong time of Egyptian history and in a wrong place.<sup>67</sup> Scholars who consider the catastrophe to which the Biblical stories and Herodotus refer, as a historical event, usually think that a sudden outbreak of a disastrous disease, possibly the bubonic plague, decimated the Assyrians. Some have seen it as a fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy that the Lord would send a "wasting sickness among his stout warriors" (Is 10: 16, RSV), and have also pointed to Is 10: 24, 25; 17: 14; 31: 8, 9 as utterances having a bearing on this catastrophe.<sup>68</sup>

Just as certain of Isaiah's prophecies, already referred to, seem to point to Sennacherib's first campaign in 701 B.C. with its disastrous results for Judah, several other prophecies of Isaiah voice a calm assurance that Jerusalem would be saved by the Lord and that the might of Assyria would be broken (see Is 14: 24-27; 17: 12-14; 29: 5-8; 31: 4-9). In fact, some of these prophetic utterances are very similar in tone and purport to the messages which Isaiah sent to Hezekiah at the successive arrivals of Sennacherib's two embassies at Jerusalem (2 Ki 19: 6, 7, 20-31). It seems therefore that a careful study of Isaiah's messages also forcefully supports the two-campaign theory.

Furthermore, the later campaign finds support from the fact that the Biblical narratives (2 Ki 19: 37; Is 37: 38) give

<sup>67</sup> Most scholars consider the legendary story of Herodotus (ii. 141) to be based on a historical fact. For references see Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 346, 347; Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 436, n. 2; Montgomery and Gehman, *op. cit.*, p. 497, 498.

<sup>68</sup> See for references Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 423, n. 3.

the impression that Sennacherib's assassination took place soon after his Palestinian campaign that had ended in disaster. If there were only one campaign against Hezekiah, in 701 B.C., Sennacherib would have survived it by almost 20 years, because his death did not occur until 682, but if his disastrous campaign took place between 690/89 and 686, his death would have followed after a comparatively short time. It must be admitted that this last argument used in support of two campaigns against Hezekiah is not very strong, since the Biblical stories do not say how long Sennacherib "dwelt at Nineveh" (2 Ki 19: 36) after his return from Palestine before he was murdered, but the text does not give the impression that it was a period of almost two decades, as one would be forced to assume if Sennacherib's disastrous campaign came in 701.

A brief observation on the number of slain Assyrians should be in order. The Hebrew texts in the two parallel narratives presents the number in the following way:

2 Ki 19: 35 מאה<sup>69</sup> ושמנים וחמשה אלף  
 Is 37: 36 מאה ושמנים וחמשה אלף

These figures are usually rendered as 185,000, but read literally "180 and 5000" for the passage in 2 Ki, and "100 and 80 and 5000" in the Is passage. That this number has been rendered 185,000 by all modern translators is due to the LXX tradition, and also because the number 180, the smaller number, precedes the larger one, 5000. However, exceptions to the normal procedure, that the larger number precedes the smaller one, are found in Hebrew literature. 1 Ki 4: 32 (Hebrew 5: 12), for example, states that Solomon composed *חמשה ואלף* songs, which is regularly rendered 1005.<sup>70</sup> By

<sup>69</sup> According to Kittel's *BH*<sup>3</sup> the conjunction "and" is added (just as in Is) in 34 Hebrew manuscripts; also in Syriac and in the Targum.

<sup>70</sup> Kittel's *BH*<sup>3</sup> lists the LXX and some Vulgate manuscripts as reading "5000," indicating that in their *Vorlage* the conjunction "and" had apparently been missing.

analogy it should be permissible to read the number of slain Assyrians as 5,180 instead of 185,000.

Although we have hardly any exact figures on the size of a regular Assyrian army, it is unlikely that a campaigning force was comprised of 200,000 men or more, so that 185,000 could die in one night. The highest figure ever given for an Assyrian army is 120,000 men, with whom Shalmaneser III fought against Damascus in his 14th regnal year.<sup>71</sup> Many times the armies may have been smaller. It is conceivable that the death of more than 5000 soldiers in one night as the result of the outbreak of a mysterious disease could result in such a panic that a sudden return of the surviving forces became necessary, the more so, since ancient man was always inclined to see the hand of a divine power in such an ordeal and to consider it as a punishment. It is not necessary to assume that only the death of an incredibly high number of soldiers—185,000, as the translators from pre-Christian times on have thought it necessary to render the Hebrew text—could have forced Sennacherib to abandon his military objectives and return as a beaten man.

<sup>71</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 240. See for a discussion of the size of Assyrian armies Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I (Heidelberg, 1920), 101, 102.

*Postscript:* Due a regrettable lapse of memory when preparing this article I forgot that Richard A. Parker had convincingly demonstrated that the reign of Psamtik I began in 664 B.C. and not in 663 as most books on Egyptian history claim (see his "The Length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, XV [1957], 208-212). The results of Parker's findings have found support from a Demotic text as has recently been shown by Erik Hornung, "Die Sonnenfinsternis nach dem Tode Psammetichs I.," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, XCII (1965), 38, 39. This shift of the date of the beginning of the 26th Dynasty from 663 to 664 B.C. means that the regnal years of Tirhakah as presented in the present article must be raised by one year. However, the main argument of the present study is not effected by this change of date.

## FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON *ṢĀDAQ*

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The Hebrew word *ṣādaq*, in its various forms as used in the Old Testament is a word of considerable interest. Some phases of the subject have already been discussed in this Journal.<sup>1</sup> This presentation will give further study to it from a somewhat different point of view. It is not our sole purpose to show the many and various shades of meaning of *ṣdq*, although we must make reference to them, but we will attempt to show that as one of its meanings, especially in later times, the concept of cleansing became quite prominent in the use of this word, which occurs over five hundred times in the MT. This will lead us to show why the Greek translators rendered *צדק* by the word *καθαρισθήσεται* in Dan 8:14, a rendering which appears not only in the LXX, but also in the version of Theodotion.

J. P. Justesen's study on *ṣdq* in this Journal<sup>2</sup> has already made a useful contribution to a better understanding of this interesting word, by pointing out that the rendering of *ṣdq* in Greek tends to reveal that it had several shades of meaning in the period immediately preceding the Christian era. Justesen' paper showed:

(1) That *ṣādaq* in the first place is used to represent a number of concepts as the following examples indicate: In 1 Ki 8:32 it is used synonymously for "judgment," in Is 56:1 for "salvation," in Ps 36:10 for "mercy," and in Is 48:18 for "peace."

(2) That *ṣādaq* is virtually equated with several other Hebrew words, among which might be listed *bōr* (Ps 18:20),

<sup>1</sup> Jerome P. Justesen, "On the Meaning of *Ṣādaq*," *AUSS*, II (1964), 53-61.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1.

*tāhar* (Job 4: 17), *nāqî* (Job 22: 19), *tāmîm* (Job 12: 4), *šālôm* (Is 48: 18), *mišpāt* (Job 8: 3), and *zākāh* (Job 25: 4).

(3) That in the LXX *šādaq* is: (a) translated καθαρός (Job 4: 17) and καθαρίζω (Dan 8: 14); (b) put in parallel to ἀποκαθαρίζω (Job 25: 4) and καθαριότης (Ps 18: 20); (c) either translated by the following words or put in parallel to them: ἄμεμπτος (Job 22: 3), ἄθῶον (Ps 94: 21), νικάω (Ps 51: 4), δίκαιος (Job 12: 4), δικαιοσύνη (Ps 18: 20); (d) and is used virtually as a synonym of κρίνω (Ps 17: 15), κρίσις (Is 51: 7), κρίμα (Jer 51: 10), ἔλεος (Is 56: 1), ἐλεημοσύνη (Dt 6: 25), and εὐσεβής (Is 26: 7).

These examples demonstrate the wide range of meaning evidently inherent in *šādaq*, carrying with it not only concepts ordinarily connected with this word such as righteous, just, to justify, righteousness, etc., but also such other concepts, as to be innocent, blameless, faithful, clean, to cleanse, to purify, etc.

We will now consider a few further parallels not mentioned in Justesen's article:<sup>3</sup>

(1) Ps 37: 6. "And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noonday." Here *šedeq* is virtually equated with *mišpāt*; in the LXX, δικαιοσύνη with κρίμα.

(2) Is 61: 10. "He has clothed me with the garments of salvation, he has covered me with the robe of righteousness." In this text *yēša'* and *šedeq* are put in parallel; in the LXX σωτήριον and εὐφροσύνη. Εὐφροσύνη seems an unusual rendering of *šedeq* for it means gladness and joy, but this example is instructive, for it demonstrates once more the wide range of meaning of *šdq*.

(3) Is 41: 26. "He [God] is righteous." Here, the Hebrew *šaddîq* is rendered in the LXX ἀληθῆ, a most intriguing translation.

It might be further pointed out that the Greek word καθαρίζω, "to cleanse," which is used in the LXX as one of

<sup>3</sup> See also Job 29: 14; Ps 103: 17; 33: 1; Is 62: 1.



the renderings of *ṣdq*, or is put in parallel to *ṣdq*, seems to have had just as wide a range of meanings as *ṣdq* itself, for it is used in one form or another to translate the following 22 Hebrew words: *יָשַׁר*, *יָקָר*, *חֲרוּץ*, *חֲטָא*, *זָכַךְ*, *זָכָה*, *זָךְ*, *דָּכָא*, *בָּרַר*, *בָּר*, *יֵשׁוּר*, *תָּם*, *קָדֹשׁ*, *צָרַף*, *צָדֵק*, *פָּנָה*, *נִקְיוֹן*, *נָקִי*, *נָקָה*, *מִסְלִיחַ*, *מְכַלֵּחַ*, *כָּפַר*, *כּוֹן*, and the Aramaic *נִקָּא*.

### *Ṣādaq a Synonym of Zākāh*

Not only the Greek translations of the OT show that *ṣādaq* was understood to have the meaning of "cleansing," but even more so is this concept found in the Targums, with which we will deal now.

It is well known that Aramaic became the commonly spoken language of the Hebrews sometime during the Babylonian exile. After their return to Palestine Aramaic seems to have been used at home, in commercial circles, and as a language of diplomacy. However, it had been known by many leaders of Judah long before this, for we find that in the time of Hezekiah the Jewish ministers asked the Assyrian envoy to talk to them in Aramaic (2 Ki 18: 26). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the men who took part in the translation of the LXX in the 3d and 2d cent. B.C. not only knew Hebrew and Greek, but also had a good grounding in Aramaic. This fact needs to be borne in mind in judging why they translated certain Hebrew words as they did.

Another important point to consider is that the Jews, more than two thousand years ago, must have known the meaning of Hebrew and/or Aramaic words better than they are known today after both languages have more or less experienced centuries of hibernation. This reasoning is applicable to *ṣādaq*, for which reason there must have been a justification to render it *καθαρίζω* in Dan 8: 14. Not only a knowledge of the meaning of *ṣādaq* in a general way led them to this rendering, but even more their specific understanding of the meaning of this word in relation to the sanctuary ritual.

In this connection it is also of interest to note that the Hebrew *šādaq* is rendered *zākāh* in numerous passages in the Targums. The Hebrew *zākāh* has a basic meaning of "to be pure," "to be clean" in a moral or physical sense.<sup>4</sup> It appears in the same meaning in Phoenician,<sup>5</sup> and in Aramaic in the forms *dkh*, *zk'* or *zkh*, where especially the latter form takes on the meaning "to be innocent," besides having the basic concept "to be clean."<sup>6</sup>

*Šādaq* in its various forms is used in the MT about 517 times, but inasmuch as some of these are in Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel, on which there is no Targum,<sup>7</sup> only 504 of the Hebrew references can be examined. Analysis shows that the Targumists used at least eight different words in the Aramaic translation for *šādaq*, but *zākāh* and *zākā'* were used in no less than 209 of the 504 instances, over 40 per cent.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See the Hebrew dictionaries.

<sup>5</sup> Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven, Conn., 1936), p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros* (2d ed.; Leiden, 1958), p. 1071; A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 282, 285; G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (3d ed.; Göttingen, 1938), p. 128; J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (Leipzig, 1866), I, 220, 221; C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1960), 76.

<sup>7</sup> See Talmud Megillah 3a.

<sup>8</sup> *Šādaq* translated as *zākāh*:

In the Pentateuch: Gn 6: 9; 7: 1; 15: 6; 18: 23, 24 (twice), 25 (twice), 26, 28; 20: 4; 30: 33; 38: 26; 44: 16; Ex 9: 27; 23: 7 (twice); Dt 6: 25; 9: 4, 6; 24: 13; 25: 1 (twice); 32: 4; 33: 21. (25 times)

From Jos to 2 Chr: Jugs 5: 11 (twice); 1 Sa 12: 7; 24: 17; 26: 23; 2 Sa 4: 11; 8: 15; 19: 28; 22: 21, 25; 1 Ki 2: 32; 3: 6; 8: 32 (three times); 10: 9; 2 Ki 10: 9; 2 Chr 6: 23 (three times); 12: 6. (21 times)

In Job and Pr: Job 4: 17; 6: 29; 9: 15, 20; 10: 15; 11: 2; 12: 4; 13: 18; 15: 14; 22: 3; 25: 4; 27: 5, 6; 29: 14; 32: 1, 2; 33: 12, 32; 34: 5, 17; 35: 2, 7; 40: 8; Pr 17: 15; 18: 17. (25 times)

In Ps: Ps 7: 8, 9, 11; 9: 4, 8; 11: 3; 18: 20, 24; 19: 9; 50: 6; 51: 4; 72: 3; 106: 31; 111: 3; 112: 3, 6, 9; 116: 5; 119: 7, 75, 106, 137; 129: 4; 132: 9; 143: 2; 145: 17. (25 times)

In Is: Is 5: 7, 16, 23 (three times); 9: 7; 10: 22; 26: 2; 28: 17; 29: 21;

We now list twelve passages to illustrate how *zākāh* and its derivatives are used in the Targum as a rendering of *ṣādaq*:

1. Gn 6: 9: "Noah was a *just* man."  
MT צדיק LXX δίκαιος Targum זכי
2. Gn 44: 16: "How shall we *clear* ourselves?"  
MT נצטדק LXX δικαιωθῶμεν Targum נוכי
3. Ex 23: 7: "Not *justify* the wicked."  
MT אצדיק LXX δικαιώσεις Targum אזכי
4. 1 Ki 8: 32: "*Justifying* the *righteous* . . . according to his righteousness."  
MT כצדקתו . . . ולהצדיק צדיק LXX δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον . . .  
δικαιοσύνην Targum כזכותיה . . . ולזכאה זכאה
5. Job 40: 8: "That thou mayest be *righteous*."  
MT הצדק LXX δίκαιος Targum דחוכי
6. Ps. 50: 6: "Declare his [God's] *righteousness*."  
MT צדקו LXX δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ Targum זכותיה
7. Pr 17: 15: "He that *justifieth* the wicked."  
MT מצדיק LXX δίκαιον κἀναι Targum דמוכיה
8. Is 51: 8: "My *righteousness* shall not be abolished."  
MT צדקתי LXX δικαιοσύνη μου Targum זכותי
9. Jer 12: 1: "*Righteous* art thou, O, Lord."  
MT צדיק LXX δίκαιος Targum זכאי
10. Eze 18: 5: "If a man be *just* and do that which is lawful and *right*."

33: 5, 15; 42: 21; 43: 9, 26; 45: 8 (twice), 21, 23-25 (three times);  
46: 12, 13; 48: 1, 18; 50: 8; 51: 5, 7, 8; 53: 11 (twice); 54: 14, 17;  
56: 1; 57: 12; 58: 2, 8; 59: 9, 14, 17; 60: 17, 21; 61: 10, 11; 62: 2;  
63: 1; 64: 5. (47 times)

In Jer and Eze: Jer 3: 11; 4: 2; 9: 24; 12: 1; 23: 5, 6; 33: 15, 16;  
51: 10; Eze 3: 20 (three times); 13: 22; 14: 14, 20; 16: 51, 52 (twice);  
18: 5 (twice), 19-22 (five times), 24, 26, 27; 21: 3, 4; 23: 45; 33: 12, 13,  
14, 16, 18, 19; 45: 9. (45 times)

In Ec, Lam and Minor Prophets: Ec 3: 16, 17; 7: 15, 20; Lam 1: 18;  
4: 13; Hos 10: 12; Joel 2: 23; Amos 2: 6; 5: 7, 12, 24; 6: 12; Mic 6: 5;  
7: 9; Zep 3: 5; Zec 8: 8; 9: 9; Mal 3: 3 (three times); 4: 2. (21 times)

MT וַיִּזְדַּק . . . צָדִיק LXX δίκαιος, . . . δικαιοσύνη Targum

זכר . . . זכי

11. Zec 9: 9: "Thy King cometh . . . he is *just*."

MT צָדִיק LXX δίκαιος Targum זכי

12. Mal 4: 2 (in Hebr. 3: 20): "The Sun of *Righteousness*."

MT צָדִיקָה LXX δικαιοσύνης Targum זכור

These illustrations, together with those listed in note 8, indicate, that the scholars who produced the Targums considered the Hebrew *šdq* to be in many cases equivalent to the Aramaic *zkh* or *zk'*. Naturally, we do not know what they would have done with regard to Dan 8: 14 had they produced a Targum to Daniel, but in view of the fact that in 209 out of 504 instances, *zkh* or *zk'* was used for *šdq*, it is a reasonable assumption that these are the words they would have used.

But there are other things to be borne in mind. In the KJV, there are about 39 definite references to the concept of "cleansing" in relation to the ceremonial services of the Temple and of the Tabernacle. This applied to the altar, and other appurtenances, to the people, also to the priests and Levites. Quite a variety of Hebrew and Greek words are used,<sup>9</sup> but in the Targum, the 35 instances that could be examined (minus Dan, Ezr, and Neh) showed that *zākāh* was the word exclusively used. This would indicate further, that when referring to the ceremonial cleansing related to the sanctuary ritual, it was customary to use *zākāh*. This then would strengthen the assumption mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Still another thing to be considered is the use of the verbal form of *šdq* as compared with the adjective or substantive forms. The verbal form is much more restricted in its range of meaning than the others. But even so, when the translators of the Targum read the verbal form of *šdq* and conveyed

<sup>9</sup> טהר, חטא, צדק, כפר, καθαρίζω, ἀγνίζω, ἰλάσκομαι, ἐξιλάσκομαι, etc.

מהה מהב לגנוב וטמשרק וטשאם אעני אשמה ונתגדל ער צבא  
 השמים ותפל ארצה מן הצבא ומן הכוכבים ותדמסם ותם  
 עלת אי גנום לשמא חתי אוקעת עלי לארץ מן אנגוס ולכוכב  
 ודאסהדה ווער שר הצבא הגדיל וממנו הרים התמיד והשקל  
 מכון מקדשו וחי רייס אנגוס עלת חתי רפע מנה לעי אראים  
 וטרח מהייה מקדסה וצבא תנתן על התמיד בקטע ותשקל  
 אמת ארצה ועשתה והצליחה וזרעת אנגוס בסבב לעי אראים  
 פי גדם אנהא קר טרחת לחק אי לארץ פעמלת עמלהא ואנגמת  
 פיה עמלהא ויאשמעה אחר קדוש מרבר ויאמר אחר קדוש  
 לפלמוני המרבר ער מתי החזון התמיד והפסע שומם תה וקדש  
 וצבא מרמסו תם שמעת צות ויאחדא מן אמלאיפה יתכלסם  
 מלך יחזר לפלאני אמתכלסם אי מתי ארזיא לאראים ולנב וחושה  
 תגער ולקדם וגישה רוסא ויאמר יהי ער ערב בקר חלפוס ושליש  
 מאות ונצדק קדש ופקא לי לי לפין ותלחת מאיה ליר ומהא יזכו  
 לקדם ויפלג ויהי בר אתי אני רניאל אתה חזון ויאפקשה בינה  
 והנה עמד לנגדי במראה גבר תלמי רחית אנחורני הדי לדוא  
 טלבת אן אתפהם פאדי בשפץ קחים חדיאי כמנזר רגל ויאשמע  
 דור אדם בין אנלי ויאמר גבריאל הבן להדי אתה מלאה

figure 1. British Museum MS Or. 2377, p. 78 r. An Arabic version of Daniel in Hebrew characters. The passage discussed in this study is in lines 14 and 15.

והעלה יהוה וועעת אנגוס בחסד בלשי אדמים פי גרם אנתא טרוחת  
 אהק לי לארץ פעמלת עמלהא ואנקהת פיה עמגלהא ואשמעה  
 אחר קדוש מדבר ואמר אחד קדוש לפלמוע המדבר ער  
 מלניהחזן התמיד והפשע שמם תת וקד שוועפא מרמם  
 תם סמעת ואחדא מן אמלאיכה יתכלם קא מלך אחר ללפאנע  
 אמתכלם א מתי ארווא ללדאים נאלנע האחשה תגעל וקדם  
 וגישה דוסא ויאמר אלי עד ערב צקר אלפים ושלש מאות  
 ונעצק קדשי פקא לי לא לפני ותלתא מאיה ליל ועהאר יזכר  
 אקדם ויפלג יהוי בראתי אנך עאל את החזן ואפקשה פיה  
 והען עמד לנדי במראה גברי פלמא ראית אנך דשאהי ארווא  
 טלבת אן את פהם פאדי בשפץ קאים הדאי במנער רגלי  
 ואשמע קולאדם בין אנלי ויקדא ויאמר גברי אל הבן להלך  
 את המראה תם סמעת פאדי בצות אנסאך פיגהל אנהר  
 פנאדא באן קא גברי אפהם דלך תפסיר ארווא פאנה אי וקת  
 לאגל ויבא אנך עמדי תבאו נפעתי ואפלה עלפני ויאמר  
 אלי הבן בן אדם כי לעת קץ החזן יפגא ענד מוקפי ומע  
 מגייה הזני פוקעת עלי ובהי פקא לי אפהם יאאכן אדם

Figure 2. British Museum MS Or. 1476, p. 70 r. An Arabic version of Daniel in Hebrew character Yemenite hand of the 15th to 16 century A.D. The passage discussed in this study is in lines 8 and

what they considered to be its comparable meaning in the passages which they translated, they used *zāḥāh* in 35 of the 38 instances involved.<sup>10</sup> For the three remaining passages two were rendered by *ṣādaq* (Ps 82: 3; Pr 17: 15), the other by *qšṭ* (Job 9: 2). It should be pointed out, in this connection, that in Dan 8: 14 a verbal form of *ṣdq* is found in the MT. What might have been done, if a Targum of Daniel had materialized, seems therefore obvious.

There is yet one more question to be considered, and that is: How was Dan 8: 14 translated in other Semitic languages, such as Arabic?

In the early centuries of the Christian era a wealth of Jewish literature was translated into Arabic, in addition to the Holy Scriptures. Several of these MSS are extant, and can be found in the British Museum Library, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, and elsewhere.

Among several such manuscripts in the British Museum Library in London there are at least two which contain the entire book of Daniel, Nos. 1476 and 2377, in Arabic, but written in Hebrew square characters.<sup>11</sup> Ms. Or. 2377 is written according to G. Margoliouth in a Yemenite hand of the 14th century, while Or. 1476 is written in a Yemenite hand of the 15th to 16th century. On examining Dan 8: 14, one finds *יִכַן אֱלֹקִים* for *וְנִצְדַק קֹדֶשׁ* (see Figures 1 and 2). Since Arabic *كَبَّحَ* has also the meaning "to be clean," this translation is of more than passing interest in the light of the Targum evidence. This Arabic translation was probably made by Saadia (sometimes confused with Saadia Gaon),

<sup>10</sup> Gn 38: 26; 44: 16; Ex 23: 7; Dt 25: 1; 2 Sa 15: 4; 1 Ki 8: 32; 2 Chr 6: 23; Job 4: 17; 9: 2, 15, 20; 10: 15; 11: 2; 13: 18; 15: 14; 22: 3; 25: 4; 27: 5; 32: 2; 33: 12, 32; 34: 5; 35: 7; 40: 8; Ps 19: 9; 51: 6; 82: 3; 143: 2; Is 5: 23; 43: 9, 26; 45: 25; 50: 8; 53: 11; Pr 17: 15; Jer 3: 11; Eze 16: 52 (twice).

<sup>11</sup> Both of them are described by G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part I* (London, 1899), pp. 109, 110, 114.

who lived during the 12th century. Of him M. Seligsohn says, "In his commentary [on Daniel] Saadia displayed a profound knowledge of both the Talmudim and of the Targum, which latter he often quotes and explains."<sup>12</sup>

Saadia then, translating as he did into Arabic and expressing it thus in Hebrew characters, and being so well acquainted with the Targums, undoubtedly reflected the thinking, not only of his day, but of the earlier days when the Targums were produced. If that be conceded, it seems highly probable that an Aramaic Targum of Daniel would have used either the word *zkh* or *zk'* in Dan 8: 14.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> M. Seligsohn, "Saadia," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 578.

<sup>13</sup> In this connection it is of interest to note that Frank Zimmermann, in his study on Dan 8-12, made on the basis of different premises, came to the conclusion: "The translation therefore should have been here 'And the temple shall be cleansed.' And so the LXX, feeling the need for some such exegesis, translated ingeniously *καὶ καθαρισθήσεται το ἄγιον.*" *JBL*, LVII (1938), p. 262. Zimmermann's arguments and conclusions were endorsed by H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York, 1948), pp. 41-61; on Dan 8: 14 see especially p. 52.



# AN INVESTIGATION OF THE SYRIAC VERSION OF ISAIAH: II <sup>1</sup>

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Part I included a brief history of the study of the Syriac version; an outline of the procedures followed in our investigation; a list of abbreviations and symbols used, including bibliographic references for works referred to only by their abbreviations in Part II; and a list of MSS used, with their sigla and brief descriptions. Part III will contain a few comparisons and conclusions concerning our study of the manuscripts and of NT quotations from Is, and, finally, a summary and our conclusions concerning the whole investigation.

Of the many thousands of variant readings found in studying the 94 MSS used in this investigation, 3049 were chosen for statistical analysis. And from all the quotations of Is by the Syrian authors, 290 variants were gleaned. Of these 3339, 101 were selected for evaluation after all the others had been eliminated because of agreement with the Hebrew, Greek, or Syrohexapla texts or because the type of variation involved was not significant. These 101 and their evaluations are here presented, in Part II.

Examples of orthographic variants disregarded beyond the 3339 are: the addition of initial or medial *'alaph* in the names Israel and Judah and in various other words; the presence or absence of the "otiose *yūdh*" on feminine verb forms; the addition of a *waw* in ܘܘ and ܘܘܘ; the addition of *sēyāmē* plural dots on numerals, plural verbs and participles and other inherently plural words; words in which the scribe has

<sup>1</sup> The first part of this article was published in *AUSS*, III (1965), 138-157.

obviously misread one letter for another; variants between a pronoun added to a participle or standing separately after it; the addition of a *yūdh* in **ܘܕܗ**; and similar differences which are characteristic between East and West Syriac, and which have no real significance. Most of these were also omitted in Diettrich's *Apparatus*<sup>2</sup> after the first mention, hence it was useless to retain them in the MSS studied in addition to Diettrich's 28. The eliminating was done conservatively, however. Goshen-Gottstein well states:

It is not always easy to draw the line between "real" variants and text-corruptions. Diettrich's study of Isaiah—which is far from utilizing all the available manuscripts—serves to warn us where this wealth of material leads. The really important variants are drowned in the sea of textual corruptions and orthographic alternations, and a fair number of "real" variants were overlooked by him.<sup>3</sup>

The classification of a reading as a "real variant" means no more than the assumption that such a reading may have been part of a textual tradition (in particular, as opposed to the mistakes of individual scribes). It is a statement about an assumed fact, but not a value judgment as such. Only in a small minority of cases will a "real variant" qualify as a "superior reading."<sup>4</sup>

The base for collation was the Urmia text in the edition published by the Trinitarian Bible Society, London.<sup>5</sup> The Ambrosian MS edited by Ceriani,<sup>6</sup> used by the Peshitta Institute as the collation base for the "International Project to Establish a Critical Edition of the Old Testament Peshitta," was also thoroughly collated with the Urmia edition, beyond its appearance in Diettrich's *Apparatus*. The reading of the

<sup>2</sup> Gustav Diettrich, *Ein Apparatus criticus zur Pešitto zum Propheten Jesaja* ("Beihefte zur ZAW," vol. VIII; Giessen, 1905).

<sup>3</sup> M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Peshitta," in *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran* (Jerusalem, 1960), p. 169, n. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, "Introduction," p. XIII, n. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Keṭābā Qaddīšā; Diatēqē ʿAttīqtā* (Holy Scriptures; Old Testament, Urmia text; London, 1852; reprinted 1954).

<sup>6</sup> A. M. Ceriani, ed., *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano sec. fere VI photolithographice edita*. Vol. VI, Parts I and II, of *Monumenta Sacra et Profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan, 1876-1883).

Urmia text is given first for each variant evaluated below, followed by the variant found, and then by the sigla of the MSS showing the variant, arranged alphabetically for convenience. The sigla show at a glance what type of MS is involved. For the age of the MS the reader may refer to the *List of MSS* in Part I. Following the manuscript support and separated by a slanting bar between all the groups, the agreement shown by the four texts, Hebrew,<sup>7</sup> Targum,<sup>8</sup> Greek,<sup>9</sup> and Syrohexapla,<sup>10</sup> by the patristic quotations of Is,<sup>11</sup> and by the New Testament,<sup>12</sup> is listed, indicated by abbreviations (see the *List of Abbreviations and Symbols*, in Part I).

The 3049 variant readings from our manuscript study and the 290 from our patristic study were analyzed as to type. The types identified, ranked by frequency within coherent groups, are as follows:

1. Different word(s).
2. Scribal mistakes.
3. Other scribal variations.
4. Omission of word(s).
5. Addition of word(s).
6. Different form of the same word (as, different verb tense).
7. Prefixing of a *waw* conjunction.
8. Omission of a *waw* conjunction.
9. Omission of a preposition (prefixed or not).

<sup>7</sup> *Biblia Hebraica*, ed. Rud. Kittel (3d ed.; Stuttgart, 1937).

<sup>8</sup> Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic*. Vol. III, *The Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden, 1962).

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Septuaginta; Vetus Testamentum Graecum*. XIV: *Isaias* (Göttingen, 1939).

<sup>10</sup> A. M. Ceriani, ed., *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus*. Vol. VII of *Monumenta Sacra et Profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan, 1874).

<sup>11</sup> For patristic quotations the exact reference is given in abbreviated form with the citation; the full bibliographic entry is found under the abbreviation in the *List of Abbreviations and Symbols* which appeared in Part I.

<sup>12</sup> *The New Testament in Syriac* (Peshitta text; London, 1955).

10. Prefixing of a preposition (or its insertion if not prefixed).
11. Change to a different preposition.
12. Change from prefixed preposition א to prefixed *waw* conjunction.
13. Change from prefixed *waw* conjunction to prefixed prep א.
14. Change from prefixed א to *waw* conjunction.
15. Change from *waw* conjunction to prefixed preposition ו.
16. Change from *waw* conjunction to ו.
17. Change from ו to *waw* conjunction.
18. Addition of *səyāmē* plural dots.
19. Omission of *səyāmē* plural dots.
20. Omission of a suffixed pronoun.
21. Change to a different suffixed pronoun.
22. Addition of a suffixed pronoun.
23. Change of verb form to singular.
24. Change of verb form to plural.
25. Change of verb form to feminine.
26. Change of verb form to masculine.
27. Change of plural verb form to masculine.
28. Addition of a prefixed *t* to a verb form (change to passive).
29. Omission of a prefixed *t* in a verb form (change to active).
30. Change of a participle to the singular.
31. Change of a participle to the plural.
32. Change of a plural participle to the feminine.
33. Transposition of words, or of phrases or clauses.
34. Different wording in a clause.
35. Repetition of a word.

In the remainder of Part II the more important variants are shown and discussed individually, as to the possibility of their being traces of the Targum substrata and Old Syriac text forms. The variants discussed are organized by types of texts—older MSS, Massora correction MSS, later MSS, Lectionaries, Canticles (or Psalter and Biblical Odes) MSS, and patristic quotations—but the variants to be mentioned will be confined to categories 1-3, 4, 5, 6, 33, and 34 of the above list of types of variants found; in other words, not

simply presence or absence of a *waw* conjunction, a suffix, a preposition, pluralization, etc. These features may well represent the Old Syriac text, of course, in many instances; but they may also be simply scribal errors or variations coming in from other influences. Vööbus gives the following caution:

Ein anderes Problem kommt auf, nämlich ob alle auffälligen Abweichungen in der syrischen Vorlage wirklich so zu erklären sind, dass sie altertümliche Elemente sind, die der Frühgeschichte der Peschitta angehören? Können sie aber nicht von der syro-hexaplarischen Übersetzung herkommen, die mit dem Peschittatext in eine Mischform zusammengeschmolzen war, etwa so wie das Werk von Ja'qōb von Edessa? In diesem Fall würden wir mit einer anderen Quelle der targumischen Traditionen im Syrischen zu tun haben, die durch die Kanäle der Septuaginta fließt, die ja selber auch in die Familie der Targumim gehört. Für unsere Zwecke würde aber diese Quelle unser Interesse verlieren.<sup>13</sup>

Goshen-Gottstein joins Vööbus, Kahle, and others in considering the early history of the Greek text a targumic development,<sup>14</sup> but he states:

However, in the case of the Peshitta, we can detect no indication to make us assume that the same conditions prevailed as, perhaps, characterized the early history of the LXX and the Targum. On the basis of our MSS—and this is borne out by many indications in the text itself—it seems rather more likely that the text of the Peshitta represents *one* translation only, which was, however, corrected for some time, possibly on the basis of some other tradition.<sup>15</sup>

This is opposite to Vööbus' viewpoint on the Old Syriac text, with its flexible and varied texture: "... the Vetus Syra is by no means a homogeneous and uniform text. The Vetus Syra originally must have contained more than the two extant representatives [Curetonian and Sinaitic Old Syriac Gospel codices]." <sup>16</sup> But Vööbus agrees with the above

<sup>13</sup> Arthur Vööbus, *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs* (Stockholm, 1958), p. 63.

<sup>14</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *op. cit.*, p. XII. Cf. Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2d ed.; Oxford, 1959), pp. 232-264; Vööbus, *op. cit.*, p. 63, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>16</sup> Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*. CSCO, vol. 128, Subsidia, Tome 3 (Louvain, 1951), p. 167.

statement by Goshen-Gottstein concerning the Peshitta, as contrasted with the Old Syriac text:

The Peshitta was one of the numerous manuscripts of the Vetus Syra which was made the basis of redaction and adaptation to the vulgar Greek text held valid in the patriarchate of Antioch. The result of this revision was that digressions were eliminated, additions removed, omissions supplemented and peculiarities retouched. . . . After the revision, the text assumed a wholly new form, conforming more or less to the Greek original [of the New Testament] . . . . An entirely new text type came into existence. While the Peshitta's back is turned on the ancient and endeared Syrian traditions, its face is decidedly turned towards the Greek form.<sup>17</sup>

In studying the early history of the Syriac version, these two phases are both involved—one must try to go behind the rather rigid, standardized revision represented by the Peshitta, to the varied, individualistic, “wilder” text of the Old Syriac, with its targumic characteristics, a tendency to paraphrase and to find more than one way of expressing a thought. In this view, all the minutiae mentioned *en masse* in the statistical tables and chapters [of our full unpublished dissertation] could be seen as reflecting the Old Syriac text except where they have the agreement of the Greek and the Syrohexapla; and even in these cases, the agreement may be merely a coincidence, and they may really belong to the Old Syriac—or, they may actually be only scribal errors. Goshen-Gottstein emphasizes the “Law of Scribes,” that “the same textual change may creep into the text again and again, mostly for purely linguistic reasons. Not every corruption is a ‘variant’, . . .”<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, a necessary caution is expressed when he says:

However, if we overwork our tools of analysis—*e.g.* by explaining readings as linguistic alternants, simplifications, syntactic smoothings, harmonizations and exegetical changes, influences from similar verses etc. etc. . . .—our misinterpretation of the facts will be hardly less glaring than that of the reigning textual criticism. The method may work so well that the vast majority of variants can be explained away, and we might easily throw out the baby with the bathwater.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>18</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

In his footnote on the last sentence of the above statement, he adds:

By now it ought to be clear that many alleged variants in the ancient versions are due much less to the process of translation than was assumed before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. The dynamics of textual change are very much the same everywhere, so that identity of result cannot *per se* be taken as proof of relatedness or common tradition.<sup>20</sup>

With these cautions concerning both extremes in view, only those variants will be given consideration here, in most cases, that have the Targum in agreement and/or a patristic quotation. Thus the bulk of the accidental agreements will be eliminated. The use of italics for a text reference indicates a singular reading. At the end of each section a brief summary is given of the total variants in the respective types of MSS.

#### *Variants in the Older MSS*

1: 15<sup>c</sup> ܠܩܠܝܝܠ ܠܚܝܘܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܗܘܝܬ ] ܠܩܠܝܝܠ ܗܘܝܬ P<sup>6</sup> / NT

1: 15<sup>c</sup> in P<sup>6</sup> is an interesting variant, though without any support from the four texts, the Hebrew, Targum, Greek, or Syrohexapla, or from the Syrian authors. It may be a scribal error (bringing it in from another context), or typical of the "wilder" text of the Old Syriac. The exact words are found in the Peshitta text of Rom 3: 15, but are there related to "feet" rather than to "hands"—a telescoping of the similar wording found in Is 59: 7, where the exact words appear in the Syrohexapla. See also the mention of this variant in Part III, the section on NT quotations of Is.

2: 3<sup>a</sup> ܠܩܘܠܝܠܐ ] ܠܩܘܠܝܠܐ P<sup>6</sup> S<sup>1, 2, 4, 5-1</sup> / Eph Op Om II, 24

2: 3<sup>a</sup> appears only in P<sup>6</sup> and 4 of the Mt. Sinai Lectionaries and Ephraim. A synonym, it may well be an Old Syriac form, if not a scribal error.

2: 3<sup>c</sup> ܠܩܘܠܝܠ ] (1) ܠܩܘܠܝܠ S<sup>4-1</sup> / (2) ܠܩܘܠܝܠ P<sup>6</sup>

2: 3<sup>c2</sup>, only in P<sup>6</sup>, a synonym, may be a scribal error or an Old Syriac form.

2: 20<sup>c</sup> ܠܩܘܠܝܠܐ ܠܩܘܠܝܠܐ ] ܠܩܘܠܝܠܐ ܠܩܘܠܝܠܐ L<sup>6</sup> (2) / (H T) G S

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XIII, n. 17.

2: 20<sup>c</sup> is an example of many where the Old Syriac form may actually be the wording in the Peshitta, the variant having only one (or in some examples a very few) MS with it, along with Hebrew, Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla, but the vast majority of the MSS being with the Peshitta text base contrary to these. When the Old Syriac forms thus hide in the Peshitta text, they are impossible to designate safely.

3: 12<sup>a</sup> [ܥܠܝܠܬܐ] ܥܠܝܠܬܐ L<sup>4</sup> M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>6</sup> R<sup>2, 3</sup> S<sup>1, 2, 3, 4, 5-1</sup>  
/ T / Aph I, 640

3: 12<sup>a</sup>, a different form of the word, could be brushed aside as merely an orthographic difference. Appearing in the Targum and in Aphrahat's quotation, however, along with 3 early MSS, 2 late ones of the 17th cent., and 5 Mt. Sinai Lectionaries, it may well be genuine.

5: 4<sup>a</sup> [ܠܚܒܘ] pr ܠܚܒܘ L<sup>4</sup> L<sup>12-1</sup> M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4, 6</sup> R<sup>2, 3</sup> R<sup>6-1</sup> S<sup>1, 3, 4, 5-1</sup> /  
Aph I, 228; Eph *Op Om* II, 26

5: 4<sup>a</sup>, appearing in 3 older, 3 later, and 6 Lectionary MSS, also in quotations by Aphrahat and Ephraim, may be Old Syriac, though unimportant.

10: 5<sup>b</sup> [ܠܦܘܠ] + ܠܦܘܠ J<sup>1</sup> L<sup>4</sup> M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>6</sup> R<sup>2, 3</sup> / Zach II, 190

10: 5<sup>b</sup> occurs in 3 older and 3 later MSS and in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Zacharias Rhetor translated into Syriac; it is an idiom characteristic of the early language, probably reflecting the Old Syriac text type.

10: 9<sup>a</sup> [ܠܗܠܐ] ܠܗܠܐ C<sup>1, 3, 4, 5</sup> F<sup>1</sup> L<sup>1, 2, 3 (2), 5, 6 (2)</sup> L<sup>7, 8, 9, 10, 11-m</sup>  
M<sup>1, 2</sup> O<sup>1, 2</sup> P<sup>3, 5</sup> R<sup>1, 4, 5</sup>

10: 9<sup>a</sup> could be a scribal variant in older, Massora correction, and later MSS, but the *yūdh* in both forms may be the Old Syriac spelling, since all four texts and Ephraim have *nūn*, as shown in Eph *Op Om* II, 38, supported by H T (G S).

10: 14<sup>h</sup> [ܠܗܠܐ] (1) om ܐ R<sup>1</sup> / (2) ܠܗܠܐ ܠܗܠܐ F<sup>1 (1)</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>3, 5</sup> /  
Eph *Op Om* II, 38

10: 14<sup>h2</sup> is found in F<sup>1</sup> and the group of 17th-cent. MSS that



are close to it, and in Ephraim; it could well be an Old Syriac form of wording.

11: 16<sup>e</sup> ܐܠܗܐܝܢ (1) + ܡܢ M<sup>1</sup> / (2) ܐܠܗܐܝܢ C<sup>1</sup> O<sup>2</sup> S<sup>1, 2, 3, 4-1</sup> / H G (S)

11: 16<sup>e</sup>, though isolated in M<sup>1</sup>, may be an archaic reading.

14: 10<sup>b</sup> ܐܠܗܐܝܢ ܐܠܗܐܝܢ F<sup>1</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2, 3, 5</sup> / Eph *Op Om* II, 43

14: 10<sup>b</sup> occurs in F<sup>1</sup> accompanied by its small late group and Ephraim; it could be a scribal error or Old Syriac.

15: 1<sup>b</sup> ܐܠܗܐܝܢ ܐܠܗܐܝܢ F<sup>1</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2 (t), 3, 5</sup> / Eph *Op Om* II, 44

15: 1<sup>d</sup> ܐܠܗܐܝܢ ܐܠܗܐܝܢ F<sup>1</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2 (t), 3, 5</sup>

15: 1<sup>b</sup>, 15: 1<sup>d</sup> contain a transposition occurring in F<sup>1</sup> and its small late group and Ephraim; either a scribal error or Old Syriac form of the text.

16: 8<sup>c</sup> ܐܠܗܐܝܢ (1) pr ܐܠܗܐܝܢ R<sup>2 (t)</sup> / (2) ܐܠܗܐܝܢ F<sup>1</sup>

16: 8<sup>c</sup>, 16: 8<sup>c2</sup> are each confined to one MS but share the same variant largely, occurring only in F<sup>1</sup> and one of its close associates, the text of R<sup>2</sup>, in which the marginal corrections generally have the effect of conforming the text to the Urmia Peshitta type. It could be an Old Syriac reading, or a scribal error, the 17th-cent. MS copying it from the rather individualistic earlier one.

17: 9<sup>a</sup> ܐܠܗܐܝܢ pr ܡܢ L<sup>5</sup> M<sup>1</sup>

17: 9<sup>a</sup> is a common idiom which the scribes of L<sup>5</sup> and M<sup>1</sup> may easily have brought in from elsewhere in the text or simply in their minds; or it may be the older reading.

18: 7<sup>c</sup> ܐܠܗܐܝܢ om F<sup>1</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2, 3, 5</sup> / Eph *Op Om* II, 49

18: 7<sup>c</sup> is an omission by F<sup>1</sup> and its close late group and Ephraim; it could be scribal, or Old Syriac.

20: 2<sup>d</sup> ܐܠܗܐܝܢ ܐܠܗܐܝܢ C<sup>1</sup> L<sup>5</sup> L<sup>7, 9, 10, 11-m</sup> M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>6\*</sup>  
P<sup>7-m</sup> R<sup>2</sup> R<sup>7, 8, 9-m</sup> / Eph *Op Om* II, 52

20: 2<sup>d</sup> is attested in 3 older, all but 1 of the Massora correction, and 2 of the later, MSS as well as Ephraim. The transposition may be Old Syriac.

20: 3<sup>a</sup> בַּעֲבֹרֵי הַיָּם ] בַּעֲבֹרֵי הַיָּם F<sup>1</sup> L<sup>4, 5</sup> M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>6\*</sup> / (Eph)

20: 3<sup>a</sup> is identical with 20: 2<sup>d</sup>, but is attested by 5 of the older MSS and Ephraim.

26: 13<sup>c</sup> לֵךְ חַיִּי C<sup>1, 2, 3, 4, 5</sup> F<sup>1</sup> J<sup>1</sup> L<sup>3, 4, 5, 6</sup> L<sup>12-1</sup> L<sup>27-c</sup> M<sup>1, 2</sup>  
O<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1, 2, 3, 5, 6</sup> R<sup>1, 2, 3, 4, 5</sup> R<sup>6-1</sup> R<sup>10, 12-c</sup> S<sup>6, 7, 8, 9-c</sup>  
W<sup>2-c</sup> / (T) / Eph *Op Om* II, 63

26: 13<sup>c</sup> is mentioned here because it is found in almost all the older, later, and Canticles (Psalter and Biblical Odes) MSS plus 2 of the Lectionaries, and Ephraim and the Targum. It could have been a scribal error, but is more likely a genuine older trace in all these, being with Targum.

30: 15<sup>b</sup> וְיָדָע ] om F<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>3, 6\*</sup> R<sup>2, 3, 5</sup> / Eph *Op Om* II, 71

30: 15<sup>b</sup> is an omission in F<sup>1</sup> and its small late group, plus M<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>6</sup> (uncorrected), and in Ephraim. It is perhaps a scribal error.

33: 7 וְיָדָע לְמֹסֶר ] וְיָדָע לְמֹסֶר F<sup>1</sup> L<sup>5</sup>M<sup>1</sup> R<sup>2 (t)</sup>  
/ (H) / Eph *Op Om* II, 76

33: 7, occurring in three older MSS and in the text of R<sup>2</sup> (the marginal correction being, as usual, the same as the Urmia Peshitta), as well as in Ephraim and the conjecturally restored Hebrew אֲרָא (ה) לִ(ה) ׀, supported by the IQIs<sup>a</sup> reading אֲרָא לִם, is probably a piece of the original text fabric woven into the Peshitta by the Old Syriac from the Hebrew primary source. This is actually the highly preponderant situation, but is the kind that cannot be demonstrated and is here excluded, for the most part, in order to focus on the items of the contrary type that stand out against this Peshitta background.

37: 25 בְּחַיִּי ] בְּחַיִּי F<sup>1</sup> / T / Aph I, 189

37: 25, in F<sup>1</sup>, has the support of the Targum and Aphrahat; it may be Old Syriac.

38: 2<sup>b</sup> וְיָדָע + וְיָדָע F<sup>1</sup> J<sup>1</sup> L<sup>4</sup> M<sup>1, 2(mg)</sup> R<sup>1, 2, 3</sup> S<sup>1, 2, 3, 4, 5-1</sup> / T

38: 2<sup>b</sup>, occurring in several older, later, and Lectionary

MSS, with support of the Targum, may be Old Syriac or just a scribal error.

43: 8<sup>b</sup> ܐܠܗܐ ] + ܐܠܗܐ ܬܢܒܐ L<sup>1(2), 2, 5</sup> / Syr Did 74a, n.

43: 8<sup>b</sup>, appearing in L<sup>5</sup> and also in the second hand of L<sup>1</sup> and in L<sup>2</sup>, as well as Ephraim and the Syriac *Didascalia*, is an addition that could have come in from Eze 12 : 2, either as a scribal error or as an addition of the *Vetus Syra*.

43: 15 ܐܠܗܐ ] ܐܠܗܐ P<sup>6</sup> / Eph Lamy II, 105

43: 15 occurs only in P<sup>6</sup> and Ephraim; this substitute word could well be an Old Syriac trace—or a scribal error.

49: 12<sup>b</sup> ܐܠܗܐ ] om ܐܠܗܐ O<sup>2</sup>

49: 12<sup>b</sup>, the word ܐܠܗܐ in both Peshitta and variant may be Old Syriac, for none of the four texts has it or its equivalent.

51: 3<sup>b</sup> ܐܠܗܐ ] + sey. F<sup>1</sup> L<sup>9-m</sup> M<sup>1</sup> O<sup>2</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2(t), 3, 5</sup>

51: 3<sup>b</sup>, both Peshitta and variant may represent the archaic text, since the four texts are completely different here.

51: 12 ܐܠܗܐ ] om F<sup>1(t)</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2, 3, 5</sup> / H T G S

51: 12 is an omission by F<sup>1</sup> and its group and by all four texts; the words may be an Old Syriac trace hiding in the Peshitta.

51: 18<sup>b</sup> ܐܠܗܐ ] om F<sup>1</sup> L<sup>4, 5</sup> M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>3, 6(t)</sup> R<sup>1(t), 2, 3, 5</sup> / H T G S

51: 18<sup>b</sup> is the same situation as 51: 12; several more of the older MSS also omit the words, however.

55: 1<sup>c</sup> ܐܠܗܐ ] om F<sup>1</sup> R<sup>2(t)</sup> / Eph Lamy II, 155

55: 1<sup>c</sup>, the second occurrence of the verb, is omitted in F<sup>1</sup>, the text of R<sup>2</sup>, and Ephraim. It may be a scribal error or an old text form.

55: 13<sup>d</sup> ܐܠܗܐ ] ܐܠܗܐ L<sup>4</sup> M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>4</sup> R<sup>6-1</sup> S<sup>1, 2, 4, 5-1</sup> / H T G S

55: 13<sup>d</sup>—again, the Old Syriac may be against the variant, with the Peshitta and the majority of older and other MSS; the four texts support the variant.

58: 1<sup>b</sup> ܐܠܗܐ ] ܐܠܗܐ F<sup>1</sup> L<sup>4, 5</sup> M<sup>1</sup> S<sup>1, 2, 4, 5-1</sup> / H T G S



35 : 2<sup>c</sup> ܠܡܠܟܐ] + ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ L<sup>7-m</sup> M<sup>2</sup> O<sup>1, 2</sup>  
P<sup>1, 2, 5(mg)</sup> R<sup>4</sup>

35 : 2<sup>a</sup>, 35 : 2<sup>c</sup> represent liturgical additions in Massora correction MSS and later MSS.

45 : 16 ܠܡܠܟܐ] (1) om sey. F<sup>1</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2, 3, 5</sup> / (2) ܠܡܠܟܐ L<sup>10-m</sup> / T

45 : 16<sup>2</sup> is a synonym, occurring in 1 Massora MS and the Targum. It may well be a genuine old Targum trace here.

55 : 1<sup>e</sup> ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ R<sup>8-m</sup> / Aph I, 24

55 : 1<sup>e</sup> occurs in 1 Massora MS and Aphrahat; this transposition is probably scribal.

56 : 10<sup>e</sup> ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ L<sup>7-m</sup> M<sup>2</sup> O<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1, 2, 5(mg)</sup> R<sup>4</sup> / Eph Lamy II, 161

56 : 10<sup>e</sup> occurs in 1 Massora and several later MSS and Ephraim. It may be a scribal confusion of letters in Nestorian script.

66 : 23<sup>c</sup> ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ] ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ L<sup>10-m</sup> / Eph Lamy II, 211

66 : 23<sup>c</sup>, occurring in 1 Massora MS and Ephraim, may be a trace of the archaic text, or the Massoretic correction may be from Ephraim's text; similarly 66 : 22<sup>1, 2</sup>, where S<sup>5-1</sup> shows ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ, and S<sup>4-1</sup> shows ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ, respectively.

There are no other variants worth mentioning in the Massora MSS besides these 7, 1 of which is duplicated in the section on older MSS. The Massora correction MSS contain, all together, 649 variants, of which 176 (27.1%) are singular (5.8% of the 3049 manuscript variants). One is supported by the Curetonian Old Syriac Gospels codex, and 5 by the NT Peshitta. Aphrahat agrees with 11, Ephraim with 93; one is supported by another patristic source, the 7th-cent. *Livre de la Perfection* (merely omission of *sēyāmē*).

#### *Variants in the Later MSS*

2 : 4<sup>a</sup> ܠܡܠܟܐ] ܠܡܠܟܐ L<sup>1, 2</sup>

2 : 4<sup>a</sup>, appearing in 2 late MSS, is probably a scribal corruption from Mic 4 : 3.

3: 12<sup>a</sup> was mentioned in the section on older MSS; likewise 5: 4<sup>a</sup>, 10: 5<sup>b</sup>, 10: 9<sup>a</sup>, and 10: 14<sup>b2</sup>.

13: 22<sup>b</sup> [ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ] om C<sup>1</sup> M<sup>2</sup> P<sup>1</sup> / T

13: 22<sup>b</sup> is an omission in the Targum as well as in 3 later MSS, but it could be a scribal error.

14: 10<sup>b</sup> was mentioned in the section on older MSS; likewise 15: 1<sup>b</sup>, 15: 1<sup>d</sup>, 18: 7<sup>c</sup>, 20: 2<sup>d</sup>, and 20: 3<sup>a</sup>.

22: 12<sup>a</sup> [ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ] om P<sup>4</sup> / Eph *Op Om* II, 56

22: 12<sup>a</sup> occurs in a 13th-cent. MS and Ephraim. The omission may be merely scribal.

30: 15<sup>b</sup> and 33: 7 have already been mentioned among older MSS.

30: 32 [ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ] P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2(t)</sup>, 3, 5; Eph *Op Om* II, 73

30: 32 occurs in the group of 17th-cent. MSS usually associated with F<sup>1</sup>, and in Ephraim. It would be an easy scribal error to make, or it may be the old text form.

34: 14<sup>a</sup> [ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ] M<sup>2</sup> O<sup>2</sup> P<sup>1</sup>, 2, 3, 5 R<sup>4</sup> / Eph *Op Om* II, 78

34: 14<sup>a</sup>, found only in late MSS and Ephraim, is doubtless a scribal error; it does not fit the context well.

38: 2<sup>b</sup> and 43: 8<sup>b</sup> have already been mentioned.

44: 25<sup>a</sup> [ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ] + ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ O<sup>2</sup> / Eph Lamy II, 113

44: 25<sup>a</sup> occurs only in the wretchedly written O<sup>2</sup>, but supported by Ephraim; the addition of the pronoun to the participle, such a common idiom in Syriac, could have come into each independently as a scribal addition.

47: 8<sup>b</sup> [ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ] + ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ R<sup>4</sup> / T

47: 8<sup>b</sup> occurs only in the 17th-cent. R<sup>4</sup> and the Targum; it is an easy addition to be made from many parallel texts, so that it could have come into both independently.

55: 1<sup>c</sup> and 58: 11<sup>b</sup> have been mentioned in the section on older MSS; 56: 10<sup>e</sup>, in the section on Massora MSS.

60: 5<sup>b</sup> [ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ ܘܫܬܘܠܘܢ] C<sup>1</sup> L<sup>3(2)</sup> / Eph Lamy II, 173

60: 5<sup>b</sup> occurs only in a 12th-cent. MS and the second hand (14th cent.) of another, besides Ephraim; it could be a scribal error in Nestorian script, but these are Jacobite hands. Perhaps Ephraim and these reflect the Old Syriac form.

62: 6<sup>b</sup> ܠܘܢܝܢܐ] (1) ܠܘܢܝܢܐ B C<sup>2</sup>, 3, 4, 5 L<sup>1</sup>, 2, 3, 6 L<sup>8-m</sup> P<sup>4</sup>, 6(mg)  
R<sup>1</sup> R<sup>7(mg)-m</sup> / (2) ܠܘܢܝܢܐ P<sup>1</sup> / Eph Lamy II, 187

62: 6<sup>b2</sup>, occurring only in the very poor late MS P<sup>1</sup> besides in Ephraim, is undoubtedly a scribal error.

65: 7<sup>b</sup> has already been mentioned in the section on older MSS.

66: 8<sup>a</sup> ܠܘ] om R<sup>2</sup>, 3, 5 / Eph Lamy II, 205

66: 8<sup>a</sup> occurs in 3 late MSS usually associated with F<sup>1</sup>, and in Ephraim. The omission is probably a scribal error.

66: 13<sup>c</sup> ܠܘܠܘܠܘ] om R<sup>3</sup>, 5 / (Eph)

66: 13<sup>c</sup> is the same situation as the preceding.

Thirty variants have been included in this section, 19 of them duplicates of those in the preceding sections. The later MSS (excluding second and third hands) contain all together 5077 variants, of which 744 (14.7%) are singular (24.1% of the 3049 total manuscript variants). The Curetonian Old Syriac agrees with 3, the Sinaitic Old Syriac with 4, and the NT Peshitta with 35. Aphrahat's reading supports 87, Ephraim's, 626, and other patristic writers', 96. Summarizing the general MSS (older, fragments, and later), they contain 6567 occurrences of variants, 926 of them (14.1%) singular (30.4% of the 3049). The Curetonian supports 6 occurrences, the Sinaitic Syriac 6, and the NT, 46. Aphrahat supports 123 times, Ephraim, 848 times, and others give 148 instances of support.

#### *Variants in the Lectionaries*

1: 3<sup>b</sup> ܠܘܠܘܠܘ] ܠܘܠܘܠܘ S<sup>1</sup>, 2, 4, 5-1 / Eph *Op Om* III, 216; Jac Ed 265

1: 3<sup>d</sup> ܠܘܠܘܠܘ] (1) ܠܘܠܘܠܘ P<sup>6</sup> / (2) ܠܘܠܘܠܘ S<sup>1</sup>, 2, 4, 5-1 / Eph  
*Op Om* III, 216; Jac Ed 265

1: 3<sup>b</sup> and 1: 3<sup>d2</sup> are a transposition confined to 4 Mt. Sinai

Lectonaries, besides Ephraim and Jacob of Edessa. It is probably the Old Syriac text form.

2: 3<sup>a</sup> and 3: 12<sup>a</sup> have already been mentioned in the section on older MSS.

5: 1<sup>a</sup> [ܐܘܡܢ ܕܘܚܪܐ] (1) om S<sup>5-1</sup> / (2) [ܐܘܡܢ ܕܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ] S<sup>1, 2, 3, 4-1</sup> / Ish VI, 95; Dion I, 336

5: 1<sup>a2</sup> is confined to 4 Mt. Sinai Lectonaries besides Isho'dad and Dionysius bar Ṣalībī, who copies from him. The insertion of the word is a later Syriac characteristic, doubtless not in the Old Syriac text.

5: 4<sup>a</sup> has already been mentioned in the section on older MSS.

5: 2I [ܘܚܪܐ ܕܘܚܪܐ] L<sup>12-1</sup> R<sup>6-1</sup>

5: 2I, in 2 13th-cent. Lectonaries, is without support but is possibly an Old Syriac reading, or merely scribal.

6: 6 [ܘܚܪܐ] (1) pr ܐ C<sup>5</sup> / (TG) / (2) [ܘܚܪܐ] S<sup>1, 2, 4, 5-1</sup> / (T)

6: 6<sup>a</sup> is limited to 4 Mt. Sinai Lectonaries and the Targum, although the latter uses a different root in Pa'el form, with the same meaning. This may be a trace of the Old Syriac preserved in the Lectonaries, Targum influence being only the insertion of the *yūdh*.

8: 4<sup>a</sup> [ܘܚܪܐ ܕܘܚܪܐ] S<sup>5-1</sup> / T / Eph *Op Om* II, 34

8: 4<sup>a</sup>, in 1 very poorly written Lectonary and the Targum, may be an Old Syriac form, though it could easily be a scribal error.

9: 6<sup>a</sup> [ܘܚܪܐ ܕܘܚܪܐ] S<sup>5-1</sup> / (Erech 59, 62)

9: 6<sup>a</sup> is in 1 very poorly written Lectonary, and the noun appears in the Syriac translation of the quotation by Erechthios; the synonym substitution may be a scribal error.

10: 18<sup>a</sup> [ܘܚܪܐ ܕܘܚܪܐ] (1) om ܐ S<sup>4-1</sup> / (2) [ܘܚܪܐ ܕܘܚܪܐ] S<sup>5-1</sup> / (T)

10: 18<sup>a2</sup> looks like a scribal error in the very poorly written Lectonary, but it is partially supported by the Targum. It may be a genuine old form.



33: 16<sup>a</sup> [ܘܒܝܘܬܐ] ܘܒܝܘܬܐ R<sup>6-1</sup> / (T)

33: 16<sup>a</sup>, in 1 Lectionary, could be a scribal change to another form of the same root; it is weakly supported by Targum, ܒܘܬܪ ܪܡ.

36: 1<sup>c</sup> [ܘܡܫܘܚܐ] om S<sup>4-1</sup> / Eph *Op Om* II, 80

36: 1<sup>c</sup> is an omission in 1 Lectionary and Ephraim; it may be a scribal error, or Old Syriac.

38: 2<sup>b</sup> and 58: 11<sup>b</sup> have already been mentioned in the section on older MSS.

62: 4<sup>a</sup> [ܘܐܘܪܐ] om S<sup>4-1</sup> / Eph Lamy II, 185

62: 4<sup>a</sup> is an omission in 1 Lectionary, not well written, and in Ephraim. It is an easy scribal error to make.

Sixteen variants have been listed in this section, 5 of them duplicates of those in preceding sections. The Lectionaries all together furnish 1989 variants, of which 322 (16.2%) are singular (10.6% of the 3049). Four have the support of the Curetonian and Sinaitic Old Syriac Gospels, and 28, of the NT. Aphrahat agrees with 44 occurrences, Ephraïm with 144, and other patristic sources, with 119.

*Variants in the Canticles MSS (Psalter and Biblical Odes)*

26: 15<sup>h</sup> [ܘܡܫܘܚܐ] (1) ܘܡܫܘܚܐ C<sup>5</sup> / H / (2) ܘܡܫܘܚܐ L<sup>27-c</sup> S<sup>6, 9, 10-c</sup> / (T)

26: 15<sup>h2</sup>, confined to Canticles MSS and supported by the Targum, can well be a genuine trace of Old Syriac in these liturgical MSS.

26: 19<sup>e</sup> [ܘܡܫܘܚܐ] (1) ܘܡܫܘܚܐ R<sup>10-c</sup> S<sup>6, 7, 8, 9-c</sup> / (T) / (2) ܘܡܫܘܚܐ S<sup>10-c</sup> / (3) ܘܡܫܘܚܐ R<sup>11-c</sup>

26: 19<sup>e1</sup>, 26: 19<sup>e2</sup>, the addition of the word "all," appears in 6 Canticles MSS and the Targum; it would be very easy for a scribe to bring this in from many parallel passages, no matter which word might be used for "inhabitants" or "dwellers," e.g. Is 18: 3.

26 : 19<sup>g</sup> ܠܘܢܐܢܐ ] (1) ܠܘܢܐܢܐ R<sup>10-c</sup> S<sup>6, 7, 9-c</sup> / (T) G S / (2) ܠܘܢܐܢܐ  
L<sup>27-c</sup>

26 : 19<sup>g1</sup>, the substitution of a different word, appears in 4 Canticles MSS, supported by the Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla. It may be the archaic form; it could have given rise to the synonym in 26 : 19<sup>g2</sup>.

No other reading in the Canticles sections, Is 26 : 9-19 and 42 : 10-13, 45 : 8, is worth mentioning, besides these 4. All together, the Canticles MSS present 374 variant readings, of which 47 (1.5% of 3049, and 12.6% of the 374) are singular. No support is found for any Canticles readings in the NT Peshitta quotations of Isaiah, nor in the Curetonian or Sinaitic Old Syriac Gospels. Aphrahat's reading gives support to 1 variant, with 4 Canticles MSS, while the reading of Ephraim supports 7 variants, with 38 occurrences in the MSS, and the 7th-cent. *Livre de la Perfection* is with 3 Canticles MSS at 26 : 9<sup>d</sup> (merely prefixing a *waw* conjunction).

#### *General Observations*

It is not possible to be sure in most of the cases presented above, whether a variant is a scribal error or a genuine trace of the Old Syriac text form. And many of the variants excluded here, such as suffixes, different prepositions, etc., may actually be genuine old forms. A variant that one would think merely scribal will often turn out, on checking, to have the support of one or two or all four of the Hebrew, Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla texts; but this agreement may be accidental and a coincidence, and the variant where it occurs may still be a scribal error, according to the "Law of Scribes" mentioned earlier.

A similar case occurs in Lectionaries, where a variant seems obviously due to the fact that a new lection is beginning at that spot. But on checking, one may find that the word actually occurs in the text of the Syrohexapla, with the equivalent Greek in the Greek text from which that was

translated and thus influencing the text type of the Lectionaries. Such an instance is the prefixed ܠܡ at 49:6<sup>c</sup>, before ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ, shown by S<sup>1, 2, 3, 4, 5-1</sup> and supported by G S, where a lection begins in the middle of the verse.

In several of the above references (2: 20<sup>c</sup>, 51: 3<sup>b</sup>, 51: 12, 51: 18<sup>b</sup>, 55: 13<sup>d</sup>, 58: 1<sup>b</sup>, and 66: 16) the Old Syriac forms may be hiding in the Peshitta text. Other examples, not included in the 3049 variants from the manuscripts, may be the following:

9: 12 ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ] ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ H T G; ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ S, where all the MSS studied are with the Urmia text.

11: 14 ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ] ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ H G S; all MSS are with the Urmia text.

21: 9 ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ] ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ om H T G S.

32: 14 ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ] ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ om H T G S.

49: 4 ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ] ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ om H T G S.

51: 3<sup>a</sup> ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ] ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ H T G S.

51: 3<sup>b</sup> ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ] ܠܡܫܘܒܝܢ H T G S.

42: 9, the four texts have the first two clauses in reverse order from that of the Peshitta.

This is not an exhaustive list, but contains only some variants that were noted incidentally, as the present investigation was not carried on in a manner that would expose all of these. Such a method would seem, however, to be one approach toward the *Vetus Syra*.

Following his presentation of similar targumic traces in MSS of differing ages and types, Vööbus remarks:

Nun beginnt im Lichte dieses Textmaterials etwas von der Entwicklung der Peschitta aufzudämmern. Einerseits sind wir jetzt imstande, zu erkennen, dass die älteste Gestalt der Peschitta viel "wilder" gewesen ist. Andererseits muss die Revision ihrer Natur nach viel einschneidender gewesen sein, als wir sie uns bisher vorgestellt haben.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Vööbus, *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs*, p. 112.

Wir stossen auf die interessante Tatsache, dass die weniger revidierten oder sogar die unrevidierten Bibelhandschriften weiterlebten, vervielfältigt wurden, und so noch immer den Einfluss des altpalästinischen Targums verbreiteten, lange nachdem die syrische Christenheit bereits eine revidierte Textgestalt besass, und sogar lange nach dem Aufkommen mancher gelehrten und akuraten Übersetzungen.<sup>22</sup>

### *Variants in the Patristic Quotations*

Concerning the variants found in the MSS, it was interesting to observe very many times in working on one of our sets of worksheets that one variant would be supported by Ephraim with Hebrew and Targum, and the very next variant that had any such support would have it from Ephraim with Greek and Syrohexapla, in completely impartial fashion. Speaking of the early commentaries, Goshen-Gottstein remarks, as an outcome of his studies, "It happens very seldom—and in rather unimportant cases—that these commentaries agree with an early manuscript against the prints."<sup>23</sup> Of the text of such commentaries, he states:

It cannot be said that any of the early commentaries, etc., consistently quotes the Peshitta text verbatim from written copies. On the contrary, it is obvious that the early writers often quoted from memory, omitted parts of verses, and, of course, changed verses to fit their homiletic needs.<sup>24</sup>

More formidable is the problem that not seldom one is led to suspect that the quotation does not belong to the Peshitta tradition, but rather is based on a different tradition. These "free" renderings, in which the commentaries and homilies abound, may be interesting for the study of the problem of a possible O.T. *Vetus Syra*, . . .<sup>25</sup>

It is such variants that are considered in the final section of this chapter. Again, only those variants, in most cases, will be referred to that fall in categories 1-3, 4, 5, 6, 33, and 34 of the types of variants and that have the agreement of the Targum only.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>23</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

1 : 21<sup>2</sup> ܡܠܐܢܐ ܒܥܘܠܐ ܟܢ ܦܘܫܐ ܝܢ ܦܘܫܐ 551 / (T)

1 : 21<sup>2</sup>, occurring in the *Plérôphories* by Jean Rufus, has essentially the same words as the Targum and seems probably a genuine trace.

1 : 22<sup>(c)</sup> ܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܡ ܦܘܫܐ Eph *Op Om* II, 23 / T G

1 : 22<sup>(c)</sup>, Ephraim and the Targum agree on the different word; the Greek has both readings, conflating.

3 : 3 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܡ ܦܘܫܐ Eph *Op Om* II, 24 / T

3 : 3, both Ephraim and the Targum have this substitute word. Other such variants are found at 4 : 3; 5 : 1<sup>(b)</sup>; 5 : 14; and 6 : 23<sup>(c)</sup> (where both Ephraim and Jacob of Edessa are with the Targum, though they have a plural suffix, as the Peshitta has, while that of the Targum is singular).

6 : 7 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܡ ܦܘܫܐ Anon 149 / (T)

6 : 7, an anonymous author has the same word as the Targum, but makes it plural.

9 : 7 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܡ ܦܘܫܐ Ish VII, 9; Syn Nest 233 / T / NT (Lk 1 : 33)

9 : 7, the word of the Targum appears in *Synodes Nestorians* and a quotation of Isho'dad, also in the NT Peshitta at Lk 1 : 33.

10 : 27<sup>(c)</sup> ܡܫܝܚܐ ܥܡ ܦܘܫܐ Eph *Op Om* II, 39

10 : 27<sup>(c)</sup> needs a little discussion. The addition of pluralization occurs in early, Massora, and late MSS. Ephraim, according to Diettrich's *Apparatus*, and the Targum have "Anointed One" or "Messiah," ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ. Diettrich, however, states a correction in his Introduction, calling it a typographical error for ܡܫܝܚܐ.<sup>26</sup> The present investigator found Ephraim's reading to be, in fact, ܡܫܝܚܐ. Stenning has a footnote stating that the spelling ܡܫܝܚܐ in the Targum is probably an error for ܡܫܝܚܐ.<sup>27</sup> If this is true, it would bring the

<sup>26</sup> Diettrich, *op. cit.*, p. xxix.

<sup>27</sup> J. F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford, 1949), p. 39, n. on vs 27.

Targum and Ephraim to the same word, agreeing with the Hebrew. The late and poor MS P<sup>2</sup> has a marginal correction to the form ܠܘܥܘܒ, as Ephraim's really is.

14: 12 ܠܘܥܘܒ] ܠܘܘܐ *Livre P I*, 83 / T

14: 12, the *Livre de la Perfection* has the same word as the Targum.

14: 15 ܠܘܥܘܒ] (a) ܠܘܘܐ *Eph Op Om II*, 43 / (b) ܠܘܘܐܘܐ *Aph I*, 189 / (T) / (NT) (Mt 11: 23; Lk 10: 15)

14: 15<sup>(a)</sup>, 14: 15<sup>(b)</sup>; Ephraim's reading may be a scribal error, omitting the first letter and thus turning the form from an imperfect to an imperative, which also fits the context. Aphrahat's form is close to that of the Targum (ܠܘܘܘܐܘܐ). The NT at Mt 11: 23 and Lk 10: 15 has ܠܘܘܐܘܐ.

19: 17<sup>1</sup> ܠܘܘܐܘܐ] + ܠܘܘܐ *Evag 524* / T

19: 17<sup>1</sup>, Evagrius, in Syriac translation, and the Targum add the same noun. Likewise in 19: 17<sup>2</sup> (ܘܠܘܘܐ] ܠܘܘܐ) they have the same verb, although Evagrius makes it plural while the Targum's singular is like the singular Peshitta form. In 19: 17<sup>3</sup> (ܠܘܘܐ] ܠܘܘܐ) the Syriac translation of Evagrius and the Targum again are alike, although this is outside the few categories selected here.

24: 23 ܠܘܘܐ ܠܘܘܐ ܠܘܘܐ ܠܘܘܐ] ܠܘܘܐ ܠܘܘܐ ܠܘܘܐ ܠܘܘܐ  
*Eph Op Om II*, 60 / (T)

24: 23, the verbs in the first two clauses are exchanged in both Ephraim and the Targum, the latter being characteristically expanded.

25: 6 ܠܘܘܐ] ܠܘܘܐ *Eph Op Om II*, 61 / H T G S

25: 6 may be an instance, like some mentioned in former sections, where the Old Syriac form is hiding in the Peshitta. Ephraim is with the four texts, opposite all the MSS (the variant substituting a different preposition).

27: 13 ܠܘܘܐ ܠܘܘܐ] *om Eph Op Om II*, 66 / H T G S

27: 13 may be another of this type, Ephraim and the four texts opposing all the MSS.

29: 10 [ܠܥܦܝܐܢ ܠܥܦܝܐܢ] Eph Op Om II, 70 (= L<sup>7-m</sup>) / T

29: 10 finds Ephraim with a noun derived from the verb of the Targum, and copied by the Massora MS L<sup>7-m</sup>. The Targum may have influenced Ephraim, or this could simply be a scribal error, omission of a letter.

29: 16 [ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ] Eph Op Om II, 70 / T (ܟܡܐ ܕܫܝܢܐ ܒܝܕ ܦܚܪܐ)

29: 16, Ephraim adds the words "in the hands of" like the Targum, which is, however, singular in form. In both this may be a corruption of the text coming from Jer 18: 6, where it is plural in the Peshitta and singular in the Targum (and Hebrew).

40: 7 [ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ] Cyril 85 / (T)

40: 7, the Syriac translator of Cyril of Alexandria's Homily 38 used the same verb as the Targum. The Greek verb ἐξέπεσε could be translated by either this verb or that of the Peshitta.

40: 17 (a manuscript rather than a patristic variant: [ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ] om C<sup>5(t)</sup> F<sup>1</sup> O<sup>2(t)</sup> P<sup>3</sup> R<sup>2, 3, 5</sup>) is interesting from another point of view. As pointed out by Diettrich in a footnote,<sup>28</sup> the words ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ have penetrated into the Syriac Peshitta text from Ephraim's commentary, where he had plainly marked them as explanatory by putting ܘܥܢ before them. His wording is: ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ.<sup>29</sup>

42: 22 [ܘܥܢ ܘܥܢ] Eph Op Om II, 93 / (T)

44: 22, Ephraim makes a verb on the same root as the noun in the Targum.

<sup>28</sup> Diettrich, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>29</sup> Sancti Ephraem Syri, *Opera Omnia* (Rome, 1737, 1740, 1743), II, 87.





If no restrictions had been placed on the categories included here, only six more would have been included:

16 : 8 [ܐܠܗܐ] om ܐ Eph *Op Om* II, 46 / T

24 : 5 [ܡܫܟܐ ܘܚܠܘܢ] Eph *Op Om* II, 59 / T

41 : 19 [ܡܫܟܐ] + sey. Aph I, 913 / (T)

49 : 9<sup>4</sup> [ܡܫܟܐ] (a) ܡܫܟܐ Eph Lamy II, 129 / T / (b) + ܡܫܟܐ  
Eph Lamy II, 129

60 : 15 [ܡܫܟܐ] Eph Lamy II, 177 / T

66 : 19<sup>2</sup> [ܡܫܟܐ] pr ܡ Eph *Op Om* I, 559 / T (ܝܬ ܝܩܪܝ)

These consisted of a *waw* omitted, a preposition inserted, a plural form of the noun in one codex of Aphrahat and in the Targum, omission of a suffix pronoun in Ephraim and the Targum, the change from a feminine to a masculine verb form in Ephraim and the Targum, and the addition of a preposition ܡ in Ephraim to indicate the direct object of the verb, corresponding to ܝܬ in the Targum.

After presenting a similar selection of variants in the patristic sources, supported by the Targum, Vööbus states:

Eine eingehende Betrachtung und Würdigung dieser Auswahl typischer Beispiele—und hier sind nur solche hineingenommen, die gegen die Peschitta, die Septuaginta und den masoretischen Text (im letzten ausgenommen nur ein paar Fälle) gehen—zeigt, dass diese Abweichungen einzig dann eine ausreichende und befriedigende Erklärung finden, wenn man ersieht, dass diese als echte Überbleibsel der targumischen Überlieferungen zu betrachten sind. Diese enthalten etwas, was durchaus den Stempel der altpalästinischen Traditionen an der Stirn trägt. Die verschiedenen Fäden des textlichen Gewebes der verlorenen Textgestalten, die uns in der patristischen Literatur greifbar werden—exegetische Zusätze, neue Ausdrücke, Abweichungen in der syntaktischen Konstruktion, und viele Minuzien—führen bei näherer Nachprüfung zu einem targumischen Textmuster, das die Peschitta einst getragen hat. So reichen die angeführten Beobachtungen dazu aus, um erkennen zu lassen, dass die altpalästinische Targumüberlieferung die Frühgeschichte der Peschitta noch weit mehr überschattet hat, als uns die vorhandenen Handschriften der Peschitta darüber Auskunft geben wollen.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Vööbus, *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs*, p. 36.

One needs to remember also, however, the tremendous mass of patristic quotations that have been discarded as exhibiting strong influences from the Greek and the Syrohexapla texts, besides those presented in selection here. The Targum traces here set forth are very few in comparison, genuine though they are. The main body of Targum influence, doubtless, is still concealed in the Peshitta text, indistinguishable, at least by the approaches made in this study.

Since there are no extant fragments of an Old Palestinian Targum of the Prophets, one cannot specify that type of targumic trace in Is, but only targumic traces in general. Vööbus' mention of "this selection of typical examples" may mislead the reader to believe that the whole Syriac OT teems with these, whereas this is not an accurate picture of the situation.

Summary information concerning the variants found in the manuscript study is presented in the following Tables.

TABLE I

*Summary Concerning Variant Readings*

MSS	Total	Singular	Percent.	Percent., 3049	Cor	Mg	2nd Hand	3rd Hand	Totals
Older MSS	1466	174	11.9	5.7	8	4	15	0	1493
Fragments	24	8	33.3	.3	0	0	0	0	24
Totals	1490	182	12.2	5.9	8	4	15	0	1517
Later MSS	5077	744	14.7	24.1	26	61	149	27	5340
Total General	6567	926	14.1	30.4	34	65	164	27	6857
Massora MSS	649	176	27.1	5.8	0	15	2	0	666
Lectionaries	1989	322	16.2	10.6	2	0	0	0	1991
Canticles MSS	374	47	12.6	1.5	1	2	0	0	377
Totals	9579	1471	15.4	48.2	37	82	166	27	9891

TABLE 2

*Distribution and Agreement of Variant Readings*

Variants	Total	Percentage of 3049
In Lect. MSS only	261	8.6
In Mass. MSS only	39	1.3
In Cant. MSS only	48	1.6
In Lect. and Cant. MSS only	2	.07
In Lect. and Mass. MSS only	7	.23
In Cant. and Mass. MSS only	5	.16
In Funerary MS only	1	.03
Agreement with H	487	16.0
Agreement with T	457	15.0
Agreement with G	535	17.5
Agreement with S	562	18.4
Agreement with G Hex	22	.72
Agreement with Smg	15	.49
Agreement with Aph	28	.92
Agreement with Eph	166	5.4
Agreement with Others	49	1.6
Agreement with Cur	4	.13
Agreement with Sin	4	.13
Agreement with NT	20	.66

TABLE 3

*Mean Percentages of Hebrew, Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla Agreements with Variants in the MSS*

MSS	H	T	G	S	All 4	H-T	G-S
Older	39.0	35.0	29.8	29.5	18.4	8.2	6.3
Later	30.9	29.1	26.4	26.6	15.0	6.8	7.2
Mass.	16.8	17.1	18.0	21.8	8.3	3.4	6.0
Lect.	21.2	23.3	24.7	26.6	11.5	3.8	7.2

TABLE 4

*Summary of Evaluations of Variants*

Source of Variant	Scribal Error or Old Syriac	Scribal Error	Old Syriac	Old Syriac in Peshitta	Total
Older MSS	13	1	15	7	36
Massora MSS	1	4	1	..	6
Later MSS	1	9	1	..	11
Lectionaries	3	4	4	..	11
Canticles MSS	..	2	2	..	4
Patristic quotations	2	3	24	4	33
Totals	20	23	47	11	101

*(To be concluded)*

# THE RISE OF THE MONARCHICAL EPISCOPATE

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It is generally recognized that by the time of Irenaeus (*ca.* A.D. 185) the monarchical episcopate with its threefold ministry of bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) elders (πρεσβύτεροι) and deacons (διάκονοι) had well-nigh universally replaced what is often considered an earlier organizational pattern of a twofold ministry of bishops or elders (that is, bishops-elders) and deacons.<sup>1</sup> The question of how and when the monarchical episcopate developed has occasioned much discussion, some of which has been based more on modern theological concepts than on a careful consideration of the ancient historical sources. Though in some quarters the matter appears still to be a rather live issue,<sup>2</sup> discussion seems for the most part

<sup>1</sup> The earliest evidence for the latter pattern is to be found in some NT references we shall notice shortly. Here a word about terminology is in order: In harmony with standard practice, "monarchical episcopate," "moniscopacy," and "threefold ministry" will be used synonymously for that type of church organization where on a local level one individual, usually designated the bishop, is in charge of the church (assisted by elders and deacons); and "presbyterial organization," "twofold ministry," etc., will be used synonymously to refer to the type of local organization where a board of elders (or bishop-elders) has charge (assisted by deacons). The method of appointment or election is not a consideration in this usage, but the *fact* of such appointment or election for service on a *local level* is. It is recognized, of course, that our sources at times use the term "elders" to mean "older men," as well as in this more restricted way. It is also recognized that the terms "elder" and "bishop" are used interchangeably by sources at the end of our period (the time of Irenaeus) as well as at the beginning (the NT epoch). Note, *e.g.*, Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 3. 3, in comparison with a letter by him quoted in Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 24. 14-17; also cf. *Adv. Haer.*, iv. 26. 5, and Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives*, 42.

<sup>2</sup> One cannot but think of the stir created by a work produced under the direction of K. E. Kirk, *The Apostolic Ministry: Essays on*

to have settled down to a relatively calm and intelligent inquiry concerning the testimony of the original sources and possible reasons for the rise of the monarchical episcopate. Such lack as still remains would seem to be attributable to no dearth nor incompetence in scholarly investigation along these lines, but rather to failure to look at the results in sufficient breadth to allow combination and synthesis of them into a coherent general pattern of development consistent with historical backgrounds, antecedents and circumstances of the time.<sup>3</sup>

The present short article does not propose to undertake the herculean task of detailed reconstruction, but would simply sketch in very brief and broad outline a tentative general pattern of historical development which seems to be evident from the ancient sources. Our main attention will be devoted to those sources contemporary (or the most nearly contemporary) with the developments themselves, rather than to later ancient sources or the opinions of modern scholarship. Nevertheless, it may be well first, by way of

*the History and the Doctrine of Episcopacy* (New York, 1946). For some interesting and competent responses see, e.g., T. W. Manson, *The Church's Ministry* (Philadelphia, 1948), and Arnold Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries of the Church* (London, 1953).

<sup>3</sup> It seems surprising that so little effort has been made toward broad correlation, but perhaps among the reasons are oversimplification on the one hand (evidence tailored to fit one particular mold needs no broad correlation) and awareness of the great complexity of the organizational situation in the early church on the other hand (such might tend to focus attention on detail, to the neglect of efforts at wide synthesis). One cannot but admire the serious, and in many ways helpful, treatment of B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry* (New York, 1929), although issue must often be taken with both his methodology and his results. A much shorter, but useful, survey has been provided by John Knox in a work cited in note 7, below. Whereas Streeter sees moniscopacy emerging as part of a process of standardization from diverse backgrounds, Knox considers it a pattern spreading from Jerusalem to Syria and westward, as had also been the case with the earlier presbyterial organizational form.

introduction, to sketch a few of the trends noticeable in modern study of the subject. Having done this, we will turn next to an elucidation of the general pattern of historical development and then to a brief analysis of the situation in the light of historical backgrounds and antecedents of the times.

## I

Modern investigation of the rise of the monarchical episcopate seems to have produced, by and large, two main theories of historical development—that the single-bishop system arose through direct apostolic appointment, on the one hand, or that it was an outgrowth of presbyterial organization, on the other hand.<sup>4</sup> Though one or the other of these hypotheses has frequently taken prominence, especially in the earlier discussions of the subject, various refinements as well as new approaches have been forthcoming. It has become evident, for example, that the two viewpoints are not necessarily mutually exclusive.<sup>5</sup> Also, increasing

<sup>4</sup> The former being the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and High Anglican view; and the latter, that espoused by Protestants generally. Philip Schaff gives fairly comprehensive lists of the arguments used on both sides. See his *A History of the Christian Church* (5th ed.; New York, 1910), II, 135-141. An outstanding early exposition of the latter view which is so significant as to deserve special mention is J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (reprint of 12th ed.; London, 1927), pp. 181-269.

<sup>5</sup> So, e.g., in the case of Schaff, *op. cit.*, II, 141: "The only satisfactory conclusion . . . seems to be, that the episcopate proceeded, both in the descending and ascending scale, from the apostolate and the original presbyterate conjointly, as a contraction of the former and an expansion of the latter, without either express concert or general regulation of the apostles, neither of which, at least, can be historically proved." Edwin Hatch and Adolph Harnack produced a modified form of the theory of outgrowth from presbyterial organization. According to this, bishops in the earliest period were not identical with elders, but might be included among them. In the development of moniscopacy these scholars lay stress, respectively, on the aspects of financial administration and worship. See Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Church* (4th ed.; London, 1892), and Harnack, *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries*

attention has been given to the possible role of the "charismatic" ministries (prophets, teachers, and the like) in the general development.<sup>6</sup> Of interest are some recent studies which would see a gradual formalization wherein ministerial functions (emphasis on *functions* rather than classes or offices of ministry) were through redefinition transformed into the monepiscopal system; thus, from a situation where there was probably originally a rather fluid interchange in performance of services ("bishop" and "deacon," for example, being but designations of cultural services which could be performed interchangeably by the same individuals) there gradually emerged the more stereotyped system wherein the fullness of ministerial functions became attached to the pastor (bishop), assisted by administrative and cultural helpers (elders and deacons, respectively).<sup>7</sup> Another group of recent studies has approached the matter by utilizing a classification of "essential" and "derived" ministries.<sup>8</sup>

Analogies drawn from a study of missions have provided still further grounds for re-assessment and have produced

(London, 1910). Harnack has also provided useful synopses in his *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (2d ed.; London, 1908), I, 431-482, and in an article, "Organization of the Early Church," in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, VIII, 259-267.

<sup>6</sup> The *Didache*, published by Bryennios in 1883, ten years after its discovery in a Greek MS at Constantinople, stimulated interest in this direction. For examples of various types of attention along this line, cf. Harnack, Streeter, and more recently John Knox (see the citation in note 7, below).

<sup>7</sup> See especially the first two chapters in H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, eds., *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives* (New York, 1956): John Knox, "The Ministry in the Primitive Church," pp. 1-26; and George H. Williams, "The Ministry of the Ante-Nicene Church (c. 125-325)," pp. 27-59. These studies classify the ministry of the NT period into a threefold pattern of charismatic, cultural and disciplinary.

<sup>8</sup> Kirk, *op. cit.* The following chapters are of particular interest: Kirk, "The Apostolic Ministry," pp. 1-52; A. M. Farrer, "The Ministry in the New Testament," pp. 113-182; and Dom Gregory Dix, "The Ministry in the Early Church," pp. 183-303.



some intriguing new departures.<sup>9</sup> A rather interesting reconstruction from the episcopal point of view would see a distinction between single-bishop and plural-bishop areas, the former having plenary autonomy and the latter being still in a state of dependence on the apostolate itself or on areas where the autonomous episcopate had been instituted.<sup>10</sup>

In connection with the foregoing and other reconstructions various causes or reasons for the rise and spread of the monarchical episcopate have been suggested, among them the following: a natural tendency toward concentration of authority with growth, increasing need for full-time pastoral care, desirability for having locally a central spokesman for the congregation with relationship both to internal affairs and to outside contacts, the administration of church finance, leadership in worship (especially in connection with the Eucharist), spread of the concept of a sacrificing high priest and a priestly succession, decline of spiritual gifts, and the very real need for consolidation in the face of persecution and assault from heretical movements.<sup>11</sup> In addition there are the rather mutually exclusive ideas of a divinely preordained organizational scheme implemented through apostolic agency and of a natural tendency for the chairman of a board of elders to develop from a *primus inter pares* into a *primus absolutus*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Notice in particular the emphasis in Manson, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37, 64, 65. Cf. also H. E. Symonds, *The Church Universal and the See of Rome* (London, 1939), pp. 17, 18.

<sup>10</sup> Philip Carrington, *The Early Christian Church* (Cambridge, Engl., 1957), I, 472, 473.

<sup>11</sup> Most of these suggestions recur repeatedly, being taken up by one investigator after another, though with varying emphasis. For a fairly comprehensive listing, see Schaff, *op. cit.*, II, 141-143. For notation of special emphases by Hatch and Harnack, cf. note 5, above.

<sup>12</sup> These, it will be seen, are broadly (but not exactly) correlative to the two basic theories of historical development mentioned at the beginning of the present section of our study. We might add to our list the somewhat secondary idea suggested by various writers that a strong personality would naturally tend to gravitate into the position of chief responsibility.

Some scholars treating the subject list possible causes quite separately from their analyses of the ancient sources; others, especially those presenting detailed reconstructions, attempt some correlation, at least within a limited range. But however this may be, the manifold and varied studies which have been presented on the rise of monepiscopacy help us toward recognition of an important fact; namely, that great complexity must have existed in connection with this facet of early church history. They warn us against seeking easy solutions by indicating, for example, that although organization may have been relatively simple in any given church at a given time, a great many factors must have been operative with varying influence from place to place and time to time.

Nevertheless, the very process of closely scrutinizing details, necessary as this is in providing materials for solid reconstruction and serviceable as it is in teaching us caution, may possibly cause failure to notice broader patterns and correlations that actually exist.<sup>13</sup> In any event, it is well at times to step away from the individual pieces to take a look at the whole picture, even though it be but with a fleeting glance. In the remainder of this study, it is our purpose to take just such a "fleeting glance" at a relatively large picture—a picture which will be limited somewhat, however, by directing our attention specifically to the twofold and threefold types of ministry and by placing main emphasis on the period when the latter first comes to view. Thus the so-called general and charismatic ministries (apostles, prophets, and the like) will be omitted from discussion (except in such incidental way as may have direct bearing on our main question); and the diocesan episcopate also lies beyond the scope of our treatment.

Before proceeding it may be useful to make one further basic observation regarding the early monarchical episcopate; namely, that the form of church government indicated by it was originally probably not far different from what we envisage when we think of a modern local congregation

<sup>13</sup> Cf. note 3, above.

having pastor, board of elders, and deacons.<sup>14</sup> Therefore to read back into it the more highly developed episcopal form of a later time is undoubtedly methodologically unsound.

## II

It is here suggested that an analysis of the earliest Christian literature brings to attention a pattern which not only indicates the general time and direction of the rise of the monarchical episcopate but also hints at one of the main causative factors in that rise. Moreover, as we proceed, we will find that this pattern is compatible with certain historical backgrounds, antecedents and trends.

The earliest evidence bearing directly on our question is provided by Luke and Paul. References in the Book of Acts and in the Epistle to the Philippians indicate that in southern Asia Minor,<sup>15</sup> at Ephesus<sup>16</sup> and at Philippi<sup>17</sup> there was quite early a twofold rather than threefold ministry, with the terms "bishops" and "elders" apparently being used interchangeably (at least at Ephesus). The pastoral letters seem to give a similar picture,<sup>18</sup> though in them there might also be some indication of background for moniscopacy in the fact that Timothy and Titus appear to hold a jurisdiction and authority above that of the local elders or bishops.<sup>19</sup> Near the end of the first century, Clement of Rome and Hermas

<sup>14</sup> This thought has frequently been pointed out in one way or another. See, e.g., Robert Rainy, *The Ancient Catholic Church* (New York, 1902), pp. 35, 38; Robert E. Thompson, *The Historic Episcopate* (Philadelphia, 1910), p. 100; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Studies in the Life of the Early Church* (New York, 1924), p. 156; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 28; and F. F. Bruce, *The Spreading Flame* (London, 1958), p. 205. Cf. also Schaff, *op. cit.*, II, 144, 148.

<sup>15</sup> Acts 14 : 23.

<sup>16</sup> Acts 20 : 17, 28.

<sup>17</sup> Php 1 : 1.

<sup>18</sup> See 1 Tim 3 : 1-13; 5 : 17; and especially Tit 1 : 5, 7, where the terminology of bishop and elder seems to be used interchangeably (also the case in Acts 20 : 17, 28).

<sup>19</sup> See especially Tit 1 : 5, 6. Of course, a basic question would be whether we have here the real beginning of (or even background for) a permanent local settled ministry, or merely a continuation of the apostolic itinerant form carried on through apostolic deputies.

indicate that there was as yet no monepiscopacy in Corinth and Rome;<sup>20</sup> but the Book of Revelation, in a glimpse it gives of the province of Asia, would seem to imply that the single-bishop system may already have come into existence there (that is, if we can see such significance in the apocalyptic symbol "the angel"—always singular—used in addressing each of the seven churches).<sup>21</sup>

Our next clear evidence comes from Ignatius of Antioch. From a series of seven letters<sup>22</sup> he penned *ca.* A.D. 115 while on his journey to martyrdom in Rome, we secure the following picture: monepiscopacy in the province of Asia (reflected in his letters to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, Smyrnaeans and Polycarp);<sup>23</sup> the same type of

<sup>20</sup> See especially 1 Clem 42 : 4, 5; 44 : 1-5; 47 : 6; 54 : 2; 57 : 1; and Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 4. 3; iii. 1. 8. The material in Hermas, from *Vis.* v onward (that vision plus the twelve Commands and ten Parables, sometimes designated as the *Shepherd* proper) may be of a date later than the first century, though E. J. Goodspeed in *The Apostolic Fathers: An American Translation* (New York, 1950), p. 98, speaks of it as appearing only three or four years after the first portion. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 209-219, would allow a lapse of somewhat over a decade, and Carrington, *op. cit.*, I, 392, 393, sees the possibility of Hermas' ministry lasting until A.D. 140, at which time he may have prepared a final edition of his writings. Part of the problem in dating relates to the amount of credence which should be given to a statement in the *Muratorian Canon* to the effect that the *Shepherd* was written by Hermas while "his brother Pius, the bishop" occupied the chair of the Roman church. In view of doubts regarding date, we have suggested only references from the first section as pertinent evidence for the period with which we are now dealing, though nothing in the second section would, in any event, alter the picture of organization we have given. Undoubtedly the main relevant reference in the latter section is *Sim.* ix. 26, 27, dealing at length with "deacons" and then "bishops."

<sup>21</sup> Rev 2 : 1, 8, 12, 18; 3 : 1, 7, 14. In another context 24 elders are mentioned. See 4 : 4, 10; 5 : 8, 11. The evidence so confidently adduced by Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-92, 95, regarding the Diotrephes of 3 Jn is highly debatable. See especially C. H. Dodd, *The Johannine Epistles* (London, 1946), pp. 161-164.

<sup>22</sup> For brief up-to-date information concerning recensions of the Ignatian letters, see the citations in note 32, below.

<sup>23</sup> These letters literally abound with references. See, *e.g.*, Eph 2 : 2; 3 : 2; 4 : 1; 5 : 3; 6 : 1; Magn 3 : 1; 6 : 1; 7 : 1; Trall 2 : 2;

organization in his home church of Antioch;<sup>24</sup> but no awareness of monepiscopacy in Rome. The silence of his letter to the Romans in this matter is all the more striking when placed in contrast with his urgent and repeated emphasis on the bishop and the threefold ministry in all the other six letters.<sup>25</sup> Polycarp of Smyrna, in writing to the church at Philippi a short time later, leaves us with the impression that a twofold, rather than threefold, ministry was still the pattern there.<sup>26</sup>

Not many decades later, however, the picture had changed to one of a threefold ministry quite generally throughout Christendom. Irenaeus, as we have already noted, furnishes evidence of this, and we might add that somewhat before the time of his writing, Bishop Dionysius of Corinth had

3 : 1; 7 : 2; 12 : 2; 13 : 2; Phld 7 : 1, 2; 10 : 2; Smyrn 8 : 1, 2; 9 : 1; 12 : 2; Polyc 6 : 1. There are also many others.

<sup>24</sup> *E.g.*, he refers to himself as "bishop of Syria" in Rom 2 : 2.

<sup>25</sup> Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 180, 229, 233-235, has provided an explanation which is more ingenious than convincing. It may be summarized as follows: Ignatius was a "neurotic" sort of individual obsessed with the idea of episcopacy. This being the case, and Ignatius certainly not being totally ignorant of church organization in Rome, there must have been in the Roman church something of the nature of monepiscopacy—a person who, regardless of his powers in relationship to the other elders in his own church, was at least its official head in dealings with other churches. Ignatius thus believed that the Roman church was a model in regard to the type of organization he had "on the brain" (one of the expressions used by Streeter). Upon reaching Rome, however, Ignatius must soon have become disillusioned as he found that the centralized authority of the bishop did not measure up to his expectations. In that moment of emotional crisis his *idée fixe* would have got the better of him and would have brought forth a prophetic utterance similar to the one he had spoken in Philadelphia, "Give heed to the bishop and the presbytery and deacons" (Phld 7 : 1). His words, falling on receptive ears, would have influenced the Roman church into a new era of emphasis on the bishop's unique position.

<sup>26</sup> See his letter to the Philippians. Note the complete context, but see especially 5 : 2; 6 : 1; 11 : 1. P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge, Engl., 1936), has argued for a later date for chaps. 1-12 than for 13 and possibly 14; but even should he be correct, we would simply have to defer still further the *terminus non ante quem* for establishment of monepiscopacy in Philippi.

ca. A.D. 170 referred to Soter as Bishop of Rome.<sup>27</sup> Justin Martyr still earlier, about the middle of the century, seems to have had the same pattern of organization in mind with respect to Rome.<sup>28</sup> Just how early the monarchical episcopate was established there remains a matter of some conjecture because of the lack of sufficient clear contemporary records, but somewhere from the time of Sixtus (ca. 115-ca. 125) to that of Pius (ca. 140-ca. 155) would seem to be the most likely period.<sup>29</sup>

It will undoubtedly have become apparent from the foregoing that the developments which we have endeavored to sketch deserve attention from geographical as well as chronological perspective. If we have rightly understood our sources, it would seem that the region east of the Aegean

<sup>27</sup> From a letter quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.*, iv. 23. 10.

<sup>28</sup> He refers, e.g., to president and deacons (see *Apol.* i. 65, 67). He does not use the term *episcopos*, but it seems quite evident that he has that office in mind. His failure to mention presbyters probably arises from the cultural context of the statements.

<sup>29</sup> Justin undoubtedly wrote his *Apology* (the so-called second Apology is a supplement to the first) during the time of Pius. Harnack, on the basis of the succession lists, has suggested that monepiscopacy in Rome did not originate until A.D. 150 (see *Schaff-Herzog*, VIII, 264), again the time of Pius. Pius' successor Anicetus (ca. 155-166) has been treated as a bishop by Irenaeus (cf., e.g., the letter quoted in Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 24), a source sufficiently close to have been able to speak intelligently and fairly authoritatively on the matter; and we have already noticed that Soter, Anicetus' successor, was spoken of as Roman bishop by Dionysius of Corinth. Moreover, the *Muratorian Canon*, in a statement referred to in note 20, above, speaks of "Pius, the bishop" occupying the "chair of the church" in Rome. Some sources, such as the *Muratorian Canon*, must, of course, be treated with caution, but the combined weight of the foregoing and perhaps other factors (as, for instance, a disputed election) would seem to make the time of Pius the *terminus non post quem* for the rise of monepiscopacy in Rome. Some scholars, such as Streeter, would date full-fledged development of the monarchical episcopate somewhat earlier, to the time of Sixtus (see the summary of Streeter's position on this matter in note 25, above). Of course, it is possible on the basis of later tradition to trace an episcopal succession right back to Peter, but the contemporary documents lend no support to this sort of reconstruction.

had the threefold ministry somewhat earlier than did the Greek and Roman regions to the west.<sup>30</sup> The Book of Revelation and especially Ignatius would, for example, appear to provide us with a picture of monepiscopal organization in the province of Asia at a time when such does not appear to have been in existence in Greece and Italy.

Inasmuch as Ignatius is so crucial a figure in the history of monepiscopal development, two further observations regarding him will be in order. First, an earlier tendency to expunge or dismiss his testimony as interpolation has lost ground,<sup>31</sup> and it has become evident that the middle or seven-letter recension<sup>32</sup> of his work is very likely basically genuine.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> In the context of this study "East" refers primarily to the Roman province of Asia and to the Syrian region of Antioch and its environs, and "West" to Greece, Macedonia, and especially Rome. Certain areas, such as Alexandria and the Roman province of Africa (in both of which places information on the church appears only toward the end of the second century), are omitted from discussion. Jerusalem holds the unique position of "home base" rather than "mission territory" and attracts our attention only as such.

<sup>31</sup> The argument by some scholars of an earlier generation that the Ignatian attacks on heresy are anachronistic and therefore must indicate interpolation is no longer tenable now that it is known that docetism of some sort was prevalent much earlier than was once supposed. The Ignatian references to monepiscopacy are likewise being treated with more respect today, and it has become increasingly difficult to find scholars who endeavor to disprove Ignatius by placing him in opposition to Clement of Rome, Hermas, Polycarp, the *Didache* and other sources (as was the tendency, for instance, of Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 76, 89, 90, as well as certain other scholars). Perhaps the aversion on the part of some to the idea of an early monarchical episcopate has arisen from a misunderstanding of the nature of that office. Cf. the remarks made at the close of Section I of the present study, and see also the statements by authorities cited in note 14.

<sup>32</sup> For a brief, excellent discussion of the recensions, see Fritz Guy, "'The Lord's Day' in the Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians," *AUSS*, II (1964), 2-6. See also Virginia Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven, Conn., 1960), pp. 3-14, for information on the history of discussion of the Ignatian literature.

<sup>33</sup> Never a truly convincing theory, the idea that the three-letter recension represents the earliest and most genuine form of the epistles has few adherents left, although the late Walter E. Straw, *The Origin of Sunday Observance in the Christian Church* (Washington, D.C.,

To those who would still view the stress on the monarchical episcopate in this recension as being later interpolatory work of Roman episcopacy, it should be sufficient to point out that the Roman letter, the very one wherein we might, according to this hypothesis, expect the greatest emphasis on the episcopate, is the very one which entirely lacks such an emphasis! Second, although there is today greater respect for the authenticity of the Ignatian references to monepiscopacy, there has been a tendency to view them as over-emphasis by a neurotic type of individual<sup>34</sup> or to interpret their urgency as evidence that the monarchical episcopate was very recent and not as yet firmly established.<sup>35</sup> The

1939), pp. 107-118, has endeavored to make a strong case for it. The difficulty is that in spite of all of Straw's assertions regarding monepiscopacy's not being reflected in the three-letter recension, a careful comparative analysis of this recension and the middle recension will reveal that for the amount of material given in each (excluding the epistle to the Romans which mentions "bishop" only in regard to Ignatius himself), the number of references indicative of monepiscopacy is proportionately about the same. (Any apparent contradiction to this from statistics given by Schaff, *op. cit.*, II, 145, n. 2, will be resolved when it is realized that not only are entire letters lacking in the Syriac recension, but that also the letters which are present have been shortened.) Straw himself, remarkably enough, quotes from the Syriac letter of Ignatius to Polycarp, 6 : 1, "My soul be for theirs that are submissive to the bishop, to the presbytery, and to the deacons," but still can go on to conclude that in this recension there is "no distinction between bishops and presbyters"! (See p. 114 in his book.)

<sup>34</sup> So Streeter. See note 25, above.

<sup>35</sup> This view appears to lie in the background of the thinking of a number of scholars. Cf., e.g., Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 73, and Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 205. Schaff, *op. cit.*, II, 148, refers to the possibility of explaining the matter in two ways: "Such daring superabundance of episcopal-ianism clearly betrays some special design and raises the suspicion of forgery or large interpolations. But it may also be explained as a special pleading for a novelty which to the mind of the writer was essential to the very existence of the church." On the other hand, J. W. C. Wand, *A History of the Early Church to A.D. 500* (3d ed.; London, 1949), p. 29, sees the Ignatian emphasis more as an effort "to persuade the faithful to rally round an old and tried institution than an attempt to foist upon them something new."



difficulty with such views is that they fail to give sufficient weight to the most obvious reason for the Ignatian emphasis on monepiscopacy as attested in the Ignatian letters themselves; namely, the danger of divisive tendencies created by the prevalence of heresies.<sup>36</sup> The whole Ignatian reference to church organization is set in the context of appeals to unity,<sup>37</sup> and any over-emphasis on organization is much more understandable in this context than as being simply fanatical zeal on the part of a bishop overly enchanted with the idea of monepiscopacy *per se*.

In view of what has just been said, it will be of interest to review the literature once more to see if any further correlation between monepiscopal organization and the prevalence of heresies can be detected. In such a survey, we are immediately impressed with the fact that the New Testament writings also give evidence of dangers from heresies in precisely those areas just east of the Aegean where we find our earliest contemporary information regarding the existence of monepiscopacy. It is in that region, for example, that Paul's letter to the Colossians and the pastoral epistles to Timothy, with their apparently anti-gnostic reflections,<sup>38</sup> have application; and it is also there that the Johannine literature, with its strong anti-docetism,<sup>39</sup> originated. By way of contrast, neither the New Testament literature nor the earliest church fathers depict similar problems in the West. In Corinth there

<sup>36</sup> The Ignatian attack on heresy has long been recognized, though an earlier generation of scholars found in this respect, too, an evidence of interpolation, as we have already noted (cf. note 31, above). For a careful analysis of the data regarding the heresies combated by Ignatius, see Cyril C. Richardson, *The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch* (New York, 1935), pp. 51-54, 79-85. Cf. also Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-65, and see note 44, below.

<sup>37</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-39, has a valuable section on the Ignatian viewpoint on unity. Pertinent also are his comments on p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> See, e.g., Col 2 : 8, 9, 18; 1 Tim 1 : 4; 4 : 1-3, 7; 6 : 20, 21. Cf. also 2 Tim 2 : 14-18; 4 : 3, 4.

<sup>39</sup> See especially 1 Jn 4 : 1-3.

may indeed be internal dissension,<sup>40</sup> but it hardly fits the pattern of the trouble in Asia.<sup>41</sup>

Returning to Ignatius once again, we may add that the main heresy he combats is docetism,<sup>42</sup> and thus he furnishes in this respect an interesting parallel to the Johannine literature. Moreover, though Ignatius reflects awareness of this heresy in all his letters addressed to Asian churches,<sup>43</sup> plus possibly another heresy in some of those letters,<sup>44</sup> he

<sup>40</sup> Particularly evidenced in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians and in 1 Clement, where internal factions and the ejection of church officers are pictured.

<sup>41</sup> The same would appear to be true in Philippi at the time of Polycarp, though it is possible that some of the heretical movements prevalent in Asia were troubling the Philippian church by this time. In any event, one of the problems at Philippi was concerning an elder who had "misunderstood" his position (see *Polycarp to the Philippians* 11 : 1), whereas the appeal in the Ignatian corpus is for loyalty to the constituted church authorities.

<sup>42</sup> Note, e.g., Eph 7 : 2; 20 : 2; Magn 11 : 1; Trall 9 : 1; 10; Phld 3 : 3; 5 : 1; Smyrn 1 : 1, 2; 2 : 1; 3 : 1-3; 4 : 2; 5 : 2, 3; Polyc 3 : 1, 2.

<sup>43</sup> The references in Ephesians, Trallians and Smyrnaeans are especially striking. Cf. note 44, below, regarding the possibility of there being no anti-docetic reference in Magnesians. There is only minimal allusion in Polycarp (see 3 : 1, 2) but this would be natural. The saintly bishop of Smyrna did not need warning about heresy nor an appeal to unity. In fact, he may even have been influential in bringing about Ignatius' writing of some of the letters addressed to Asian churches, a suggestion made by Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 22, 27, 28.

<sup>44</sup> The epistles to the Magnesians and Philadelphians. Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-85, argues that two heresies—a sort of Judaizing as well as the docetism—are reflected in the Ignatian warnings. Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-65, also sees these two heresies reflected, but would treat the only apparently anti-docetic reference in Magnesians (11 : 1) as being anti-Judaistic instead. Furthermore, she applies the Ignatian testimony as evidence that back home in Antioch Ignatius had represented a center party in the church with extreme parties existing on each side. Interesting as this reconstruction is, it is difficult to feel secure concerning the degree to which material ostensibly pertaining to Asia has been utilized to depict conditions in Antioch (even granting that Ignatius must have had his own background experience in mind as he penned his letters). Moreover, it seems doubtful that the anti-heretical attacks by Ignatius envisage little more than the fruition, as it were, of docetic and Judaistic tendencies already in

shows no awareness of a like danger in Rome.<sup>45</sup> This, of course, parallels precisely his pattern of emphasis on mon-episcopacy!

But Ignatius, as we have seen, also gives evidence of the existence of monepiscopacy in Antioch. Had heresy posed a threat to the church there by or during Ignatius' time? As is well known, that area had become a hot-bed of Menandrian, Satornilian and other heresies.<sup>46</sup>

Turning our attention again to Rome, we may notice that it was not until the second quarter of the second century that the real thrust of major heretical movements descended upon that city. It was evidently during the time of Hyginus (*ca.* 136-*ca.* 140) and Pius (*ca.* 140-*ca.* 155) that the Cerdoic, Marcionite and Valentinian heresies made their real impact felt in Rome.<sup>47</sup> Again we are dealing with the very period when monepiscopacy most likely originated there.

existence in the church. Rather, the whole tenor of the Ignatian material would seem to indicate urgent need for unity in view of divisions taking place because of dangerous external heretical forces impinging upon, and making inroads into, the church.

The whole question of the heresies involved, it must be added, is in reality far from settled. Corwin's presentation of evidence for the Jewish-type heresy being of Essenic variety sheds refreshing new light on the matter (see *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63, 72-79). The kind of docetism involved is unclear, but it is generally assumed to have been of a form earlier than that connected with the major gnostic heresies. On the other hand, we cannot dismiss the apparently anti-gnostic reflections of the pastoral epistles to Timothy nor the tradition regarding Polycarp's statement about the Apostle John's meeting Cerinthus, the gnostic, in Ephesus (see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 3, 4).

<sup>45</sup> There is silence on this matter in the Roman letter.

<sup>46</sup> Our chief information comes from Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, i. 23. 1-5 and 24. 1, 2; from Hippolytus, *Philos.*, vii. 16; and from Justin Martyr, who also refers to Simon Magus in *Apol.* i. 26. Convenient collections of the main sources may be found in R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism: A Source Book of Heretical Writings from the Early Christian Period* (New York, 1961), pp. 30-32, and J. C. Ayer, *A Source Book for Ancient Church History from the Apostolic Age to the Close of the Conciliar Period* (New York, 1913), pp. 81, 106. Unfortunately, the main material on Satornilos has not been included in Ayer.

<sup>47</sup> Our chief sources on the major heresies (Gnostic and Marcionite) are Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen

Thus a study of the emergence and spread of the docetic and gnostic heresies yields a pattern of distribution so closely parallel to that which is indicated for the rise of the monarchical episcopate that the coincidences can hardly be accidental. It would indeed appear that the struggle of the church with heresy was one of the major reasons why monepiscopal organization developed when, where and as it did—first in the East and then in the West.

It is perhaps pertinent to add that the foregoing pattern possibly sheds light on a later tradition (and is, in turn, illuminated by that tradition) to the effect that, as stated by Tertullian, “the order of bishops” when traced to its origin “will rest on John as author” (Tertullian seems to have had in mind the “order” in Asia rather than in general, for in the context he speaks of John’s “*alumnas ecclesias*”).<sup>48</sup> The story told by Clement of Alexandria regarding John and the bandit may have bearing here too.<sup>49</sup>

### III

Another aspect of the situation which deserves at least brief mention is the matter of backgrounds or antecedents underlying the church organizational forms of early Christianity. The institutional aspects of the church, as well as other

and Epiphanius. Pertinent materials have been conveniently compiled in Ayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-105.

<sup>48</sup> *Adv. Marcion.*, iv. 5.

<sup>49</sup> *Quis dives*, 42. The story is about a youth whom John committed to a “bishop” he had appointed. This “elder” later relaxed his care, the youth became a bandit, and John himself set out on horseback to recover the youth. In the context, it had been mentioned that John on his return to Ephesus from Patmos visited neighboring regions, “ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσω, ὅπου δὲ ὄλας Ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κληῖρον, ἕνα τὲ τινα κληρώσων ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαιομένων.” (Migne ed., IX, 648.) For further reference not only to John, but to episcopal succession more generally, see also *e.g.*, Tertullian, *De Praescriptione*, 32, and Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 3. 4. Such an “apostolic succession” was considered a guarantee of truth (as against the heretics, who could trace no similar succession).

aspects, did not originate *ex nihilo* nor develop in a vacuum, but were conditioned by and adapted to already existing patterns of life and thought. In this connection it is pertinent to note that a distinction can once again be drawn between regions to the east and to the west of the Aegean.

The conceptual framework to the east was conditioned by the ideal of one-man leadership as developed from a long background of political institutions with monarchs at the head<sup>50</sup> and that in the Greek and Roman regions, by democratic ideals.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, an attested early tendency toward monarchical episcopacy in the Jerusalem church might quite naturally be expected to have exerted its influence first on nearby regions in the East before spreading westward to Rome.<sup>52</sup>

Indeed, it may very well be that different church organizational forms were structured by making varied combinations of rather standard Jewish patterns with somewhat hetero-

<sup>50</sup> Ptolemies, Seleucids, Attalids, etc., not to go back to the Pharaohs and to the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Hittite, Canaanite, Aramaean, Israelite and other kings. Even in the most recent history of the Jews prior to the Roman conquest of Palestine in 63 B.C. there was the Hasmonean dynasty, and on the religious side of the matter both before and after that conquest there was the office of high priesthood (a number of the Hasmonean rulers held both the secular and spiritual jurisdictions).

<sup>51</sup> Recognition of the early Greek democratic impulse is a commonplace and needs no comment. In view of the suggested contrast between East and West, however, one cannot but think of Callisthenes' remark to Alexander the Great on the matter of *proskunesis*; namely, that this Asiatic custom should be confined to the Asiatics! See W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (Boston, 1956), p. 80. Rome's democratic ideals and political contributions are also well known, but a few pertinent items will be noted shortly because of their possible significance in influencing the pattern of church organizational development in Rome.

<sup>52</sup> Among scholars who have analyzed this tendency on the part of the Jerusalem church are Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-48, 76, 77, and Ehrhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-30, 62-66. Symonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 17, also briefly notes it, as does Knox, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Knox significantly adds that practical needs of the churches, and not simply the example of Jerusalem, dictated the rise and spread of the monarchical episcopate. Cf. also J. G. Davies, *The Early Christian Church* (New York, 1965), p. 92.

geneous local or regional patterns, and that these different forms of church organization spread concurrently in the earliest period of Christian expansion, thus contributing to the divergence we have already noted between East and West in this respect. Judaism would have furnished background for presbyterial and episcopal forms as well as for the more flexible charismatic type of ministry. All three of these forms might have found ready acceptance in the East, but the monepiscopal one may not have seemed so congenial in the West, particularly in Rome.<sup>53</sup> A high Roman respect for republican political institutions may, in fact, have either retarded adoption of monepiscopacy there or may have provided a substitute form.

The very Roman system of government at the time of the rise of Christianity, though it is referred to as Empire, was a form in which republican institutions were held in highest esteem. Augustus' ideal was that of principate, a continuation of the old republican forms with the added feature of a *princeps*, or first citizen, whose authority was vested with the people through constitutional principles and whose extraordinary scope of influence was due to a combination of authorities or powers already inherent in the republican functions with which he was invested.<sup>54</sup> A basic feature of

<sup>53</sup> Hatch, *op. cit.*, p. 66, voiced an opinion years ago to the effect that probably "the presbyterate in the Gentile Churches had a spontaneous and independent origin," not being transferred directly from the Jewish office to Gentile communities. Though my thinking may seem to have some kinship to his on the matter of background for church organizational forms, the real differences should be apparent. I would, *e.g.*, suggest a truly vital influence from Jewish precedents—certainly with regard to the presbyterate and also with regard to the monarchical episcopate. Of course, by the time monepiscopacy was adopted in certain places it had already had a long history as a fairly widespread Christian institution.

<sup>54</sup> This fact is emphasized, for example, in Augustus' famous inscription, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (the *Monumentum Ancyranum*). From 27 to 23 B.C. he continued to hold annual consulships (he had held them consecutively since 31 B.C.), but from 23 B.C. till his death in A.D. 14 his main sources of authority were a continuation of pro-

this Roman system was the collegiality of its magistracies, the top executive office, for example, being shared by *two* consuls. This pattern furnished background for political institutions in the municipalities, where a similar collegiality manifested itself in the election of *duoviri* (or *quattuorviri*) as chief civic officials.<sup>55</sup> It would not be entirely surprising if this pattern should also have provided at least some of the psychological foundation for church organizational forms—forms which may, in reality, have been fused from several elements.<sup>56</sup>

If indeed such be the case, an intriguing line of thought presents itself: Were the earliest elders or bishops of Rome a series of Christian "duovirs," as it were? Is it possible, for instance, that the frequent early references to both "Peter and Paul" in connection with the Roman church may have significance beyond the fact that both of these men were apostles? <sup>57</sup> In any event, there was undoubtedly in the Roman

consular *imperium* (in five- and ten-year grants), a *maius imperium*, and the *tribunicia potestas*. He makes clear that he not only refused the dictatorship, but also a perpetual consulship that was offered him. The text of the *Res Gestae* may be found in *CIL*, III, 769-799, and is given in English translation in Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, eds., *Roman Civilization*, II (New York, 1955), pp. 9-19.

<sup>55</sup> Selections from the municipal charters of Salpensa and Malaca are provided in English translation in Lewis and Reinhold, *op. cit.*, II, 321-326. Duovirs are repeatedly mentioned or addressed in documents. Cf., e.g., the first two documents presented in *ibid.*, p. 357. Quattuorvirs are addressed in a document given on p. 341. The duovirs as a rule had two junior colleagues called aediles.

<sup>56</sup> It would not be unreasonable to assume that basic patterns which followed Christianity from the East were conditioned in Rome by Roman backgrounds and concepts. The new patterns emerging should, obviously, not be looked upon as necessarily following their antecedents in every detail. Thus in church organization a concept deriving from the Roman idea of collegiality, if indeed there was such a concept, would not of necessity carry with it the idea of annuality.

<sup>57</sup> It may be that the evidence from Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* 27 : 6), Rufinus (Preface to *Recog. Clem.*), the so-called epistle of Clement to James (prefixed to *Hom. Clem.* [see esp. chaps. II, III, XIX]), and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) may tie in with such an assumption. So also the omission of Anacletus in the Roman episcopal succession

church a particularly strong tendency toward collegiate leadership during this earliest period, regardless of whether or not such leadership was dual in nature and regardless of whether it fitted the framework of the twofold or of the threefold ministry.<sup>58</sup>

But such collegiality must eventually have found itself unequal to the strains put upon it, just as had been the case in the Roman government.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, by the time the real thrust of the gnostic crisis had reached Rome, the glory of the old republican pattern was giving ground to a new sort of political image based on a supreme ruler whose status had been achieved by gradual encroachment on the old republican institutions.<sup>60</sup> And thus we might expect to find the mon-episcopal pattern of church organization eventually developing in Rome, in response to a serious threat to church unity

list of the *Liberian Catalogue*, a list undoubtedly emanating from Rome itself. W. Ernest Beet, *The Early Roman Episcopate to A.D. 384* (London, [1913]), pp. 60, 61, has aptly refuted the idea of a dual basis for organization of the Roman church into Pauline and Petrine parts, derived from such sources as those mentioned above; but that does not necessarily make those sources impertinent to the approach suggested here.

<sup>58</sup> In the conflict between Domitian and the Roman senatorial party near the end of the first century, Christians were evidently frequently endangered by their connections with members of the senatorial group, as Bo Reicke has aptly pointed out in *The Epistles of James, Peter and Jude* (Garden City, N.Y., 1964), pp. xxvii, 28. Might not this Christian leaning toward the senatorial side (as opposed to the imperial) provide a further reason why we might expect Christian polity at this time to pattern after a republican "collegiate" image rather than the imperial one?

<sup>59</sup> Even in the Republican era, provision had been made for a temporary (six-month) dictatorship to supersede consular authority in case of severe crisis; moreover, it was an era of serious civil wars that brought into being the Principate itself.

<sup>60</sup> The assemblies were the first to be eclipsed. The consulate itself went out slowly, but it cannot be doubted that by the second century, with its succession of good emperors, the consuls were undergoing a psychological as well as practical overshadowing. For brief treatment of some of the elements involved in the decline of the consulate, note Leon Homo, *Roman Political Institutions from City to State* (London, 1929), pp. 305, 313.



and at a time when the western mind had become better conditioned to accept such an organizational form.

It would appear, in view of what we have been saying, that the conflict of the church with heresy was probably one of the major *immediate* causes for adoption of moniscopacy, in both East and West, but that important *long-range* factors were also operative, including the *background patterns* themselves. Without such background factors the immediate causes would obviously have been ineffective for producing the kind of organization they did.

#### IV

Before concluding this study it is fitting to give at least brief attention to one significant early source which we have thus far mentioned only in the footnotes; namely, the *Didache*. This work is usually assigned a Syrian provenance and is probably to be dated toward the end of the first century or very early in the second century.<sup>61</sup> The most pertinent statement from it for our inquiry is as follows:

Therefore appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are humble and without greed and true and tried; for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. So despise them not, for they are your honorable men together with the prophets and teachers.<sup>62</sup>

This statement has often been considered as evidence of a twofold ministry, but can also be taken to indicate a threefold ministry, especially if it represents the voice of some large church, as at Antioch, giving instruction to smaller churches

<sup>61</sup> This early dating is not new. Cf., e.g., Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 152, where the date A.D. 90 is suggested. See now, however, Jean-Paul Audet, *La didachè: instructions des apôtres* (Paris, 1958). On the other hand, Goodspeed as late as 1950 proposed dating it near the middle of the second century. He considered the later section of the *Didache* as being appended to the *Doctrina*, which was probably composed about A.D. 100. See his *Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 3, 9, 285-295.

<sup>62</sup> *Didache*, 15 : 1, 2.

in outlying areas.<sup>63</sup> The situation is made more enigmatical by the fact that Luke, who in Acts 14 : 23 mentions elders in connection with southern Asia Minor and Ephesus, fails to mention them as part of the church organization in Antioch, though he does mention prophets (Acts 13 : 1), a class which also figures prominently in the *Didache* and even bears therein the designation "your high priests."<sup>64</sup> Does such evidence bespeak for Antioch and the Syrian region a direct transition from charismatic to monepiscopal ministry, with the bishop taking over a presidential role at worship formerly allotted to prophets? In this connection, it is of interest to note that Ignatius, who, as we have seen, was a bishop of Antioch, refers to himself as having the prophetic gift.<sup>65</sup>

If the rather obscure statement in the *Didache* should have reference to "bishops" in the monarchical sense and "deacons" as their cultural assistants, it would hardly do, however, to conclude that elders were non-existent in the Syrian region. The most we can say, in view of the combined testimony of Luke and the *Didache*, is that elders may have been relatively less important there than in some other places. (Or were they the "honorable men" referred to in the above quotation?<sup>66</sup>) In any event, it is difficult to assess the testimony of the *Didache*. But regardless of how we interpret this material—as favoring twofold ministry, as evidence of the threefold type,

<sup>63</sup> This is essentially the position taken by Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 151. In this case "bishops" in the plural may simply refer to sole bishops in more than one church, an interpretation favored by the cultural context of the statement (see chap. 14).

<sup>64</sup> *Didache*, 13 : 3.

<sup>65</sup> Phld 7 : 1, 2. Of interest, too, are the similarities of emphasis on priests, prophets, the teaching role, etc., in Ignatius and Essene documents, a matter aptly brought to attention by Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63, in her analysis of the Judaistic heresy reflected in the Ignatian correspondence.

<sup>66</sup> This possibility, which to me does not seem entirely cogent, would depend, of course, on the validity of the thesis that "elders" was originally (and in Syria at this time) a broad designation including various church functionaries and other venerable persons of the congregation.

or as indication of something else—, it seems clear that by the time Ignatius penned his epistles monepiscopacy had been established in Antioch.

One further question arises: Aside from the Jewish-Christian church in Jerusalem, where some sort of monepiscopal form seems to have come into existence very early,<sup>67</sup> where shall we look for the origin of an order of bishops—Asia or Syria? In view of what we have just said, the *Didache* does not give much help on this matter. In fact, the *relative* abundance of clear contemporary evidence pertaining to Asia in contrast to the small amount of conjectural material available for Syria would be almost sufficient to cause one to favor the former, but a conclusion reached on this basis would have to be highly tentative at best.<sup>68</sup>

## V

We may now sum up some of the main results and conclusions emerging from this study: (1) Though organization within any one congregation of the early church may at a given time have been relatively simple, the total organizational pattern itself presents a rather complex picture with a multiplicity of factors being operative with unequal influence, depending on time and place. (2) In broad outline we do, however, receive from the sources contemporary (or most nearly contemporary) with the events a picture of monepiscopacy rather widely established east of the Aegean somewhat earlier than west of it. (3) A similar pattern of development regarding major heretical movements is, to all appearance, so concurrent with the rise of monepiscopacy that undoubtedly

<sup>67</sup> This we have already mentioned. Cf. note 52, above.

<sup>68</sup> For the West we are denied any attempt to reconstruct a pattern of the spread of monepiscopacy, because the paucity of pertinent contemporary material would make such an attempt quite fruitless. There is, however, an interesting "chance notice" from Hegesippus which Eusebius, *H.E.*, iv. 22. 2, 3, has preserved: On his way to Rome during the time of Pius, Hegesippus stopped at Corinth, where Primus was "bishop."

the danger from the heresies was one of the main immediate causes for the church's adoption of monepiscopal organization in both East and West. (4) The choice of this organizational form seems also to have depended, however, on background factors which were at first more congenial to the East than to the West. (5) In view of Roman respect for republican institutions during the early Principate, it is not improbable that the organization of the Roman church was influenced strongly by the concept of collegiality—perhaps even dual collegiality, either as a modified episcopate (co-bishops assisted by elders) or a modified presbyterate (co-chairmen of a board of elders). (6) Whatever kind of collegiality it was, dual or not, it gave way more slowly to the idea of monepiscopacy than was the case in the East, where thought patterns had been conditioned to one-man leadership by a long background of monarchical political institutions. (7) The precise sequence in which the developments took place at specific places within East and West is impossible to determine, but in the East there is evidence which might lead us to the highly tentative conclusion that the province of Asia preceded Syria in fairly widescale institution of the monarchical episcopate. (8) This early monepiscopacy was a relatively simple, but strong, form of church government useful to meet the needs of the second century, and we should interpret it as such rather than seeking to read back into it the more highly developed type of episcopacy of a later period.

Obviously, our brief presentation has had to place to one side many important and interesting details, but it is hoped that this look in broad sweep may be useful in adding one more perspective to the many which have already been suggested in the quest for solution of a significant, but extremely puzzling, question. Finally, it is emphasized that results and conclusions indicated herein are tentative.

## THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MAN: III \*

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If the notion of *sarx*, flesh, is an important anthropological reality and clearly has ethical and religious value, the same is true of the notion of *pneuma*, spirit or mind. We have already had occasion to define *pneuma* in the metaphysical sense, where it designates one of the constitutive elements of a being. We have also defined its psychological sense, which designates the manifestations of intellectual life, or the human spirit conceived as intellect. Now biblical teaching also opens the way to a still more profound notion of the spirit, when this word is used to designate the manifestation of the power of God in man.

In the Bible a radical distinction is made between the spirit as a *human spirit*—a passive intellect incapable of conceiving anything as deriving from itself<sup>1</sup> or of accomplishing by itself the good that it conceives<sup>2</sup>—, and the Spirit as indeed the Spirit of God—promised by Jesus to His disciples as the power to make them capable of being His witnesses, as He Himself had been of God. This Spirit the biblical writers call indifferently “the Spirit of God,” “the Holy Spirit,” “the Spirit of the Lord,” “the Spirit of Christ,” “the Spirit of Jesus,” or simply “the Spirit,” but always in a clearly divine sense. This Spirit is brought to men by Him who was sent from heaven to be mediator between men and God—Jesus Christ. By the incarnation and by a life victorious over sin, as well as by the resurrection from the dead, He

\* Parts I and II of this article were published in *AUSS*, II (1964), 156-168 and III (1965), 66-83.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor 3: 5.

<sup>2</sup> Rom 7: 24, 25.

made possible the outpouring of the Spirit, without which the work of Christ could not follow in the heart of man.

Put in another way, it can be said that by the work of Christ, the Spirit of God has become an effective anthropological reality, because it communicates to man the power of becoming a child of God, first in freeing him from slavery to sin and then in causing him truly to participate in the nature of God. This is why Christian anthropology not only stands in reference to God, but also and in the first place in reference to the God of Jesus Christ. For the knowledge of alienated and fallen man and then of man regenerated by the Spirit comes to us only in the knowledge of Christ, the perfect measure of complete man.<sup>3</sup> In Him, the reality of our existence appears as in the mirror of that which we should be. Even more, in Him we can see ourselves in the perspective of a new life made possible by the help of the Spirit. Finally, in Him we come to know the new situation of men whose existence has been determined by the call of the Spirit.

1. *Jesus Christ, Bearer of the Spirit, or the Participation of God in Human Nature.* It is surprising to discover that the work of Christ has rarely been considered from an anthropological point of view. In theology the objectives of the incarnation are generally related to soteriology: Christ came to reveal God to man, to reunite God and man, to bear the sin of humanity, to die in place of man as an expiatory sacrifice, and finally, to annihilate the author of evil and evil itself. All these reasons explain the *why* of God's redemptive action through Jesus. We should like to understand the *how* by considering the incarnation of the Word of God as an anthropological necessity without which redemption itself could not have been realized.

An analysis of the plan of salvation shows clearly that the salvation of man can be realized only through a double participation: that of God in human nature and that of man

<sup>3</sup> Eph 4: 13.

in the divine nature. From a philosophical point of view many answers have been given to the problem of this participation, but Christian anthropology proposes only one—Jesus Christ. “Starting with Jesus Christ and with Him alone, we must see and understand what in the Christian sense is involved by the mighty relationship, to which we can only point again and again in sheer amazement, about which we cannot help being in danger of great error, when we say, *God and man.*”<sup>4</sup>

The participation of God in the nature and life of man in Jesus Christ in order to liberate him from slavery to sin and make him really free constitutes the fundamental teaching of the Gospel. The doctrine of the incarnation is of such importance that it is the doctrine of all doctrines, the key point of the Christian faith, the touchstone of authentic Christianity. “Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of antichrist . . .”<sup>5</sup> Here then is the criterion of all theology: “Jesus Christ is come in the flesh.”

In the eyes of John this truth is so essential that he places it at the beginning of his gospel. The Word which was “in the beginning with God,” and by whom all things were created, “was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth.” “In him was life; and the life was the light of men.” “As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.”<sup>6</sup>

Pressing this analysis of the incarnation yet further, Pauline theology teaches us that Jesus Christ, “being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God:

<sup>4</sup> Karl Barth, *Dogmatics in Outline* (New York, 1959), p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Jn 4: 2, 3; cf. 1 Ti 1: 15.

<sup>6</sup> Jn 1: 1-14.

but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.”<sup>7</sup> Thus God “has condemned sin in the flesh,” sending, because of sin, “his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh . . . that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.”<sup>8</sup> For indeed, since men participate in flesh and blood, it was necessary that He Himself should participate equally in order to destroy by His death “him which had the power of death . . . and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage. . . . Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people. For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted.”<sup>9</sup> That is why, having been “in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin,” He can “be touched with the feeling of our infirmities,” having learned “obedience by the things which he suffered,” although He was the Son, “and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him.”<sup>10</sup>

All these texts show clearly that through Jesus Christ God has joined himself to man by participating not only in the test involved in a life of temptation and suffering, but also in human nature, “in flesh and blood,” “in the likeness of sinful flesh.” Fully to understand and explain this perfect union of divinity and humanity in Christ will never be possible. Paul himself affirms that the mystery of this union is great. Yet this does not hinder him from emphasizing in detail the way in which it is realized: “Without controversy great is the

<sup>7</sup> Php 2: 6-8.

<sup>8</sup> Rom 8: 3.

<sup>9</sup> Heb 2: 14-18.

<sup>10</sup> Heb 4: 15; 5: 8, 9.



mystery of godliness! God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.”<sup>11</sup>

The interminable discussions of councils and theologians through the centuries are proof at once of the importance of the problem and of the incapacity of the human mind perfectly to resolve it. From this we must take fair warning. However, we may be permitted to affirm that under the influence of dualistic philosophy, which constantly opposes human and divine, Christ too often has been made a hybrid being, half man and half God, without the gulf between these two natures ever really being bridged. This, in our view, is the classic error of that traditional theology which has spoken and still speaks of divine nature and human nature as if they were two fundamentally different, and even opposite, essences. Consequently, to explain their union in Christ, Jesus Himself is made to walk the tightrope, His divinity being emphasized where the salvation of man is concerned, His humanity accepted when His own life is considered.

Some theologians, not always having known how to maintain a balance between the two natures, have placed the accent so strongly on divinity that they have presented a Christ whose basic nature is entirely separate from ours. Others, on the contrary, have emphasized humanity to the extent that their Christ is quite indistinguishable from men. Thus in one way or another, salvation through Jesus becomes incomprehensible: although He was sent to bridge the gulf between God and man caused by sin, yet because of the difference between the opposing natures of which He is thought to be constituted, a hiatus persists at the very center of mediation. We find here again, in relation to the nature of Christ the problem of the union of two substances. Now, if *a priori* they are contrary and mutually exclusive, there is no possible solution and salvation itself, as the reconciliation of men with God through Jesus Christ, becomes inexplicable,

<sup>11</sup> 1 Ti 3:16.

since contact between divine and human cannot be established.

But "the doctrine of the Incarnation," as Reinhold Niebuhr declares, "the belief that God has become man and the hope that man can become divine, is asserted *against* the dualism of non-Christian and Platonic Hellenism, according to which a great gulf is fixed between the flux of nature and history and the perfection and calm of the eternal order."<sup>12</sup> Thus the problem appears quite different when viewed from the standpoint of Biblical monism and of the synthesis characteristic of Biblical authors. If God sent His Son in a nature similar to ours, it was not to condemn the flesh, but the sin which rules over it. The Word has not been made flesh in order to oppose human nature as such and to destroy it, but rather to free it from the power of sin, to sanctify it and to restore it to its original perfection. Human nature, as such, is the work of God and "every creature of God is good."<sup>13</sup> "I will praise thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made," exclaimed the Psalmist. The evil in man is the principle that dominates his fleshly nature, "sold under sin," and which deprives him of freedom to act.<sup>14</sup> The incarnation is precisely God's means of freeing man from the power of sin and giving back to him his liberty as a creature of God.

In Christ, then, the divine and the human no longer are separated. On the contrary in Him are realized perfectly the union of the divine and human natures. Even though the explanation remains a mystery, the necessity of this union in Christ impresses itself on us as an unquestionable anthropological condition. "The completeness of His humanity, the perfection of His divinity, form for us a strong ground upon which we may be brought into reconciliation with God . . ."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (New York, 1941), I, 147. (Italics are mine.)

<sup>13</sup> I Ti 4: 4.

<sup>14</sup> Ps 139: 14; Rom 7: 14.

<sup>15</sup> E. G. White, Letter 35, 1894, in *Questions on Doctrine* (Washington, D. C., 1957), p. 691.

Indeed, if "the Word was made flesh," "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself."<sup>16</sup> "In him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily," this first because He was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and also because He received the fullness of the Spirit.<sup>17</sup> In spite of His humanity, the divine is fully in Christ, and thus He is the perfect and living representation of God among men.<sup>18</sup> It is thanks to the Spirit of God working powerfully in Him that Christ triumphs over the power of sin dwelling in the flesh, so that "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death."<sup>19</sup> For, just as by the disobedience of one man all have participated in the bondage of sin, even so by the obedience of one all now have part in the power of the Spirit of God, manifested in Jesus Christ, so that they no longer walk "after the flesh, but after the Spirit."<sup>20</sup>

If therefore through the incarnation God participates directly in human nature in the person of His Son Jesus Christ, by the death and resurrection of Jesus He opens the way to contact with all men, individually. Christ having completed His work, tells His disciples that it is now better for them that He go away, so that He may send them the Spirit. "For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment . . . when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth."<sup>21</sup> Then, on the evening following the resurrection, Jesus tells them to "wait for the promise of the Father, which . . . ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost."<sup>22</sup> "Ye shall receive

<sup>16</sup> Jn 1: 14; 2 Cor 5: 19.

<sup>17</sup> Col 2: 9; Lk 1: 35; Jn 3: 34; 1: 32; Lk 4: 14.

<sup>18</sup> Jn 14: 9-11; Heb 1: 3.

<sup>19</sup> Rom 8: 2; cf. Jn 8: 34-36.

<sup>20</sup> Rom 5: 12, 17-21; 8: 4.

<sup>21</sup> Jn 16: 7-11, 13.

<sup>22</sup> Acts 1: 5.

power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." <sup>23</sup>

It is thus that from Pentecost until our own day, and until the end of time, the witness of the Christian has been and will always be first of all a witness of the Spirit. It is thus that God accomplishes in the heart of man "the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to his saints: to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ in you, the hope of glory."<sup>24</sup> Thanks to the gift of the Spirit, man in turn has become a participant in the divine nature. For by the incarnation, the death and the resurrection of Jesus, the Spirit has become an anthropological reality which places its mark on the whole being. "By partaking of the Spirit of God, conforming to the law of God, man becomes a partaker of the divine nature. Christ brings His disciples into a living union with Himself and with the Father. Through the working of the Holy Spirit upon the human mind, man is made complete in Christ Jesus."<sup>25</sup>

2. *The Gift of the Spirit or the Participation of Man in the Divine.* The image of man, according to Christian anthropology, would of necessity be incomplete if one did not take into account the anthropological reality of the Spirit. Because of the redemptive act accomplished by Jesus Christ, the Spirit of God is available. Henceforth God gives the Spirit to him who asks,<sup>26</sup> and he who receives the Spirit, in him the Spirit is embodied, and through the Spirit, Christ. For even as God is incarnate in Christ by the Spirit, in the same way,

<sup>23</sup> Acts 1: 8.

<sup>24</sup> Col 1: 26, 27.

<sup>25</sup> White, Manuscript III, 1903 in *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (Washington, D.C., 1953-57), V, 1148.

<sup>26</sup> Lk 11: 13.

by the Spirit, Christ comes to dwell in man. That is why the *pneuma* of God is at the same time the *pneuma Christou*, the Spirit of Christ. Through His work, Christ has thus opened the way to the Spirit and given birth to a new humanity, regenerated by the Spirit.

However, in order that man may enter into the new existence made possible by Jesus Christ, he must be called by God. This call originates the new life in Christ, inviting each man individually to enter into a new lineage of which Jesus Christ is the "firstborn," the "head," the "finisher," the perfect model of the complete man, the image *par excellence* of the spiritual man.<sup>27</sup> And the special work of the Spirit is to awaken man's sleeping conscience, giving witness of Christ that will both convict him of sin and bring to birth in him the desire to be freed from servitude to sin. (This witness of the Spirit to the spirit of man is, in a sense, the anthropological transposition of the doctrine of election in dogmatics.) It is in this way that God calls man.<sup>28</sup>

In calling man by the Spirit, God makes it possible for him to change the course of his existence. The choice of the first Adam decided the destiny of the entire human race, but through the work of the second Adam each man is anew led to choose his own destiny, in acquiescing to the call of the Spirit or rejecting it, in deciding for or against God. Human reality, entire, in all its manifestations, depends in the last analysis on the way in which each man uses on his own account the possibility thus offered him. Even in his condition of slavery, he can still decide what he wishes to be—to become free or to remain a slave, to abandon himself or to affirm himself in opposition, to seize eternal life or to remain eternally in nothingness. From this choice a man's image receives its contours and definitive form.

<sup>27</sup> Rom 8: 29-30; Col 1: 18; 1 Cor 15: 20; Heb 12: 2; 1 Cor 11: 1; Eph 4: 13; 1 Cor 15: 45, 49.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time* (London, 1951), pp. 220 f.; cf. Rom 8: 16; 9: 1.

To the extent that a man has not responded to the call of the Spirit, he does not know true life. "Except a man be born again," explains Jesus to Nicodemus, "he cannot see the kingdom of God." In order to become a new creature, he must be born into the life of the Spirit, for "that which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."<sup>29</sup> Without the Spirit it is impossible to know the things of God, "because they are spiritually discerned." "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God." They are "partakers of the divine nature."<sup>30</sup>

As soon as man responds to the call of God, to the witness of the Spirit, the rupture between God and man is no more, the condemnation which weighed on the sinner is lifted; the power of sin no longer has an unshakable hold on him, absolutely constraining him, "for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" has made him "free from the law of sin and of death." That which was impossible until then even with the knowledge of the law of God, "in that it was weak through the flesh," becomes realizable for the one who avails himself of the work of Christ, receiving in Him the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ. From that moment all the chains which held man captive fall; his personality, repressed and alienated in servitude, is freed. The portals which stood closed to the future open. And because the Spirit dwells in him, man can again decide in full perspicacity, in complete disposition of himself, to live no longer "after the flesh, but after the Spirit."<sup>31</sup>

Let no one think, however, that the new life, the life according to the Spirit, is a kind of static state, a state of ecstasy or of human nature metamorphosed by the mysterious

<sup>29</sup> Jn 3: 7, 3, 8, 6.

<sup>30</sup> 1 Cor 2: 11-15; Jn 6: 63; 1: 12; 2 Pe 1: 4.

<sup>31</sup> Rom 8: 1-4, 9-11.

and seemingly magical power of the Spirit. "The spiritual man" is not an established essence which can be, so to speak, miraculously given by the Spirit to "the psychic (or psychophysical) man."<sup>32</sup> Even if certain expressions having juridical color might lead to such a conclusion, numerous others prove that this is not so. The new man serves "in the new life of the Spirit," he walks "in the Spirit," he is "led by the Spirit of God."<sup>33</sup> So many formulas indicate that the new existence is "an appeal to God for a clear conscience," a new orientation, the beginning of a new history in which "old things are passed away," where "all things are become new."<sup>34</sup> So many terms indicate the characteristic action of the Spirit's life in man: an uninterrupted walk, a persevering course, a victorious combat, a belief which perseveres to the eventual attainment of the perfection of Christ Himself, the perfect stature of man.<sup>35</sup>

Let us now return to what we have said regarding the essence of the "soul" or the "psychic man." The "spiritual man" is never an established being; he is constituted each day of his existence. Having "put on the new man," "the inward man is renewed day by day," "in knowledge after the image of him that created him."<sup>36</sup> And this renewing touches the totality of human personality, as is the case with each of the other anthropological notions already studied. The Spirit speaks to the entire man and calls for his total participation. As soon as he abides in man, the Spirit acts, creating, transforming and sanctifying the entire being. This action is manifested with equal fullness in the life of the spirit, of the soul, and of the body.<sup>37</sup>

This work of regeneration begins by renewing the intelligence. After having been enlightened by the witness of the

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *AUSS*, II (1964), 162-164.

<sup>33</sup> Rom 7: 6 (RSV); Gal 5: 16; Rom 8: 14; Gal. 5: 18.

<sup>34</sup> 1 Pe 3: 21 (RSV); Rom 6: 3-6; 2 Cor 5: 17.

<sup>35</sup> 1 Jn 2: 6; Heb 12: 1; Php 3: 13; 1 Ti 6: 12; Col 1: 28; Eph 4: 13.

<sup>36</sup> Col 3: 10; 2 Cor 4: 16.

<sup>37</sup> 1 Th 5: 23.

Spirit, then transformed by the knowledge that it gains of the Saviour, the intelligence becomes capable of discerning the will of God, that which is "good, and acceptable, and perfect," and ends by submitting itself captive "to the obedience of Christ."<sup>38</sup> From then on, nothing escapes the sanctifying action of the Spirit: thoughts, feelings and desires, all are purified. The body itself is not excluded: It is called to become the temple of the Holy Ghost. So Paul can declare, "Glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's."<sup>39</sup>

Thus the entire man is affected by the action of the Spirit. At times this action may be manifested in an extraordinary and miraculous manner; these exceptional phenomena are then called *pneumatika*, manifestations of the Spirit, or *charismata*, gracious gifts.<sup>40</sup> Yet more often the operations of the Spirit are imperceptible and secret, though no less real. As Jesus explained, like the wind one hears the sound but does not know from whence it comes or whither it goes; "so is every one that is born of the Spirit."<sup>41</sup> Thus, even if we cannot analyze the action of the Spirit by psychological introspection, effects of an anthropological order are incontestable. On the individual level, each one is aware of this action since "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Seen in others, the changes are unmistakable: "For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving diverse lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another." But when the Spirit has begun His regenerating action, these fruits are manifest: "Love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Rom 12: 2; 8: 16; Col 3: 10; Eph 4: 23; 2 Cor 10: 5.

<sup>39</sup> Eph. 2: 3; 4: 17; Col 1: 21; Php 4: 8; 1 Cor 6: 19, 20; 3: 16, 17.

<sup>40</sup> 1 Cor 12: 1; 14: 1; Rom 12: 6; 2 Cor 12: 4, 9, 28; 1 Ti 4: 14.

<sup>41</sup> Jn 3: 8.

<sup>42</sup> Rom 8: 16; Tit 3: 3; Gal 5: 22, 23.



Let us note, finally, that the secret and progressive action of the Spirit does not counter the will of man. The Spirit does not operate in a magical and irresistible way, reducing man to the passivity of an automaton. Its role is essentially to free man from "the law of sin and death," rendering him capable of walking "in newness of life," after the example of Jesus Himself.<sup>43</sup> But it is clear that at all times man can "resist" the heavenly call, the will of God, the action of the Spirit.<sup>44</sup> Even when man does submit to the influence of divine power, it acts only in accordance with his will. The Spirit does only that which man has decided to do. "For freedom Christ has set us free. . . . You were called to freedom," declares the apostle Paul, and it could not be otherwise, for "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." He who has been freed from the power of sin is thus not to make of this liberty a pretext for living according to the flesh, but to speak and act in conformity with a law which itself is "a law of liberty."<sup>45</sup>

Man's part, then, is to exercise the divine power that he has received in order to accomplish works worthy of the Spirit, for now the good which he conceives he can also accomplish. That is why he is required to work indefatigably for his own salvation, being confident that "he who began a good work in you will bring it to completion at the day of Jesus Christ."<sup>46</sup> It would be false, however, to think that this work of sanctification is effected without resistance, without struggle and without suffering. On the contrary, if Christ attained perfection only by the things which He suffered, how much more can we be "partakers of His holiness" only at the price of actual combat. Each one on his own account must achieve victory over sin in his flesh, with the powerful aid of the Spirit of Christ. "I am crucified with

<sup>43</sup> Rom 8: 2; 6: 4; 2 Cor 3: 17, 18.

<sup>44</sup> Acts 26: 19; Rom 9: 19; 1 Th 5: 19; Eph 4: 30.

<sup>45</sup> Gal 5: 1, 13 (RSV); 2 Cor 3: 17; Jas 1: 25; 2: 12.

<sup>46</sup> Gal 5: 22, 23; Php 2: 12; 1: 6 (RSV).

Christ," concludes Paul, "nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." 47

Though man now possesses the capability of vanquishing the power of sin which acts in the flesh, this power has not ceased to act. It does not abdicate when the Spirit is given to man. The flesh has not been relieved once for all of the power and threat of seduction. This will continue to manifest itself in the entire being throughout "the rest of his time in the flesh." But the one "who walks in the Spirit" no longer fulfills "the lust of the flesh." Sin has no more power over him. The Spirit in man has triumphed over the power of sin. "The life which I now live in the flesh," writes Paul, "I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." 48

Do we then after all find ourselves in the presence of a certain dualism between the Spirit and the flesh? We think not. Classical dualism is perfectly balanced: it supposes an equal and endless conflict between two contrary substances, body and soul, matter and spirit. Nothing of that is here. Though the conflict between *sarx* and *pneuma* is real, it is a conflict in which the Spirit triumphs. And this victory, based on that already achieved by Christ, guarantees the victory that one day will be gained over death. In this sense the Christian possesses in his heart "the earnest of the Spirit," having been "sealed with that holy Spirit" which is a pledge of redemption. 49

Thus as far as one penetrates into the Christian concept of man, he finds not the slightest trace of an anthropological dualism. The Spirit of God does not oppose the flesh except as the latter refuses to submit to His action. God does not say, "I will contend with the flesh," but rather, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh." Nothing is placed under interdict, but all is transformed, elevated and sanctified. God does

47 Heb 5: 8, 9; 12: 3, 4, 10; Gal 2: 20.

48 1 Pe 4: 2; Gal 5: 16; Rom 6: 12-14; Gal 2: 20.

49 2 Cor 1: 22; Eph 1: 13, 14; Rom 8: 23.

not desire the death of the sinner, but "that he should return from his ways, and live." To this end He has given him everything which contributes to life and piety, that by His Spirit man might become partaker of the divine nature and, through it, of eternal life.<sup>50</sup>

In the end all Christian anthropology is a question of existence, of life, and of life eternal. Triumph over fleshly powers is not only a victory over sin, but also over death. "For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."<sup>51</sup> Having received the "seal of God," and possessing "the earnest of the Spirit," signifies that the mortgage of sin, which ends in death, has been paid. A new future opens before the man who partakes of the perfect liberty of God's children. "All things are your's; whether . . . the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are your's; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's."<sup>52</sup> Henceforth, the horizon of life lifts the eyes far beyond death and the resurrection into the kingdom of eternity. Even if death is not instantly wiped out as with a stroke of the pen, the Christian is no longer subject to it, and it now has a new meaning. From this time forward he partakes of eternal life and Jesus Christ will raise him at the last day. "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." For "your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory."<sup>53</sup>

The gift of the Spirit is not only the anthropological reality *par excellence*, which gives to the image of man its definitive contours and to human nature all its ethical value; the Spirit is also an eschatological gift on which the eternal destiny of man finally depends.

<sup>50</sup> Acts 2: 17 (RSV); Eze 18: 23, 32; 2 Pe 1: 3, 4.

<sup>51</sup> Rom 6: 23.

<sup>52</sup> 1 Cor 3: 21-23.

<sup>53</sup> Rom 8: 11; Col 3: 3, 4.

## TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

### CONSONANTS

א = 'a	ד = <i>d</i>	י = <i>y</i>	ס = <i>s</i>	ך = <i>r</i>
ב = <i>b</i>	ה = <i>h</i>	כ = <i>k</i>	ע = <i>c</i>	שׁ = <i>š</i>
ג = <i>g</i>	ו = <i>w</i>	ק = <i>q</i>	פ = <i>p</i>	שׂ = <i>ś</i>
ד = <i>d</i>	ז = <i>z</i>	ל = <i>l</i>	צ = <i>ṣ</i>	ת = <i>t</i>
ה = <i>h</i>	ח = <i>ḥ</i>	מ = <i>m</i>	נ = <i>n</i>	ת = <i>t</i>
ו = <i>w</i>	ט = <i>t</i>	נ = <i>n</i>	ק = <i>q</i>	

### MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = <i>a</i>	ײ, ׳ (vocal shewa) = <i>◌</i>	◌ = <i>ō</i>
ֿ = <i>ā</i>	ײ, ׳ = <i>ē</i>	ײ = <i>◌</i>
ֿ = <i>◌</i>	◌ = <i>i</i>	ֿ = <i>◌</i>
ֿ = <i>e</i>	ֿ = <i>ī</i>	ֿ = <i>u</i>
ֿ = <i>ē</i>	ֿ = <i>o</i>	ֿ = <i>ū</i>

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<p><i>AAS</i> Annales archéol. de Syrie  <i>AASOR</i> Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.  <i>ADAJ</i> Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan  <i>AER</i> American Ecclesiastical Review  <i>AfO</i> Archiv für Orientforschung  <i>AfP</i> Archiv für Papyrusforschung  <i>AJA</i> Amer. Journal of Archaeology  <i>AJSL</i> Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Literature    <i>ALBO</i> Analecta Lovan. Bibl. et Orient.  <i>ANF</i> The Ante-Nicene Fathers  <i>AO</i> Acta Orientalia  <i>ARG</i> Archiv für Reformationsgesch.  <i>ARW</i> Archiv für Religionswissenschaft  <i>ASAE</i> Annales, Serv. des Ant. de l'Ég.  <i>ASB</i> Acta Sanctorum (ed. Bolland)  <i>AThR</i> Anglican Theological Review  <i>AUSS</i> Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies  <i>BA</i> Biblical Archaeologist  <i>BASOR</i> Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.  <i>Bib</i> Biblica  <i>BIES</i> Bulletin, Israel Expl. Soc.  <i>BIFAO</i> Bulletin, Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Or.  <i>BiOr</i> Bibliotheca Orientalis  <i>BJPES</i> Bulletin, Jewish Pal. Expl. Soc.  <i>BJRL</i> Bulletin, John Rylands Library</p>	<p><i>BMB</i> Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth  <i>BQR</i> Baptist Quarterly Review  <i>BR</i> Biblical Research (Chicago)  <i>BRG</i> Biblioth. Rerum Germanicarum  <i>BS</i> Bibliotheca Sacra  <i>BT</i> Bible Translator  <i>BZ</i> Biblische Zeitschrift  <i>CBQ</i> Catholic Biblical Quarterly  <i>CC</i> Christian Century  <i>CdE</i> Chronique d'Égypte  <i>CH</i> Church History  <i>CIG</i> Corpus Inscript. Graecarum  <i>CIL</i> Corpus Inscript. Latinarum  <i>CIS</i> Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum  <i>CJTh</i> Canadian Journal of Theology  <i>CSEL</i> Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.  <i>CT</i> Christianity Today  <i>ER</i> Ecumenical Review  <i>ETHL</i> Ephemer. Theol. Lovanienses  <i>ET</i> Expository Times  <i>HJ</i> Hibbert Journal  <i>HThR</i> Harvard Theological Review  <i>HUCA</i> Hebrew Union College Annual  <i>IEJ</i> Israel Exploration Journal  <i>Int</i> Interpretation  <i>JACH</i> Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum</p>	<p><i>BMB</i> Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth  <i>BQR</i> Baptist Quarterly Review  <i>BR</i> Biblical Research (Chicago)  <i>BRG</i> Biblioth. Rerum Germanicarum  <i>BS</i> Bibliotheca Sacra  <i>BT</i> Bible Translator  <i>BZ</i> Biblische Zeitschrift  <i>CBQ</i> Catholic Biblical Quarterly  <i>CC</i> Christian Century  <i>CdE</i> Chronique d'Égypte  <i>CH</i> Church History  <i>CIG</i> Corpus Inscript. Graecarum  <i>CIL</i> Corpus Inscript. Latinarum  <i>CIS</i> Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum  <i>CJTh</i> Canadian Journal of Theology  <i>CSEL</i> Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.  <i>CT</i> Christianity Today  <i>ER</i> Ecumenical Review  <i>ETHL</i> Ephemer. Theol. Lovanienses  <i>ET</i> Expository Times  <i>HJ</i> Hibbert Journal  <i>HThR</i> Harvard Theological Review  <i>HUCA</i> Hebrew Union College Annual  <i>IEJ</i> Israel Exploration Journal  <i>Int</i> Interpretation  <i>JACH</i> Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum</p>
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<i>JAOS</i>	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.	<i>RHR</i>	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
<i>JBL</i>	Journal of Biblical Literature	<i>RL</i>	Religion in Life
<i>JBR</i>	Journal of Bible and Religion	<i>RLA</i>	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
<i>JCS</i>	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	<i>RQ</i>	Revue de Qumrân
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Arch.	<i>RSR</i>	Revue des Sciences Religieuses
<i>JJS</i>	Journal of Jewish Studies	<i>SJTh</i>	Scottish Journal of Theology
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	<i>STh</i>	Studia Theologica
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review	<i>ThEH</i>	Theologische Existenz heute
<i>JR</i>	Journal of Religion	<i>ThQ</i>	Theologische Quartalschrift
<i>JSS</i>	Journal of Semitic Studies	<i>ThT</i>	Theology Today
<i>JThS</i>	Journal of Theol. Studies	<i>ThLZ</i>	Theologische Literaturzeitung
<i>LQ</i>	Lutheran Quarterly	<i>ThR</i>	Theologische Rundschau
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica	<i>Trad</i>	Traditio
<i>MQR</i>	Mennonite Quarterly Review	<i>ThS</i>	Theological Studies
<i>NKZ</i>	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift	<i>ThZ</i>	Theologische Zeitschrift
<i>NPNF</i>	Nicene and Post-Nic. Fathers	<i>VC</i>	Verbum Caro
<i>NRT<sup>h</sup></i>	Nouvelle Revue Théologique	<i>VD</i>	Verbum Domini
<i>NT</i>	Novum Testamentum	<i>VCh</i>	Vigiliae Christianae
<i>NTA</i>	New Testament Abstracts	<i>VT</i>	Vetus Testamentum
<i>NTS</i>	New Testament Studies	<i>WThJ</i>	Westminster Theol. Journal
<i>Num</i>	Numen	<i>WZKM</i>	Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes
<i>OCh</i>	Oriens Christianus	<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung	<i>ZAS</i>	Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
<i>Or</i>	Orientalia	<i>ZAW</i>	Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.
<i>OTS</i>	Oudtestamentische Studiën	<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft
<i>PEQ</i>	Palestine Exploration Quarterly	<i>ZDPV</i>	Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.
<i>QDAP</i>	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.	<i>ZKG</i>	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
<i>RA</i>	Revue d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.	<i>ZHTh</i>	Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie
<i>RAC</i>	Rivista di Archaeologia Cristiana	<i>ZKTh</i>	Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie
<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique	<i>ZNW</i>	Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wiss.
<i>RE</i>	Review and Expositor	<i>ZSTh</i>	Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
<i>RdE</i>	Revue d'Égyptologie	<i>ZThK</i>	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche
<i>RHE</i>	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique		
<i>RHPR</i>	Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. Rel.		