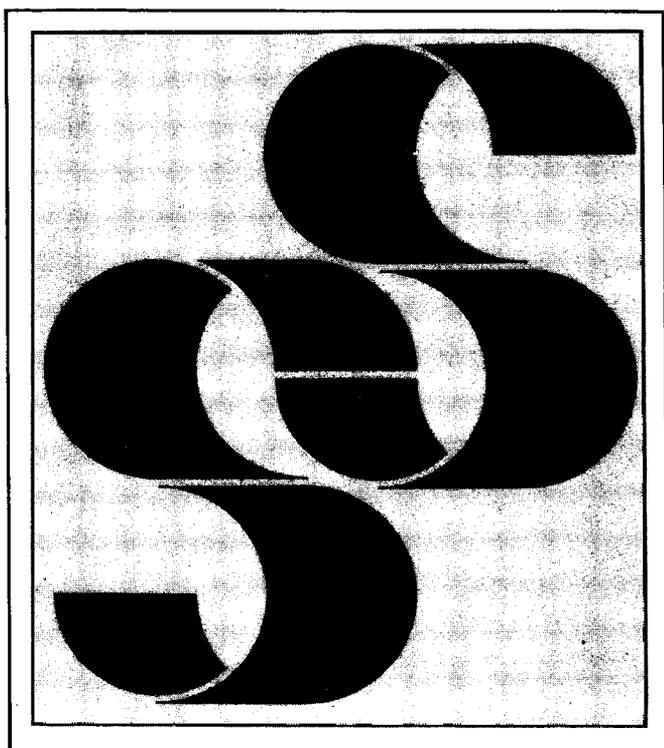


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# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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## ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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LATE-MEDIEVAL SERMONS IN ENGLAND:  
AN ANALYSIS OF FOURTEENTH- AND FIFTEENTH-  
CENTURY PREACHING

ERWIN R. GANE  
Pacific Union College  
Angwin, California

There can be no doubt as to the very extensive use of the Bible in the late Middle Ages. Beryl Smalley, in her standard work on the subject, speaks of the Bible as "the most studied book of the middle ages" and indicates that "Bible study represented the highest branch of learning."<sup>1</sup>

Exegesis as a separate subject emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with textual criticism and biblical languages employed as aids to study.<sup>2</sup> It would seem an open question, however, as to the extent to which textual criticism was more than a very rudimentary science in the Middle Ages, and also the extent to which knowledge of biblical languages influenced biblical exegesis and exposition. Nevertheless, Smalley has clearly established that Bible study as a basis for both academic procedures and popular preaching was very prevalent in the medieval period.

J. W. Blench recognizes considerable variation in the method of exegesis employed in late fifteenth-century sermons. Some sermons reveal no scriptural interpretation at all.<sup>3</sup> Others bear out William Tyndale's criticism of the "Old Learning," that the true meaning of Scripture was hidden beneath the allegorical, tropological, and anagogical meanings which preachers deduced from the text.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Blench provides evidence for *De*

<sup>1</sup>Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1962), p. xi.

<sup>2</sup>See *ibid.*, p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup>J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1964), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 1, 3. It should be pointed out that the allegorical, tropological, and anagogical meanings of a Bible passage each involved what today would be regarded as comprised in the term "allegory." All three were divergencies from the

*Tempore* sermons of the late fifteenth century which made considerable use of a simple, literal exposition of the biblical material, with "unforced moral applications of the Gospels of the Day."<sup>5</sup> The question would seem to be, which tendency was most characteristic of late-medieval sermons?

Toivo Harjunpaa refers to the *Liber festivalis*, or *The Festival*, written about 1420 by the Augustinian prior John Mirk (or Myrc), as representing the type of preaching which was especially popular with people and hierarchy in fifteenth-century England.<sup>6</sup> Harjunpaa maintains that the *Festival* reveals very little that can be regarded as serious interpretation of Scripture. Certainly there is some attempt to draw obvious moral lessons from the literal exposition of the text. But by far the greater tendency is to allegorize, edit, and embellish the text of Scripture with fabulous *exempla*. If Mirk's work is to be taken as especially characteristic of later medieval homiletical exegesis, the preachers of the period cannot be regarded as showing any great concern to hew very closely to the scriptural line. In other words, Harjunpaa's answer to the question posed above would be that the sermons of the later Middle Ages characteristically give considerable evidence of a rather cursory respect for the exact meaning of the biblical text. Allegory in its various forms becomes a convenient means of adjusting the message to the particular concerns of the preacher and the Church. Where Scripture fails to provide an adequate vehicle for the instruction, "long talis of fablis" constitute the greater part of the sermon.<sup>7</sup>

Harjunpaa explains that the quantity of Bible quotations "is not in itself a guarantee that the sermon is truly scriptural in spirit" and that it is "on this important point that criticism must

---

literal exposition of the text. By "literal" is not meant an over-literalization of the text by which figures of speech, parables, symbolic language, and allegory employed by the Bible writers are ignored; rather, the "literal" interpretation as it emerged in the Renaissance and the Reformation was an attempt to explicate the meaning of any Bible passage as intended by the author.

<sup>5</sup>Blench, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Toivo Harjunpaa, *Preaching in England During the Later Middle Ages* (Åbo, Finland, 1965), pp. 6, 7, 25.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

be directed against many of Mirk's sermons." Nevertheless, there are "sermons in the *Festival* in which the central scriptural message is clearly present. There are always what one might call seeds of evangelical truths in these sermons, but they rarely develop into blossoms."<sup>8</sup>

My purpose in this article is to examine a number of individual sermons and collections of sermons from the late medieval period to determine whether Harjunpaa's above-mentioned evaluation is correct. The specific questions which I wish to direct to the sources are these: First, what is the prevailing method of exegesis in the sermons: allegory, typology, redaction, or literal exposition? Second, what part do legendary or fabulous *exempla* play? Third, to what extent is the scriptural interpretation drawn from the early Fathers and medieval Doctors of the Church and/or from philosophers? Fourth, how is the Bible used to establish the validity of a particular world view, involving preference for a distinctive societal structure, for a characteristic ethical outlook, and a specific set of doctrinal emphases?

### 1. *Allegory*

Wimbledon's famous Middle-English sermon, published by K. F. Sundén and believed by Sundén to have been written and preached in 1388, may serve as a good starting point for noticing the use of allegory in medieval preaching.<sup>9</sup> We know that this sermon became influential, because in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century it was printed in some fifteen editions. The British Museum contains the earliest printed edition, dated 1573, and the fifteenth edition, dated 1635; and the Bodleian Library contains an edition printed as late as 1731.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>K. F. Sundén, ed., *A Famous Middle English Sermon (MS. Hatton, Bod. Lib.) Preached at St. Paul's Cross, London, on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1388*, Årsskrift 31 (Göteborg, Sweden, 1925). Sundén has edited MS Hatton 57 in *Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Oxford. The Summary Catalogue of the Bodleian Library dates the manuscript about 1400.

<sup>10</sup>See *ibid.*, p. vii.

There are some fifty quotations from, or references to, Scripture in Wimbledon's sermon, and the sermon is based on the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard, recorded in Matt 20:1-16.<sup>11</sup> There are no Marcan or Lucan parallels from which other emphases could be drawn.

Wimbledon first cites the parable. A householder employed workers in his vineyard at different hours of the day (1st, 3rd, 6th, 9th, 11th hours), but at the end of the day he paid them all a *denarius*. Wimbledon then proceeds to give us what he calls the "spirytual vndirstondyg." It is not difficult to see that "this householder is oure lord jesum crist, that is hede of the house holde of holy chyrche." Difficulty arises, however, as Wimbledon applies the hours of the day to "diuerse agys of the world." In the era of the law of "kynde" God called Abel, Enoch, Noah, and Abraham. In the time of the old law, Moses, David, Isaiah, and Jeremiah were called. In the time of grace, the apostles and martyrs were called.<sup>12</sup>

Obviously, from the outset Wimbledon has gone beyond the intention of the original parable. Of course, such a parable is itself an allegory, but an allegory subject to interpretations delimited by the nature of the original pericope and the scriptural application. There is nothing of different eras of world history referred to in the parable. On the basis of what criteria would Wimbledon put Abel and Abraham in the same era, or Moses and Jeremiah? What does Wimbledon's periodization of history have to do with the obvious message of the parable that Christ rewards the eleventh-hour servants equally with those who began at the first hour of the day? In Wimbledon's line-up of eras, Abel in the first era was murdered as a youth, while some of the apostles, in the third era, lived for many years. Evidently Wimbledon had no scriptural rationale for his allegorical application and no clear purpose in mind for making it.<sup>13</sup>

Richard Fitz-James was the author of *Sermo die lune in ebdomada Pasche*, printed about 1495, another sermon in which we

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. xi-xii, 1.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3.

see the medieval use of allegory illustrated.<sup>14</sup> According to Francis Jenkinson, Fitz-James was successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London, but when the sermon was printed, Fitz-James was still only "reverendus doctor."<sup>15</sup> The theme of the sermon is God's condescension in coming right to man at every stage of history but especially in the Person and work of Jesus Christ.

In allegorical terms, Fitz-James speaks of three men in the pre-Christian era named "Jesus," who typified the Messiah: Jesus (or Joshua) the son of Nun, who led Israel after Moses' death; Joshua the son of Josedech (or Jehozadak), the first high priest of Israel after the period of the captivity; and Joshua the son of Sirach, the author of the apocryphal *Book of Proverbs (Ecclesiasticus)*. Fitz-James uses these three personalities to represent three characteristics of Jesus Christ. "The fyrste saued the people by myght and power. The seconde by perfyte obedyence. The thyrde by his grete wysdom."<sup>16</sup> Hence Joshua the son of Nun symbolizes the power of Christ, Joshua the son of Josedech his perfect obedience, and Joshua the son of Sirach his great wisdom. The artificiality of the allegory is apparent, for presumably Joshua the son of Nun was not entirely devoid of obedience and wisdom, as the other two were by no means lacking in power of one form or another. However, with no scriptural support, Fitz-James presses his allegory to the limit by indicating that there was not one of these three "whyche had alle thyse vertues/neither ony of theym plenarily/ but by partycipacyon of oure Jhus Cryste. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

Fitz-James simply chose three characters whose name was Jesus, decided what he considered the salient characteristic of each, and then used the life and work of these three as allegories of the power, obedience, and wisdom of Jesus Christ. A similar use of allegorical exegesis is apparent in a sermon by the Boy Bishop who, sometime before 1496, preached at the Feast of the Holy

<sup>14</sup>Richard Fitz-James, *Sermo die lune in ebdomada Pasche. Printed at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde about the year 1495*, ed. Francis Jenkinson (Cambridge, Eng., 1907).

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. i.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, sig. aii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, sig. bvi<sup>r</sup>; cf. sig. gv<sup>v</sup>.

Innocents (December 28). He combines a rather forced moral application of some well-known aspect of everyday life with an apparently natural allegorical application of some otherwise innocuous Bible passage.<sup>18</sup> The result is that the meaning of the scriptural passage is quite unrelated to its context. Irrespective of its strict linguistic and contextual force, the Bible text thus becomes a convenient tool for the molding of whatever moral motif may at the moment strike the fancy of the homiletician.

D. M. Grisdale, who has published three Middle-English sermons preached somewhere between 1389 and 1404, concurs that secular and biblical allegory were common in the sermons of the period. She speaks of "the narration and allegorical treatment of stories either from the Bible or from any other source known to the preacher" and indicates that this style of preaching, which was first introduced by the friars, was adopted almost universally throughout England.<sup>19</sup> The congregation, Grisdale thinks, comprised largely laity, country folk and tradespeople, but also some representatives of the upper classes, and a few secular or regular clergy.<sup>20</sup>

The first of the three sermons, entitled *In Passione Domini*, was preached by one Hugonis Legat. He says that Abraham, who was called to go into a far country, represents Jesus Christ who was called by the Father to come to this alien earth to die for man, but strangely, the land of Canaan also represents heaven.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Ishmael, Abraham's son by Hagar, symbolizes man's soul which was delivered by Christ "out of the bondage & te thraldom of the deuel"<sup>22</sup>—a rather inept parallel when it is realized that Ishmael, in the company of his mother, was obliged to leave his

<sup>18</sup>See *Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop at St. Paul's. Temp. Henry VIII, and at Gloucester, Temp. Mary*, ed. John Gough Nichols, with an introduction by Edward F. Rimbault, Camden Society, new series, no. 14 (Westminster, 1875), pp. 1-13.

<sup>19</sup>D. M. Grisdale, ed., *Three Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter Manuscript F. 10*, Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs, no. 5 (Leeds, Eng., 1939). See pp. xi, xxiii.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xxv.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3.

father's household. Further examples of allegory are plentiful in the sermons edited by Grisdale.<sup>23</sup>

We turn now to some of the homilies of John Mirk, whose sermons, according to Harjunpaa, are "without doubt by far the best known sermons in the vernacular."<sup>24</sup> Mirk's *Festival* can be viewed as one of the means employed in the early fifteenth century to counteract the influence of Wyclif's teachings and the preaching of the Lollards. These sermons appeared at the time when Archbishop Arundel's measures were in force and when the official Church was confronted by the need for a satisfactory homiletical apologetic.<sup>25</sup> Hence we can assume that the use of the Bible in Mirk's homilies is thoroughly representative of that kind of exegesis which the official church thought proper to present to the laity in the fifteenth century.

In his homily *De Circumcisione Domini Nostri, Ihesu Cristi*, Mirk explains why Jesus was circumcised on the eighth day. It was so that each Christian servant might use seven days to think on his depraved beginnings and present unsatisfactory spiritual condition, and remedy all this on the eighth day by cutting "away from hyn the lust of his flesche and worldes lykyng."<sup>26</sup> Many similar examples of allegorical interpretation may be taken from Mirk's homilies—so much so that it does not seem an exaggeration to say that one of Mirk's characteristic ways of interpreting the Bible was to allegorize the text so as to render it more relevant to his own religious and social environment than the original context would

<sup>23</sup>See *ibid.*, pp. 23, 25-27, 54, 65.

<sup>24</sup>Harjunpaa, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup>To combat Lollardy, Arundel in 1407 drew up thirteen constitutions which were presented first to a provincial synod at Oxford in November 1407 and later, in January 1408, to the convocation at St. Paul's. The first three of Arundel's constitutions were designed to control unlicensed preaching. The fourth and fifth dealt with false teachings concerning the sacraments. The sixth banned the reading and teaching of all Wyclif's works unless they had been approved. The seventh constitution prohibited unauthorized translations of the Bible into English. The eleventh provided for a monthly enquiry of the state of opinion at Oxford. See Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1967), 2: 570-571.

<sup>26</sup>John Mirk, *Mirk's Festival: A Collection of Homilies*, ed. Theodor Erbe (London, 1905), pp. 46-47.

allow.<sup>27</sup> Bible characters and their experiences are used in his sermons quite indiscriminately as examples of the spiritual, religious, ethical, and social problems of fifteenth-century man, and if the application required a distortion of the original story, this was a matter of unconcern to Mirk. Allegory rendered possible for him a plausible apology for the accepted theology of the Church, for the standard religious customs required of the laity, and for the ethical norms considered appropriate to govern the life of the average Christian. What more effective means could be found to combat the machinations of the heresiarchs?

Allegorical interpretation of Scripture is well represented also in six groups of sermons edited by Woodburn O. Ross, most of which sermons are to be dated in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century.<sup>28</sup> In sermon 12, for example, the Syro-Phoenician woman who begged Christ to heal her demented daughter is used as a symbol of every sinful human being who pleads with God to heal his soul. The daughter is a symbol of the despoiled human soul.<sup>29</sup> The same story is used in sermon 28. This time the woman represents the Church. The daughter is man's soul, and the demon possessing her is Satan. Just as the Canaanite woman prayed for her daughter, so the Church prays for the sinful soul.<sup>30</sup> Ross's collection of sermons is a fruitful source of such examples.<sup>31</sup>

The evidence from the sample sermons and collections of sermons I have examined would suggest that the allegorical method was the most characteristic use of Scripture in late medieval preaching. It will become evident from our continued discussion

<sup>27</sup>For further examples of allegorization, see *ibid.*, pp. 49-50, 52, 60, 71, 94, 103, 119, 129, 152, 162, 261, 263.

<sup>28</sup>Woodburn O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Museum MS. Royal 18 B. xxiii*, Early English Text Society, Original Series, no. 209 (London, 1940). These sermons, which lack external evidence for authorship, are in *Brit. Mus. Royal 18 B. xxiii*. Ross is doubtful that all the sermons were actually delivered as they were written down, but is inclined rather to the view that most of them were originally written as models. It is possible, he also thinks, that the sermons were subject to scribal additions. See p. xix.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 76-82, 92, 104-105, 126-128, 135-136, 172, 214-216, 231, 243, 248, 263, 265, 290.

that other approaches to the biblical text were not entirely lacking. For instance, typology, as distinct from allegory, was used occasionally; and literal interpretation was not completely ignored. But by far the most impressive and prevalent element in the vernacular sermons of the late Middle Ages was allegory, whether based on scriptural sources or on extra-biblical legends and fables. My findings in this respect are in agreement with the consensus of historians of biblical interpretation.

Robert M. Grant, for example, states that the "most important and characteristic method of biblical interpretation" in the Middle Ages was allegory.<sup>32</sup> He explains the medieval emphasis on the four meanings of Scripture which, as late as the sixteenth century, were illustrated by means of a little verse:

Littera gesta docet, quid credas  
 allegoria, moralis quid agas,  
 quo gendas anagogia.  
 (The letter shows what God and our Fathers did;  
 The allegory shows us where our faith is hid;  
 The moral meaning gives us rules of daily life;  
 The anagogy shows us where we end our strife.)<sup>33</sup>

In practice, Grant explains, many exegetes deduced only two senses with scriptural passages. Others found three. Sometimes there were as many as seven. In the ninth century, Rabanus Maurus presented a theory which stressed the importance of the number four.<sup>34</sup> Later, Franciscan number-mysticism contributed to the acceptance of the fourfold interpretation.

Likewise, Harry Caplan refers to the fourfold sense of Scripture interpretation—(1) the *sensus historicus* or *literals* which involved simple explanation of the words; (2) the *sensus tropologicus*, aimed at moral instruction; (3) the *sensus allegoricus* which sought exposition by a "sense other than the literal"; and (4) the *sensus anagogicus* by which the minds of the listeners were opened to consider a heavenly application—and recognizes this

<sup>32</sup>Robert M. Grant, *The Bible in the Church: A Short History of Interpretation* (New York, 1948), p. 101.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 101-102.

method of hermeneutics as very common in the exegetical theory of the Middle Ages. He "expects thus to find its role in the theory of preaching equally important." Certainly in the schools, Caplan argues, the multiple senses of Scripture were the bases of separate artistic disciplines.<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps of most striking interest as an indication of the prevalence of the method is the fact that it could be held forth as an evidence of the validity of traditional preaching against the teaching of the Lollards. G. R. Owst refers to Master Rypon of Durham, a Benedictine monk and an important preacher about the year 1400, who traced the errors of both Lollards and Mendicants to their concern for the literal sense of Scripture.<sup>36</sup> Owst remarks:

Historic controversies of this kind do not concern us at the moment. But the significance of Master Rypon's argument lies in its triumphant reassertion of the superiority and safety of the allegoric method. Little wonder that the orthodox preachers of his day, sharing this view, maintained a very riot of imagery in their expositions. "Glosyng" of this kind became "a ful glorious thing," as Chaucer's Sompnour observed, and a literalist like Wycliffe might thunder his complaints in vain upon unwilling ears.<sup>37</sup>

## 2. *Typology*

J. N. D. Kelly defines for us what is understood by typological exegesis as it developed in early church history.<sup>38</sup> It was a method of clarifying the relationship between the OT and NT revelations. The presupposition of the typologist is that the Bible depicts the progressive unfolding of the history of salvation. Unlike allegory, typology takes history seriously. The events and personages of the OT are studied in their historical context, but are seen as shadows or types of the events and persons in the Gospel age.

<sup>35</sup>Harry Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 4 (1929): 283-284.

<sup>36</sup>G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1933), pp. 57-61.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>38</sup>J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York, 1960), p. 71.

Many examples of typological exegesis could be given from the Bible and the writings of the early Church Fathers. One of the classic examples is Paul's reference to the two sons of Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, as representing the Old and New Covenants (Gal 4:22-31; ἄτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα). Another example is the use in the book of Hebrews of the OT priesthood and mediatorial ministry in the heavenly sanctuary (chaps. 7-10). Some of the early Church Fathers and also later commentators and preachers were quick to draw a parallel between the OT priesthood and the Christian priesthood. Such a parallel was used as a justification for the sacerdotal and sacramental emphases of the medieval Church.<sup>39</sup>

When there ceases to be a dynamic relationship between the OT symbol and the NT application, typology merges into allegory. This happens when the interpreter fails to identify the biblical evidence for his application and relies upon an imaginary relationship between the so-called type and the Gospel fulfillment. Kelly points out that most of the Fathers made this easy transition from typology to allegorism.<sup>40</sup> Origen and Augustine are typical examples.<sup>41</sup>

With such a background of patristic respect for typological exegesis, it is not surprising to find the preachers of the late Middle Ages employing it in their sermons. Nor is it unusual to find their types merging into allegories which occupy by far the more prominent place. Although typology is not especially prevalent in the medieval sermons I have scrutinized, there are a few interesting examples. The third Middle-English sermon edited by Grisdale likens the cereal offerings of flour, oil, and frankincense, mentioned in Lev 2, to the prayers of sincere Christians, which are contrasted with the unacceptable prayers of the hypocrites and Lollards.<sup>42</sup> Mirk regards King Saul, who pursued David, as a type

<sup>39</sup>ODCC, 1957 ed., s.v. "Priest"; *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1950 ed., s.v. "Priest," by A. C. A. Hall; Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1907), 5: 720; Marshall W. Baldwin, *The Mediaeval Church* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1953), p. 10.

<sup>40</sup>Kelly, p. 72.

<sup>41</sup>Smalley, p. 6; Yngve Brilioth, *A Brief History of Preaching* (Philadelphia, 1945), pp. 56-57.

<sup>42</sup>Grisdale, p. 51.

of the NT Saul (or Paul), who pursued Christ and the disciples.<sup>43</sup> Isaac, the son of Abraham's old age, is a type of Jesus Christ who was born miraculously of the Virgin Mary.<sup>44</sup> Moses is also presented by Mirk as a type of Christ: Just as Moses gave the law, so Christ gave grace, mercy, and truth; and as Moses led the people out of Egypt through the Red Sea to Sinai, so Christ, by preaching and miracles, led the people out of the darkness of sin to the hill of virtue.<sup>45</sup>

A fine example of the intermingling of typology and allegory is provided by sermon 38 of the Middle-English sermons edited by Ross: By the children of Israel in the wilderness, the preacher understood "all Cristen men that are now dwellynge in this werld, the wiche nedis, as the children of Israel dud, watur for to live by. Likwise we nede and thurste aftur the watur of grace, that cometh from oure Lorde Crist Ihesus." By Moses and Aaron he understood "prechours and techours of Goddes worde, the wiche preyeth and beseketh for the synnefull man for the watere of grace. . . ." By the rod ("zerde") with which Moses should strike the rock was meant the "good preyours of hem that be well shrywyn and sorefull for here synnes," and the stone itself the preacher understood as representing Christ. "And ryght as Moyses held the one ende of the zerde in ys honde and with the othur ende smote vppon the stone, ryght so shall thou, synnefull man, prey to God for mercy and grace, the wiche is full and nedefull to the, the wiche preyours shall be shewid be-forne Criste in the blesse of heven iff thou be in clene liff, and els not."<sup>46</sup>

The Pauline application of the OT story is clear (in fact, reference is made in the context to 1 Cor 10), but the preacher could not resist the urge to apply insignificant details to the practical religious life of his congregation. In this manner, allegory emanated from an overworking of the OT types.

<sup>43</sup>Mirk, p. 53.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>46</sup>Ross, pp. 215-216.

### 3. *Other Aspects of Late-Medieval Homiletical Exegesis*

Scattered throughout late-medieval sermons are many instances of the literal use of the Bible. Quite often a Bible story is told substantially as it appears in the text, and rather obvious moral lessons are drawn from it. Many times, however, the story is followed by a legendary miracle-story which has no real relationship to the original biblical account. Undoubtedly, the discriminating listener *could* have learned the teaching of the Bible if he had some knowledge of Scripture. Otherwise, it would have been difficult for him to distinguish between the biblical and the legendary or allegorical applications. Blench sees it as characteristic of sermons delivered in England during the period 1450-1547 that they based the spiritual sense on the literal verbal expression.<sup>47</sup> Even so, he comments:

However, it may be seen that the interpretation given in popular *De Tempore* sermons was not always predominantly allegorical for in a late fifteenth-century collection preserved in Lincoln Cathedral Library (MSS. Linc. Cath. Libr. 50 & 51) simple literal expositions and unforced moral applications of the Gospels of the Day considerably outnumber far-fetched spiritual interpretations.<sup>48</sup>

Mirk's sermons and those edited by Ross give numerous examples of literal exposition which often, but not always, merges into the fabulous and the allegorical.<sup>49</sup> Redactional elements were quite often introduced by Mirk into a Bible story.<sup>50</sup> His narration of the nativity scene is a case in point:<sup>51</sup> Joseph deposited Mary in a cave for domestic animals between two houses. Then shortly before midnight Mary sent Joseph to procure the services of two midwives. While he was gone into the town, Mary was delivered of the

<sup>47</sup>Blench, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>49</sup>Mirk, pp. 18, 21, 27-28, 32, 35-36, 48, 66, 70-72, 80, 83, 93-95, 97-98, 100, 102, 114, 116-118, 121-122, 152, 156, 160-161, 167, 176, 184, 188, 203-204, 254; Ross, pp. 1, 5, 9-12, 17-18, 26-28, 36-37, 97-98, 115-116, 143, 150-151, 155, 164, 168-169.

<sup>50</sup>Mirk, pp. 22-24, 27-28, 31, 53, 106-107, 136-137, 152, 175-176, 185-189, 204.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

child and "layde hym yn the cracche befor the ox and the asse." The animals recognized their Lord and fell down on their knees and worshiped him, and ate no more hay. When the midwives Gebel and Salome arrived with Joseph, Gebel "fonde well that our lady was clene mayden, scho cryed anon and sayde: 'A mayden hath borne a chylde!'" But Salome would not believe it. When she roughly handled Mary, "her hondes dryden vp." Then an angel came and told her to touch the child. This she did and was healed. Similarly, Mirk introduces redactional elements into the stories of Stephen, John, Paul, and Mark,<sup>52</sup> into the account of the ascension of Christ,<sup>53</sup> and into other Bible accounts.

Late-medieval preachers demonstrated an incredible predilection for the legendary and the fabulous. As we have seen, sometimes the legends had a tenuous relationship with Scripture, but quite often they were totally unrelated. The obvious purpose was to reinforce the validity of the ethical and doctrinal precepts of the Church.<sup>54</sup> The doctrines of the immortality of the soul, eternal hell-fire, original sin, transubstantiation, the sacrament of penance, the divine powers of the Virgin Mary, the efficacy of celibacy and virginity, the powers of clergy and popes—all these and more were illustrated with intensely lurid and frightening miracle-stories. It is not an exaggeration to say that use of such stories is a characteristic of late-medieval sermons, ranking in terms of frequency with the use of allegory.<sup>55</sup>

The particular biblical interpretation employed by late medieval preachers was often borrowed from an early-Church Father or medieval-Church Doctor.<sup>56</sup> Patristic explanations of Bible events

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-28, 31, 53, 136.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>54</sup>Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 87; idem, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge, Eng., 1926), pp. 245, 313.

<sup>55</sup>For examples of such, see Grisdale, pp. 19-20, 34, 39; Mirk, pp. 5-20, 26, 29, 31-34, 43, 49-50, 67, 75, 79-81, 95, 111, 119-121, 138, 141, 143, 147, 162, 173-174, 186-187, 190-192, 196, 203-208, 214, 221, 227, 245, 246, 255, 256, 262; Ross, pp. 5-7, 62-63, 65, 78, 120-130, 144, 148, 156-167, 206, 216-217.

<sup>56</sup>E.g., see Fitz-James, sigs. aiii<sup>v</sup>, civ<sup>r</sup>, eiii<sup>v</sup>, fii<sup>v</sup>, gi<sup>r</sup>-gi<sup>v</sup>, giv<sup>r</sup>; Mirk, p. 46; Ross, pp. 163, 165.

and themes must have been very impressive to fifteenth-century congregations. Not only did they perpetuate the widely accepted authority of the Fathers, but they increased the image of the preacher in terms of scholarship and piety. The word of a Father in support of a scriptural interpretation or ethical teaching was obviously regarded as sufficient to establish its validity. Without actually saying it, these late-medieval preachers revealed their view that patristic concepts were as authoritative for them as the words of the Bible. Fitz-James accepted the testimony of Augustine and Jerome in regard to the wisdom of the philosophers.<sup>57</sup> Such great thinkers as Plato and Aristotle, he said, may not have understood the ultimate end of man's existence, but nevertheless they sought and found a genuine approximation to true spiritual wisdom. The source of ultimate spiritual and religious authority to Fitz-James was, clearly, Scripture as interpreted by the Fathers of the Church. The philosophers, who were influential with the Fathers, were the source of a secondary, preparatory mode of wisdom.

#### *4. The Relationship between the Homileticians' World View and Their Exegesis*

There is no doubt that the method of biblical exegesis employed by late-medieval English preachers was especially well-adapted to the detection in Scripture of concepts regarding Church, society, ethics, and doctrine which were most highly valued by the established Church. Allegory, typology, redaction, legend, and fable were ideally suited to the process of confirming the world view of the medieval Church in the minds of the laity. Where it was not in conflict with accepted religious, ethical, and theological understandings, the literal exposition of the Bible found acceptance. Fathers and philosophers were used as corroborative evidence for the particular interpretation which emerged: Fathers as authorities, and philosophers as a secondary source of wisdom.

#### *The Church*

Scriptural exposition was a means of reinforcing a sacerdotal, hierarchical Church in opposition to any who, like Wyclif and the

<sup>57</sup>Fitz-James, sigs. bii<sup>v</sup>-bv<sup>v</sup>.

Lollards, presumed to question its authority. Since the Church was regarded as the ultimately credible interpreter of Scripture, any who rejected the Church's interpretation was considered out of accord with the ultimate authority of Scripture. This point is made quite unequivocally in the first of the three sermons edited by Grisdale, wherein it is stated that pride and obstinacy makes "mani man falle in-to heresie," leading to perversion of the text of Holy Writ; moreover, "thei wilnot resseyue the teching of holichirch, but despise the lawis of oure Lord God, & Christes correctyuns set at rith nawth."<sup>58</sup>

Grisdale's second preacher uses Paul's call to prayer in 2 Thess 3:1-2 as the basis for his injunction that the people should pray for the unity and tranquility "of al holichirche, vr holy vader the Pope, Bonif, te 9, al his cardinals & al other statis & degres vrom the heyest to the lowest, that be grownded & apreuyd e the rithful lawes of holy chirche. . . ."<sup>59</sup> He likens false doctrine to the leprosy which Christ healed, and credits the Lollards with being afflicted by it.<sup>60</sup>

In his sermon *De Nativitate Domini Nostri Ihesu Cristi*, Mirk refers to the Roman Emperor enquiring of a Sibyl whether there would be any greater than he born in the future. The Sibyl looked at the sun and saw a circle of gold about it. In the middle of the circle was a very fair maiden with a child in her arms. The Sibyl showed the emperor the vision and commanded him to worship the child. The emperor obeyed and commanded all men likewise to do sacrifice to the Christchild.<sup>61</sup> Given Mirk's frame of reference, and that of his listeners, it is not difficult to detect here a recognition of the subservience of the State to the Church.

To bolster the validity of mendicant preaching, Mirk had recourse to a legend concerning St. Dominic. One night Dominic was engaged in his devotions and saw the Lord Jesus holding three spears in his hand ready to throw them into the earth in vengeance upon the proud, covetous, and lecherous. Mary intervened and

<sup>58</sup>Grisdale, p. 8.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 24-25.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>61</sup>Mirk, p. 25.

persuaded him to wait a while, for she had a true servant in Dominic, who would preach God's word and turn the people.<sup>62</sup>

In a similar vein, Mirk told of a bishop of Lincoln who on his deathbed was tormented by numerous fiends. They tried to destroy his faith. Then Mary, coming to the rescue, asked the bishop to say that he believed "as holy chyrch dothe." He said that he did so believe, and the fiends were obliged to leave him.<sup>63</sup>

In the accepted tradition of the late Middle Ages, the Boy Bishop extolled the virtues of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and urged prayer on behalf of the prelates, from the pope down.<sup>64</sup> Grisdale's third preacher uses the epistle to the Hebrews, chap. 5, as evidence for his concept of the priesthood, wherein the Christian priest is seen as the successor of the Israelite priest before the Cross.<sup>65</sup> In place of the animal sacrifices offered by the Jewish priest, the Christian priest offers the sacrifice of the body of Christ in the Mass. Contrary to the overall teaching of his source, which speaks of *one* sacrifice of Christ in contrast to multiple sacrifices of the Old Covenant, the medieval preacher has expounded upon a mediatorial earthly priesthood which is involved in offering repeatedly a sacrifice on earth. If the preacher had paid greater attention to the contrast between Aaronic and Christian priesthood discussed in Hebrews, chaps. 7-10, he may have been constrained to modify his exegesis of Heb 5.

Ecclesiastical hierarchy and sacerdotalism were accepted without question in late-medieval sermons. The teachings generally held by the Church were the ones looked for in the Bible and preached. The two attitudes—veneration of the hierarchy and priesthood, and acceptance of their teachings—were natural corollaries of the doctrine of apostolic succession. Bishops in a direct line of descent from the apostles were looked upon as bound to be of divine appointment and their scriptural interpretations were certain to be apostolic. The idea of Church authority in matters of

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>64</sup>*Sermons by Boy Bishop*, p. 3.

<sup>65</sup>Grisdale, p. 71; cf. Ross, p. 119-120, 158.

faith stems from Irenaeus and his successors.<sup>66</sup> "Papal authority in matters of interpretation was first clearly set forth by Alain de Lille (c. 1128-1203) in the late middle ages."<sup>67</sup> The late-medieval preachers adhered to a concept of the Church and its authority as an interpreter of Scripture, and a concept of a mediatorial earthly priesthood, which had been dignified by centuries of acceptance and application.

### *The Structure of Society*

As we have seen, Wimbledon's famous Middle-English sermon is based on the parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16). In its original setting, the parable is designed to teach that salvation is available irrespective of the length of time spent in service. The eleventh-hour laborers are rewarded equally with those who have borne the heat and burden of the day. In the hands of Wimbledon, the parable is made to teach a three-structured society (priests, knights, or rulers, and laborers) with an essential division of labor in the third class.<sup>68</sup> Wimbledon is at great pains to extol the virtues of the medieval class structure and to furnish scriptural backing for it.

Fitz-James in his *Sermo die lune in ebdomada Pasche* manifests similar respect for the political and societal status quo. He quotes 1 Pet 2:13, 14, 18, Scripture verses which enjoin obedience to secular law, to king, and to governors. Not only are good rulers to be obeyed, but also the "wylde and lewde of theyr disposycyon."<sup>69</sup> Fitz-James also cites Augustine, who maintained on the basis of Christ's teaching that just as children are to obey their parents, so subjects are to obey "theyr hedes and prelates."<sup>70</sup>

The Boy Bishop invited prayer for the rulers of all lands, and especially for those of England. The king, queen, and members of

<sup>66</sup>Kelly, pp. 37-39, 40, 50; James D. Wood, *The Interpretation of the Bible: A Historical Introduction* (London, 1958), pp. 45-47; J. K. C. von Hofman, *Interpreting the Bible* (Minneapolis, 1959), pp. 7-8; *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1950 ed., s.v. "Exegesis or Hermeneutics," by Henry S. Nash.

<sup>67</sup>Grant, p. 96.

<sup>68</sup>Sundén, pp. 2-13.

<sup>69</sup>Fitz-James, sigs. gi<sup>v</sup>-gii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

the royal family, along with the lords of the realm and mayor, aldermen and sheriffs of London are, he said, to be respected and prayed for.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, Grisdale's third preacher is concerned for the "pes & tranquilite of this rem . . .," and kings, lords, and local authorities are to be the subject of the prayers of the laity.<sup>72</sup>

Mirk takes the position that it is the special grace of God that makes some men rich and some poor.<sup>73</sup> The rich man has the responsibility to "socour the pore yn hor nede and soo wyth hor good by hom Heven . . ."; the poverty of others is their salvation, "for God knowethe wele, yf thay wern rych, thay wold, forgete hor God, and soo spyll homselfe."<sup>74</sup> So the rich should not be enamored of their riches, but should credit their good fortune to God. And the poor man was not to be envious of the rich, but was to "take his poverté in pacyence and thonke God of hys grace: for, at the last, he schall have that for the best."<sup>75</sup>

There is no indication in these late-medieval sermons of any political or social unrest. The hierarchical structure of society is accepted and exonerated without question. Monarchy and aristocracy are treated as facts of life which are thoroughly in accord with the spirit of the Gospel. To late-medieval preachers, the ultimate concern was salvation, and if poverty contributed to a man's chances of such, it was a very salutary thing.

### *Ethical Emphases*

Christian ethics as understood by late-medieval preachers formed a major part of their sermons. For example, Wimbledon uses an allegorical interpretation of a vision from the book of Zechariah to illustrate the evil of covetousness. He reminds his listeners of Balaam whose salient characteristic was covetousness, and of Achan, Judas, and Ahab, who were destroyed by the same problem.<sup>76</sup> Wimbledon also inveighs against dishonesty, cursing,

<sup>71</sup>*Sermons by Boy Bishop*, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup>Grisdale, p. 53.

<sup>73</sup>Mirk, p. 86.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>76</sup>Sundén, pp. 14-15.

fraud, harsh criticism (“scornynge, and bacbytyne”), pride, lechery, and gluttony.<sup>77</sup>

Ross's collection of Middle-English sermons contains much that is designed to engender in the listener a healthy respect for moral law and a genuine fear of divergence from it. Sermon 12, for instance, lists the seven deadly sins—pride, lechery, covetousness, wrath, envy, sloth, and gluttony—and indicates that these are the sins which destroy a man and bring upon him divine wrath. In fact, the root of all ethical and moral problems, according to this preacher, is pride.<sup>78</sup>

Often in these sermons edited by Ross, the sinner is rather bitterly condemned. The preacher of sermon 18 quotes Paul's epistle to the Philippians in his attack on the lecherous and gluttonous, “of whom the ende is death,” etc. (Phil 3:19). He condemns commandment breakers and urges penance as the solution.<sup>79</sup> He fails, however, to emulate Paul in giving corresponding space and time to the solution of spiritual and ethical problems. This sort of procedure is characteristic of the late-medieval sermons examined by the present writer. The emphasis on ethical and spiritual failure and its concomitant punishment is quite out of proportion with any attempt to suggest a solution. In other words, the sermons are long on diagnosis and short on prescription. The evident concern is to engender conformity of the laity rather than to rehabilitate the degenerate.

### *Doctrinal Emphases*

As would be expected, the specific doctrines which constantly reappear in late-medieval sermons are those which are usually associated with the teachings of the established Church. Eschatology is featured relatively prominently. The soul of man is considered immortal.<sup>80</sup> Hence, every human being can look forward to an eternity in either heaven or hell. The latter, along with purgatory,

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>78</sup>Ross, pp. 67-68.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 107-108.

<sup>80</sup>See, e.g., Mirk, p. 69; Ross, p. 6.

is depicted in the most lurid colors.<sup>81</sup> The doctrine of the Trinity as traditionally understood since the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) is quite in evidence.<sup>82</sup> The incarnation of Christ is likewise depicted in terms which are quite traditional to Christian theology.<sup>83</sup>

On the question of original sin, the teaching of the sermons is substantially identical with the Augustinian doctrine that inherited guilt is removed by infant baptism since the Cross, just as it was, in a typical and provisional sense, by circumcision before the Cross. Fitz-James explains that circumcision was replaced by baptism, stating that circumcision as given to Abraham did "not open the gates of heven" since at that time "the pryce was not payed of our Sauour Crist Jhus moost precyous blood and dethe. . . ."<sup>84</sup>

Late-medieval sermons presented the laity with a highly sacramental mode of religious belief and practice. Sermon 6 of Ross's collection, for example, lists the seven sacraments (baptism, confirmation, penance, transubstantiation or the Mass, orders, matrimony, extreme unction) and briefly discusses each.<sup>85</sup> A motif which emerges often in these sermons is the doctrine of sacramental grace. Christ will save us if we do penance and partake of his actual body and blood. There are extreme penalties for not entering into the performance of the sacramental rites. These penalties are illustrated vividly by use of miracle-stories and legends which are obviously designed to consume the listeners with fear of nonconformity.<sup>86</sup>

In the sermons, the sacrament of penance is closely related to the divine powers of the priesthood, Christ having given the priests the power to forgive sins.<sup>87</sup> Likewise, Christ not only gave his own

<sup>81</sup>See, e.g., Grisdale, p. 14; cf. Ross, pp. 15, 18, 171, 174, 240.

<sup>82</sup>See, e.g., Mirk, pp. 51, 76, 166; Fitz-James, sigs. cii<sup>r</sup>-ciii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>83</sup>See, e.g., Fitz-James, sigs. cii<sup>v</sup>, dii<sup>r</sup>, div<sup>r</sup>-div<sup>v</sup>, dv<sup>v</sup>, gi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., sig. civ<sup>v</sup>; cf. *Sermons by Boy Bishop*, pp. 2, 5; Grisdale, pp. 56-57.

<sup>85</sup>Ross, p. 30.

<sup>86</sup>On the question of the sacraments and their importance, see Fitz-James, sigs. di<sup>v</sup>-dii<sup>r</sup>, evi<sup>r</sup>-fiii<sup>r</sup>; Mirk, p. 51; Ross, pp. 30, 126, 132.

<sup>87</sup>Fitz-James, sigs. fi<sup>v</sup>-fiii<sup>r</sup>. On the overall teaching of the sermons concerning the sacrament of penance, see Fitz-James, eiv<sup>v</sup>, evi<sup>v</sup>; *Sermons by Boy Bishop*, p. 9; Grisdale, pp. 19, 29, 45, 60; Mirk, pp. 2, 67-68, 89-90, 95, 203-204, 262; Ross, pp. 30, 104, 106, 108, 112, 116, 132, 141, 147, 158, 206, 274, 278-279, 283, 287, 311.

flesh and blood to the apostles, but conferred upon Christian priests the power of transubstantiation. In the words of Mirk, Christ gave to his disciples and "to al othyr prestes, zee and to al othyr prestes, power and dignite forto make his body of bred and wyne yn the auter. . . ."<sup>88</sup> Precisely this question of transubstantiation was to become the subject of much eloquent and polemical preaching in sixteenth-century England, as Anglicans and Puritans challenged the Catholic teaching. Inasmuch as each side sought biblical support for its position, the differences in exegetical method and presuppositions in regard to doctrinal authority are especially apparent in sermons dealing with this issue.

Despite the great stress on sacramental grace and forgiveness in late-medieval sermons, occasionally a preacher would suggest that God is well able to forgive sins directly.<sup>89</sup> This is a relatively minor motif, however, and its appearance was obviously not designed to detract in any way from the orthodox doctrine of penance. Justification, involving the gift of divine grace, is associated by Mirk with performance of the sacramental rites of the Church; and although the preachers of Ross's collection of sermons occasionally speak of God's free gift of grace in a manner similar to that employed by the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers, there is no attempt to contradict the sacramental emphasis elsewhere apparent in the same sermons.<sup>90</sup> Good works are performed by virtue of the gift of God's righteousness, according to the preacher of sermon 15; but one's good deeds are the means by which heaven is won, according to sermon 51.<sup>91</sup> The point seems to be that there is a cooperation between the believer and God. Human works do count for something in respect to justification, even though works without the gift of grace are of no value.<sup>92</sup>

It is not uncommon for late-medieval preachers to contrast the OT era unfavorably with the NT era. In fact, the impression is given that the period prior to Christ was characterized by an

<sup>88</sup>Mirk, pp. 168-169; cf. pp. 64, 125-126, 168, 170, 173; Fitz-James, sigs. fi<sup>v</sup>, fiii<sup>v</sup>; Grisdale, pp. 71-72; Ross, pp. 30-31, 52, 65, 97, 127, 129-131, 159.

<sup>89</sup>Mirk, pp. 76, 92; Ross, pp. 28, 115, 160, 178.

<sup>90</sup>Mirk, p. 91 (cf. p. 86), and Ross, pp. 117, 163, 200, 207, 243, 247, 250, 270.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-85, 334.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., pp. 12, 21, 59, 152; Mirk, p. 168.

unsatisfactory application of the law of Moses, while the Christian era is an age of God's mercy, with greater availability of forgiveness and grace.<sup>93</sup> The law of Moses was the law of vengeance which failed to save man's soul, "than com Crist, and with is precieuse blode he made man hole."<sup>94</sup> The period before Christ was the age of the "olde law,"<sup>95</sup> by contrast with the age of the new law since the Cross.<sup>96</sup>

The denigration of the OT era is despite the analogy drawn between Christian and Aaronic sacerdotalism and sacramentalism, and despite the emphasis upon the soteriological significance of good works and commandment-keeping. The inconsistency is interesting. Perhaps the NT rejection of the "Old Covenant" and anti-Semitism of the post-apostolic Church were responsible for rejection of much of the "old law," while the obvious analogy between the medieval concept of the Church and the structure of the Israelitic religious system invited an appeal to the OT for justification of the medieval priesthood and ritualism.

#### *Summary and Conclusion*

In terms of exegetical method, the salient characteristic of the late-medieval sermons was allegory. Confronted by the need to justify from the Bible the current religious, social, and political system, preachers employed allegorical interpretation as a method of determining so-called deeper spiritual meanings of the Scriptures. Interpretation of the Bible was, therefore, highly subjective. What the preacher was looking for was what he found, irrespective of actual meanings which could have been determined by context, language, and comparison with related biblical material. Preachers of the late Middle Ages were thus perpetuating an exegetical method which was employed in antiquity by interpreters of Homer, and which was introduced into the Christian Church via the late second- and early third-century Alexandrian theologians, who accepted and applied the Philonic method. Augustine and Gregory

<sup>93</sup>Grisdale, p. 15.

<sup>94</sup>Ross, p. 126.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 214.

<sup>96</sup>Fitz-James, sigs. di<sup>v</sup>-dii<sup>r</sup>; *Sermons by Boy Bishop*, pp. 7-9.

the Great handed the Alexandrian method on to the Middle Ages, and the late-medieval English preachers used it extensively.

To a lesser extent, the sermons of the late Middle Ages also give evidence of typology. This involved a recognition of the NT fulfillments and applications of so-called OT types. The preacher's interpretations were governed by applications made by later Bible writers. There was an attempt to find deeper meanings only in those materials which were seen to be predictive of later Christian motifs. To some extent typology was used by Origen, Augustine, and other Fathers of the early Christian Church, and to some extent it is to be detected in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sermons. But for both the early Fathers and the medieval preachers, typology tended to merge into allegorization. Christian symbolism was often seen in OT pericopes which had no typological or predictive elements.

Although the preachers of the late Middle Ages often presented biblical material in a substantially literal manner, they usually embellished their literal expositions with redactional, legendary, and fabulous elements which, in many cases, were clearly designed to justify or exonerate the ecclesiastical, doctrinal, ethical, and political status quo. If an extra-biblical miracle-story could substantiate in the minds of the laity the pangs of hell-fire or the validity of transubstantiation, it was used and, judging by the eloquence of the rhetoric and lurid nature of the stories, with considerable homiletic success. Often preachers had recourse to the writings of the early Church Fathers and medieval Doctors as authoritative interpreters of Scripture. Pagan philosophers used by the earlier Christian writers were occasionally cited by the late-medieval preachers as sources of secondary corroborative evidence.

The world view which emerged from the Scriptures by the application of these exegetical techniques was that which has come to be regarded as typically medieval. The Church, which was sometimes spoken of as superior to the State, was depicted as justifiably papal, hierarchical, and sacerdotal. Secular government was viewed as quite legitimately monarchical and aristocratic. The ethics of the Church were those which the preachers found in the Bible, conformity to which was essential to salvation, and rejection of which would result in ecclesiastically imposed penalties with the

very real possibility of the temporary pains of purgatory, or ultimate eternal suffering in hell.

The doctrines which the preachers employed the Scriptures to substantiate were those of the established Church, such as immortality of the soul, eternal salvation for the saved and damnation for the lost, the Trinity, the virgin birth of Christ, Augustinian original sin, sacramental grace, faith-plus-works as the means of justification, and a sort of dispensationalism which denigrated the Mosaic system in contrast to the Christian. The techniques of biblical interpretation employed and the message which emerged were such as to confirm the laity in their acceptance of the dogmas and practices of the Church.

A major reason suggested here for the rejection by later English preachers of the medieval exegetical method was their acceptance of the new philological approach of Renaissance humanists. This fact can be well demonstrated from the sermons of humanist-inclined Anglicans. It is somewhat more difficult to show a direct causal relationship between the new philosophical world view of humanists and that of the Anglicans. Certainly, there were definite similarities in tendency between humanist attitudes to the Church, society, ethics, and doctrine, and those which were manifested by sixteenth-century Anglican preachers. This similar tendency was not unlike that which resulted in a measure of sympathy and rapport between Erasmus and Luther.



"THE LEAST OF THE COMMANDMENTS":  
DEUTERONOMY 22:6-7 IN RABBINIC JUDAISM  
AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

ROBERT M. JOHNSTON  
Andrews University

Climaxing a passage which some find theologically or critically difficult, Matt 5:19 reports Jesus as saying: "Whoever then relaxes one of the least of these commandments and teaches men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven." The culprits in view have been variously identified with Paul or Paulinists, Libertines, or casuistic Pharisees. Others have theorized that this logion was a dominical saying lifted out of its original context, which was a controversy in which Jesus was addressing Pharisees who had accused him of antinomianism.

Still another question arises: What, precisely, is meant by "the least of these commandments"? G. D. Kilpatrick<sup>1</sup> and more recently R. J. Banks<sup>2</sup> have argued implausibly that Jesus was referring to his own instruction, but with good reason most interpreters

<sup>1</sup>G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 25-26. Kilpatrick argues that originally Matt 5:19 followed vs. 41, so that the phrase "the least of these commandments" refers to the commandments as revised by Jesus in vs. 21, 27, 33, 38. This conclusion, prompted by the lack of an antecedent for "these," is opposed by W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 355.

<sup>2</sup>R. J. Banks, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law: Authenticity and Interpretation in Matthew 5:17-20," *JBL* 93 (1974): 226-242. This article is included without significant change as a chapter in R. J. Banks, *Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition*, SNTS Monograph Series 28 (London, 1975). As one reviewer has mildly observed, the attraction of Banks's understanding of Matt 5:19 "must, however, be set against the improbability that Matthew could have allowed the term *entolai* to follow so closely on a reference to the Old Testament laws in verse 18 and yet expected it to be understood in a quite different and, in his Gospel, unique sense. The natural flow of thought is strongly against Banks' argument here. . ." (Dick France in *Themelios* 2/1 [1976]: 30; cf. David Wenham, "Jesus and the Law: An Exegesis on Matthew 5:17-20," *Themelios* 4 [1979]: 92-96).

have understood the "commandments" to refer to the laws of the Torah—whether conceived as limited to the Decalogue, or viewed more broadly as embracing the entire Mosaic code of 613 precepts, as traditionally numbered. But even if the usual interpretation is accepted, what specific commandment or commandments are here called "least"?

This article will argue that the Matthaean or dominical expression refers to the law of the bird's nest in Deut 22:6-7, or at least includes it. That law occurs in a section of Deuteronomy which contains a number of other laws that seem to be aimed at promoting humane treatment of animals. This is virtually unparalleled elsewhere in the Torah, except perhaps in Lev 22:26-30. The law of the nest reads: "If you chance upon a bird's nest, in any tree or on the ground, with young ones or eggs and the mother sitting upon the young or upon the eggs, you shall not take the mother with the young; you shall surely send the mother away, but the young you may take to yourself; that it may be well with you, and that you may prolong your days."

### 1. *Two Preliminary Linguistic Observations*

We must first make two linguistic observations. First, as Alexander Sand points out,<sup>3</sup> Matthew uses the words *nomos* and *entolē* differently and with quite precise meanings. *Nomos* is the equivalent of *tōrāh*, referring to the whole body of Mosaic law. *Entolē* translates *mišwāh* and is used of individual precepts, whether one of the Ten Words, as in 15:3 or 19:17, or one of the other Mosaic precepts, as in 22:36, 38, 40.

Second, in order to make sense out of the saying in Matt 5:19, we must accept the point made by T. W. Manson and others, namely that the Greek phrase translated "one of the least of these commandments" represents an Aramaic idiom which would be more correctly expressed simply, "one of the least commandments."<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew idiom was literally "light commandments,"

<sup>3</sup>Alexander Sand, *Das Gesetz und die Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Evangeliums nach Matthäus* (Regensburg, 1974), pp. 33-36.

<sup>4</sup>T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1979), p. 154. Manson is probably following G. H. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua: Studies in the Gospels* (New York, 1929), p. 62.

as contrasted with “weighty” ones (*mišwôṭ qalôṭ we-mišwôṭ homerôṭ*).

Matt 23:23 reflects something akin to this idiom: “Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you tithe mint and dill and cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faith; these you ought to have done, without neglecting those others.” We do not have here a completely parallel usage, however, for no specifically biblical commandment is cited or alluded to; rather, the concrete *application* of one of the Mosaic commandments—that of tithing—is contrasted with abstract *principles*—justice, mercy, and faith—which underlie the entire Torah. The expression, “the least of the commandments,” on the other hand, must refer to neither an application nor a general principle, but to a specific precept.

## 2. *Light and Weighty Precepts*

The apparently Hillelite distinction between light and weighty precepts is a commonplace throughout rabbinic literature, but—perhaps as a concession to Shammaite sentiments—the contrast is generally made in a context which stresses that both kinds of commandment are equally binding and stringent. Thus, the Jamnian Tanna Simeon b. Azzai said: “Run to the light as well as to the weighty commandment” (Aboth 4:2);<sup>5</sup> and Judah ha-Nasi said: “Be as heedful of a light commandment as of a weighty one, for thou knowest not the recompense of reward of each commandment” (Aboth 2:1).

The quintessential example of a light commandment was the law of the nest (Deut 22:6-7), which for rhetorical reasons made an especially attractive contrast with the fifth commandment of the Decalogue in Deut 5:16—“Honor your father and your mother”—, for to these commandments were attached the same promises, “that your days may be prolonged” and “that it may be well with you.” Abba b. Kahana is credited with the clearest expression of this relationship: “The Scripture has made alike the least of the commandments and the weightiest of the commandments. The least commandment is that dealing with sending away the mother bird

<sup>5</sup>Cf. also Aboth de R. Nathan (resc. B), 2:3.

[Deut 22:6-7], and the weightiest is that dealing with honoring parents [Exod 20:12]; and with both it is written, "That you may prolong your days'" (pQid. 1, 61b, 58).

A more elaborate version of Abba b. Kahana's dictum is in Deut. R. 6:2:

R. Abba b. Kahana said: The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Do not spend time weighing up the precepts of the Torah . . . and do not say, "Seeing that this precept is a great one, I will perform it because its reward is great, and seeing that the other precept is a minor one, I will not perform it." What did God do? He did not reveal to His creatures the reward for each separate precept, so that they may perform all the precepts without questioning. . . . So God did not reveal the reward of the precepts except two, the weightiest and the least weighty. The honoring of parents is the very weightiest and its reward is long life, as it is said, "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long" [Exod 20:12]; and the sending away of the mother bird is the least weighty, and what is its reward? Length of days, as it is said, "That it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days." Hence the force of, "If thou chance upon a bird's nest."

Abba b. Kahana is a relatively late witness to this conception (late third century), but there is good reason to believe that he did not originate it; he is only the one who articulated it most neatly. His thought is really an expansion of the dictum ascribed to Judah ha-Nasi, quoted earlier. Even more important is the conclusion of the Mishnaic halakot based on the law of the nest, in Hullin 12: "If then of so light a precept concerning what is worth but one assarium the Law has said 'that it may be well with thee and that thou mayest prolong thy days,' how much more for the weightier precepts of the Law!" (Hullin 12:5b).

### 3. *Two Lessons: Importance of Law and Importance of Human Beings*

This last passage illustrates one of the two chief lessons for which the law of the nest is adduced in classical rabbinic literature. For the rabbis, this law taught two things: the importance of the law and the importance of human beings. If God is concerned about something so trivial, *a fortiori*, how much more is he particular about his weighty commandments. If God is concerned

about little birds, *qal we-homer*, how much more important is man! The birds are not important in themselves; they are but a foil for more important things. God's compassion for cattle and mercy for birds are affirmed (Deut. R. 6:1 and Lev. R. 27:11),<sup>6</sup> but only to assure us of his concern for greater things.

God, says an anonymous midrash, “left not a thing in the world in connection with which He did not charge Israel with some commandment” (Num. R. 17:5), such as plowing, sowing, reaping, threshing, kneading dough, eating meat, slaughtering, and the bird's nest—there is a commandment about all of these things, showing how God is concerned about even the most trivial act.

Accordingly, the bird's-nest law underwent considerable halakic elaboration. The basic halakah is in Hullin 12, further supplemented in Tos. Hullin 10, and expanded in the Gemaras and Sifre on Deuteronomy, as well as other midrashim. Related mishnayot are also in Makkot 3:4, Berakot 5:3, and Megillah 4:9. We learn, for example, that the law applies only to wild birds, not domesticated fowl (Hullin 12:1, etc.), for the Scripture says, “If you *chance* upon a bird's nest.” Unclean birds are also exempted (Hullin 12:2). If the mother bird was hovering over the nest, but not sitting on it, the law did not apply unless her wings touched it (Hullin 140b).

There was a dispute about whether the law applied to wild doves of the dove-cote (Hullin 141b), about whether a man could keep the mother bird if he were willing to incur the forty stripes (Mak. 3:4), and about whether the law applied to a captive fowl which had been consecrated to the Temple but had broken loose and escaped (Hullin 139a). The finder of the mother-bird, if ignorant that she had been sent away from the nest, could eat her without transgressing (Hullin 115a), but the law of the nest applies irrespective of how many times the mother bird returns to the nest. Moreover, it applies under all circumstances—whether the birds are taken for food or for the fulfillment of some other precept, such as for the sacrifice for a cleansed leper prescribed in Lev 14:4-7 (B.M. 31a).

<sup>6</sup>Cf. J. Wohlgenuth, “Vom Tier und seiner Wertung,” *Jeschurun* 14 (1927): 585-610; “Das Leid der Tiere,” *Jeschurun* 15 (1928): 245-267, 452-468; “Einführung in das Empfindungsleben der Tiere,” *Jeschurun* 16 (1929): 455-481, 535-567.

The promises attached to the law of the nest gave rise to a poignant theological problem:

It was taught: R. Jacob [2d-cent. Tanna] says: There is no precept in the Torah, where reward is stated by its side, from which you cannot infer the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. Thus, in connection with honoring parents it is written: "That thy days may be prolonged and that it may be well with thee." Again in connection with the law of letting the mother bird go from the nest it is written, "That it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days." Now in the case where a man's father said to him: "Go up to the top of the building and bring me down some young birds," and he went up to the top of the building, let the dam go and took the young ones, and on his return he fell and was killed—where is this man's length of days, and where is his happiness? But "that thy days may be prolonged" refers to the world that is wholly long, and "that it may be well with thee" refers to the world that is wholly good (Hullin 142a; cf. Tos. Hullin 10:16).

The Gemara informs us that R. Jacob actually saw such an occurrence. We are also told that it was a similar accident which caused Elishah b. Abuyah to lose his faith and apostatize, because he did not recognize the eschatological force of these promises as R. Jacob did (Hullin 142a; Qid. 39b; Ruth R. 6:4; Eccl. R. 7:8:1; pHag. 2:1).<sup>7</sup>

Thus the *mišwah* of the bird's nest serves to teach the stringency of the Torah and the rewards for keeping it, if not in this life, at least in the world to come. But the Rabbis also cited this precept to stress the duty to treat human beings humanely. Thus Deut 22:7 is seen as being violated by Pharaoh when he sent the fathers away and cast the sons into the river. Hence God said, "I also will cast thee into the sea and make thee perish," as is implied in Ps 136:15; but God himself did obey his law of not taking the mother bird with the young, for he said to Pharaoh: "Thy daughter, however, I will take and cause her to inherit Paradise" (Ex. R. 20:4; cf. Num. R. 10:2, where it says that Pharaoh's daughter was one of those who entered Paradise while still alive). In Gen. R. 76:6, the law of the nest is applied to Gen 32:11b (Heb., vs. 12), where Jacob prays God to deliver him from the hand of Esau, "lest he come and

<sup>7</sup>The concern here resembles that of Paul in 1 Cor 15:19-20.

slay us all, the mothers with the children.” Abba b. Kahana, commenting on Lam 1:9, observes that the enemy transgressed the Torah in two matters: “It is written, ‘Thou shalt not take the mother with the young’ [Deut 22:6], but here [it is recorded], ‘The mother was dashed in pieces with her children’ [Hos 10:14], which was contrary to Thy Torah” (Lam. R. 1:9:37). That is to say, one transgresses the law of the nest by murdering human mothers.

The second-century Tanna Simeon b. Eleazar cites God’s care for lowly creatures as proof of the worth of human beings, though he has a second thought about the matter: “Hast thou ever seen a wild animal or a bird practising a craft?—yet they have their sustenance without care and were they not created for naught else but to serve me? But I was created to serve my Maker. How much more then ought not I to have my sustenance without care? But I have wrought evil, and [so] forfeited my [right to] sustenance [without care]” (Qiddushin 4:14). Thus, one must take anxious thought about his life, after all! (Cf. Matt 6:26, where the same lesson is drawn from the birds, but without retraction at the end.)

Two parallel mishnayyot (Ber. 5:3 and Meg. 4:9) seem explicitly to disavow that the law of the nest bespeaks mercy for birds. The first reference reads: “If a man said [in his prayer], ‘To a bird’s nest do Thy mercies extend,’ or ‘May Thy name be remembered for the good [which Thou hast wrought],’ or ‘We give thanks, we give thanks,’ they put him to silence.” The second reference introduces virtually the same halakah thus: “If a man said [in his prayer], ‘Good men shall bless thee!’ this is the way of heresy; [if he said,] ‘Even to a bird’s nest do Thy mercies extend . . . they put him to silence.”

The Gemara cites two different explanations of the disapproval of the prayer that blesses God for mercy to bird’s nests. Jose b. Abin says it is because the petitioner “creates jealousy among God’s creatures,” but Jose b. Zebida says more directly that it is “because he presents the ordinances of the Holy One, blessed be He, as springing from compassion, whereas they are but decrees” (Ber. 33b; Meg. 25a).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>I am grateful to Allan D. Kensky and Tikva Frymer-Kensky of Ann Arbor, Michigan, for their suggestion that the prohibition was introduced because such a prayer may have been used by Christians, and because it was interpreted as limiting God’s concern.

The commandment, not the sparrow, is important. The word used for bird in Deut 22:6-7 is *šipôr*, generally a small bird, and generally understood to refer to undomesticated clean birds (cf. Hullin 139b-140a). The word is cognate with the Arabic *ʿašfûr*, which means sparrow, and the word may very well even be related to the Greek *sparassion*, the Latin *passer*, and the English word *sparrow*. It is translated "sparrow" in the RSV of Ps 84:3 (4) and Prov 26:2. In the LXX, *šipôr* is generally translated *strouthion*, which is always understood to mean "sparrow" in the NT. Sparrows were the cheapest form of life, a proverbial symbol of low value.

#### 4. *Bird-Sayings and Related Concepts in the NT*

We may turn now from the rabbinic literature to the sparrow-sayings in the NT. Matt 10:29-31 states: "Are not two sparrows sold for an assarium? And not one of them will fall to the ground without your Father's will. . . . Fear not, therefore: You are more important than many sparrows." The Lucan parallel (Luke 12:6-7b) advertises five sparrows for two assariums. Hullin 12:5 prices one sparrow at one assarium. Thus, one assarium will purchase two and a half sparrows in Luke, two in Matthew, and only one in the Mishnah.<sup>9</sup> In any case, the *assarium* (Gk., *assarion*; Heb., *ʿisār*) was virtually the smallest unit of currency, hence usually translated by the English "farthing" or "penny."<sup>10</sup> God's care for the worthless bird is used to prove his concern for human beings.

The same message is to be obtained from Matt 6:26 and the Lucan parallel: "Look at the birds of the air: they neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not of more value than they?" We have already noted the close similarity of this saying to that of Simeon b. Eleazar in the Mishnah (Qid. 4:14). The primary thrust is the same.

Paul also makes this kind of use of the Mosaic laws which apparently had been intended to protect animals. Thus, in 1 Cor 9:9-10 he writes: "For it is written in the law of Moses, 'You shall not muzzle an ox when it is treading out the grain' [Deut 25:4]. Is it for oxen that God is concerned? Does He not speak entirely for our sake? It was written for our sake, because the plowman should

<sup>9</sup>I am tempted to attribute this discrepancy to the progress of inflation!

<sup>10</sup>Two *assaria* = one *pondion*; twelve *pondia* = one *denarius*.

plow in hope, and the thresher thresh in hope of a share in the crop." Paul's point is that therefore preachers should not be deprived of their due. (Cf. 1 Tim 5:17-18.)

Deut 22:10 inserts into the Levitical law of mixtures (Lev 19:19) the commandment, "You shall not plow with an ox and an ass yoked together." Whatever the original intent of this law may have been, Paul seizes upon it to teach a spiritual lesson about human beings: "Do not become unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what partnership have righteousness and iniquity? Or what fellowship has light with darkness? What harmony has Christ with Belial? Or what has a believer in common with an unbeliever?" (2 Cor 6:14-15). The NT attitude, wherever we can test it, appears to be identical with that of the rabbinic literature: Human beings, not birds, are important.

Not only do the bird-sayings of Jesus and the rabbinic halakot concerning the bird's-nest law share a human orientation, but associated with them both is an eschatological motif. Just as R. Jacob interpreted the promise, "that it may be well with thee and that thou mayest prolong thy days," so as to refer to the World to Come, and warns against applying it to this life, even so Jesus prefixes his sparrow-saying with the admonition, "Do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul. . ." (Matt 10:28).

##### 5. *Bird-Sayings in Patristic Literature*

There is nothing in the earlier patristic literature to change the tendency which we have noted in rabbinic literature and the NT. Although none of the early Fathers refer to Deut 22:6-7, or for that matter to Matt 5:19, Matt 10:29 was a favorite text of several of them: "Are not two sparrows sold for an assarium? . . ." Irenaeus cites this text several times in polemical contexts (*Adv. haer.* 2.26.2; 2.28.9; 5.22.2); he is mainly concerned to say that it would be impious and arrogant for someone to seize upon these words out of idle scientific curiosity and seek to determine the number of hairs on his own head or the number of sparrows captured in a day—information which spiritual men leave exclusively to God's ken. Tertullian, who refers to the verse in five different places, resembles more closely what we have seen. He argues *a fortiori* that martyrs are better than many sparrows (*De fuga* 3.2). The two sparrows of the Lucan saying represent flesh and spirit; and if they fall to the

ground, we will nevertheless be resurrected (*Scorpiace* 9.7-8; *De resurrectione* 35.9-10). Another kind of bird is the phoenix, and like Clement of Rome, Tertullian adduces it as proof of the resurrection. He concludes: "Our Lord has declared that we are 'better than many sparrows:' well, if not better than many a phoenix too, it were no great thing. But must men die once for all, while birds in Arabia are sure of a resurrection?" (*De resurrectione* 13.4, as translated in *ANF* 3:554). He also cites Matt 10:29 to show that no spouse dies without the Father's will—God alone can separate what he has joined together. Origen likewise sees in the sparrows an encouragement to martyrdom (*Contra Celsum* 8.70).

#### 6. Conclusion: Community of Ethos

In all these matters there is an evident community of ethos between early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism. The expressions of that ethos are more complete in the rabbinic literature, because it is much more extensive, and because the reference to Mosaic laws such as the law of the bird's nest is much more explicit and direct than what we could expect to find in the NT or even in the Christian patristic literature.

The two main points of this ethos—that the law points to the importance of the law and that it points to the importance of human beings—are each summed up in the words of two great medieval Jewish masters. There is first the legal emphasis, expressed by Rashi in his commentary on Deut 22:6-7: "If (as a reward for the observance of) a light commandment, connected with which there is no monetary loss, the Torah has said, 'That it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days'—how much greater will be the reward (for the observance) of commandments which are more difficult."<sup>11</sup> Then there is the humanitarian emphasis, which is expressed by Maimonides in his explanation of the same passage: "If the Law provides that such grief should not be caused to cattle or birds, how much more careful must we be that

<sup>11</sup>Trans. by Abraham ben Isaiah and Benjamin Sharfman, *The Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary: Deuteronomy* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1950), p. 200.

we should not cause grief to our fellow men" (*Moreh Nebuchin* 3.48).<sup>12</sup>

The second point of this ethos can be clearly documented in the NT, especially in Matthew. We ought to expect to find the first point of it there also, especially in the light of such texts as James 2:10-11 and Gal 5:3. It appears probable that the place to find this emphasis is Matt 5:19. If there was any specific precept of Moses which Matthew or Jesus could call "the least of the commandments," it seems likely that the law of the bird's nest is the best candidate for that distinction. It is so designated in the rabbinic literature, and is the only precept given that appellation there.

<sup>12</sup>Trans. by Charles B. Chavel in *The Commandments: Sefer Ha-Mitzvoth*, vol. 1: *The Positive Commandments* (London, 1967), *ad loc.*



## THE PASTOR AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE CHURCH

ARNOLD KURTZ  
Andrews University

Reinhold Niebuhr is reported to have remarked at a meeting of the National Commission for UNESCO, "What the world needs is a social fabric so tough that it cannot be torn asunder or punched full of holes by conflicts or disputes."<sup>1</sup> Clergymen would probably like to know if there is hope that congregations, which often seem so vulnerable to conflict, might acquire such a healthy toughness.

Organizational theorists have concluded that the more socially mature a system is in its structure and interaction processes, the greater is the probability that conflicts within the organization will be solved constructively.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, this capacity of organizations to cope creatively with conflict between persons and groups has been identified as one of the signs of organizational health.<sup>3</sup> Lewis Coser, in his analysis of social organizations, has noted that conflict "tends to be dysfunctional for a social structure in which there is no or insufficient toleration and institutionalization of conflict. The intensity of a conflict which threatens to 'tear apart' . . . is related to the rigidity of structure."<sup>4</sup>

In a carefully researched and documented management text, Rensis Likert and Jane Gibson Likert describe the shape and nature that a healthy social organization might assume.<sup>5</sup> They

<sup>1</sup>Cited in Rensis Likert and Jane Gibson Likert, *New Ways of Managing Conflict* (New York, 1976), p. 107.

<sup>2</sup>See, e.g., Likert and Likert, pp. 40-41. How structurally to create such an organizational system is a broad subject.

<sup>3</sup>E.g., Jack K. Fordyce and Raymond Weil, *Managing with People* (Reading, Mass., 1971), pp. 11-14.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York, 1956), p. 157.

<sup>5</sup>Likert and Likert, p. 16. They have charted characteristics of management systems on a continuum of one to four—from structurally rigid to open, responsive systems. The basic principles used by managers of the most productive systems,

emphasize also the importance of leadership in building a mature social system, since the interactions occurring within such a system are profoundly affected by leadership. The principle of supportive relationships is, they indicate, fundamental:

The leadership and other processes of the organization must be such as to ensure a maximum probability that in all interactions and all relationships with the organization, each member will, in the light of his background, values, and expectations, view the experience as supportive and one which builds and maintains his sense of personal worth and importance.<sup>6</sup>

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according to their findings, have been integrated into a general organizational system called simply "System 4." A brief description (*ibid.*) follows: "The human organization of a System 4 firm is made up of interlocking work groups with a high degree of group loyalty among the members and favorable attitudes and trust among peers, superiors, and subordinates. Consideration for others and relatively high levels of skill in personal interaction, group problem solving, and other group functions also are present. These skills permit effective participation in decisions on common problems. Participation is used, for example, to establish organizational objectives which are a satisfactory integration of the needs and desires of all the members of the organization and of persons functionally related to it. Members of the organization are highly motivated to achieve the organization's goals. High levels of reciprocal influence occur, and high levels of total coordinated influence are achieved in the organization. Communication is efficient and effective. There is a flow from one part of the organization to another of all the relevant information important for each decision and action. The leadership in the organization has developed a highly effective social system for interaction, problem solving, mutual influence, and organizational achievement. This leadership is technically competent and holds high performance goals."

Writers sympathetic to this management portrait who have made practical application of these principles to the church include the following: Robert C. Worley, *Change in the Church: A Source of Hope* (Philadelphia, 1971); *idem*, *Dry Bones Breathe!* (Chicago, 1978); *idem*, *A Gathering of Strangers* (Philadelphia, 1976); *idem*, *Experiences in Activating Congregations* (Chicago, 1978); Alvin Lindgren and Norman Shawchuck, *Let My People Go* (Nashville, Tenn., 1980); *idem*, *Management for Your Church* (Nashville, Tenn., 1977); Loren Meade, *New Hope for Congregations* (New York, 1972); and James Anderson, *To Come Alive!* (New York, 1973). An earlier book documenting the "Alinsky Controversy" of the mid-60s in the San Francisco Presbytery is Robert Lee and Russell Galloway, *The Schizophrenic Church* (Philadelphia, 1969). It profiles several churches in the midst of conflict and identifies leadership principles and organizational structures in those churches which manifested strength in coping creatively.

<sup>6</sup>Likert and Likert, p. 108.

In an earlier article I dealt with the pastor as conflict manager in the church, noting some basic concepts for understanding and managing conflict and suggesting some strategies for such management.<sup>7</sup> The present article continues the topic, with focus on institutionalizing of conflict management in ways that will be beneficial to the congregation while at the same time hopefully reducing the pastor's own load in this respect. Specifically, I shall (1) describe the essentials for an organizational climate and context for churches in which the management and positive utilization of conflict might become "institutionalized," and (2) suggest procedures for equipping members through education and training to cope constructively with conflict.

### 1. *Climate and Context*

Alvin Lindgren and Norman Shawchuck discuss three primary components of a supportive climate in the church—purpose, persons, and processes.<sup>8</sup> The climate and context conducive to the institutionalizing of conflict management can be treated under those three headings.

#### *Purpose*

Organizations must have clarity of purpose if they are to be supportive of their members. People require that a sense of accomplishment and self-actualization derive from their involvement in organizational activity. In applying the principle of supportive relationships, the leader must help the members to keep firmly in mind the significance of what they and their organization are doing. The leader must see clearly the mission of the organization, be convinced of its importance, and radiate enthusiasm for it.

Unless congregations have a common and clear understanding of why they exist and what they are trying to do, confusion and divisiveness will reign; factions may develop and a smorgasbord of activities may strike out in all directions. Lindgren and Shawchuck discuss procedures for clarifying purpose and drawing up mission statements in the church.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Arnold Kurtz, "The Pastor as a Manager of Conflict in the Church," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 111-126.

<sup>8</sup>Lindgren and Shawchuck, *Let My People Go*, pp. 123-129.

<sup>9</sup>Lindgren and Shawchuck, *Management for Your Church*, pp. 45-49.

*Persons*

As Lindgren and Shawchuck describe it, a supportive climate in congregations is one wherein trust develops and persons relate to one another in mutual service to support and achieve their common purpose. As members are invited to share leadership with the clergy, the development of mutual trust and team spirit contribute to a supportive climate.<sup>10</sup>

Members of the congregation must feel needed and wanted; they must sense that they are a part of a caring fellowship. Wherever there is conflict, whatever the cause, threatened identity is usually a central factor. When people feel insecure, when their sense of personal worth is on a fragile base, tensions mount. On the other hand, where there is a climate of genuine concern and acceptance, where people are heard, where there is empathetic understanding, openness, and trust, there is also a basis for creative coping with conflict. Indeed, it is useless to present alternative solutions and diagnostic insights to people in conflict when they have no real psychic ground on which to stand in relationship to the conflict.

Where pastor and people have a negative self-image, spirals of failure and disaffection are activated. A pastor who has experienced and is able to convey the wholeness of the gospel ought to be able to ask, "How can I help these people feel better about themselves?" In asking the question, the pastor has taken the first step toward reversing those spirals. A supportive climate, a redemptive atmosphere, helps people to develop a personal power-base and frees them to think creatively about ways to solve the conflict.

The church, like any cultural institution, is held together by emotional bonds—a lesson difficult for rational administrators to learn. These emotions surface in times of group tension, as when change (always threatening to some) is introduced. Where change involves a loss of status for certain persons or groups, the sensitive pastor recognizes the emotional factor, understanding that people feel especially emotional about gains and losses, rewards and costs. The pastor's sincere expression of affection and due deference (and pastoral calling) can help to redress the "feelings" imbalance.

<sup>10</sup>Lindgren and Shawchuck, *Let My People Go*, pp. 124-125.

*Processes*

The final component of a supportive climate is the use of processes and procedures that facilitate planning, deciding, and carrying out the activities and experiences required to achieve the organization's purpose. Among the most significant processes are communication, decision-making, and reality-testing.<sup>11</sup>

*Communication.* The quality of communication in a system is crucial. "Communication is the cement which holds organizations together. Only communication enables a group to think, see, and act in common."<sup>12</sup> Because information control is power, pastors need to recognize that their control of information flow places them in a position wherein it is possible to create an imbalance of power. Alienation can result. Robert Worley has observed:

The easier it is for *all* groups in an organization to have their messages heard, to actually have the power to send messages and have them openly received by other groups, including ruling, elite groups, the better the organization functions. All groups including ruling groups, have more power to communicate and, hence, greater capacity to influence decisions and more willingness to act on those decisions. One of the tragedies of our time is that we do not work to make one another powerful.<sup>13</sup>

Worley concludes that as power expands with more people sharing it, the possibility of overcoming alienation occurs. "There is never reconciliation between unequals, between the powerful and the powerless. True reconciliation occurs only between equals."<sup>14</sup>

The foregoing should make it obvious that true communication is of a two-way nature. Communication must not only flow downward (through pulpit pronouncements, bulletins, and church newsletters), but up—and across. Where these channels are blocked, frustrated feelings build and misunderstandings multiply.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 125-126.

<sup>12</sup>Ingo Hermann, "Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in the Church," *Concilium*, 3 (1972): 107.

<sup>13</sup>Worley, *Change in the Church*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

Closely related to the quality of communication in the congregation is a climate of openness. There are many barriers to openness in our culture, particularly in the church. For instance, it is especially hard for Christians to handle hostility. We are supposed to love each other, and when we feel angry it is difficult to admit this. Yet hostilities arise in the church, and the only way to handle them is to bring them out into the open.

It is worth noting that the Christian faith supports a "non-avoiding" theory of conflict. In his teachings, Jesus made it plain that conflict was to be openly confronted, with no time lost quibbling over who should move first—the aggrieved or the initiator of the dispute (Matt 5:24; 18:15-17).

The pastor should seek to create a climate conducive to freedom of expression. Appeals to "Christian love" as a means of pressure to secure conformity must be rejected, and all fear of recrimination must be removed. There must be the belief that people of integrity differ, that they can admit that they differ, and that these differences count, but that the persons involved can and should discuss the substance and bounds of their disagreements and learn to disagree as agreeably as possible.

*Decision-Making.* Another process related to building a supportive climate pertains to decision-making in the organization. Lindgren and Shawchuck observe that "nothing can make the development of a supportive organizational climate more difficult than 'vest pocket' decisions made by a few behind closed doors."<sup>15</sup> Persons and groups affected by decisions must be involved in making them.

Skills in group decision-making, including the use of consensus, are teachable skills.<sup>16</sup> There is evidence to indicate that churches would be well advised to move away from competitive win-lose, majority-vote decisions toward the consensus model of decision-making. This model has been called to attention in my earlier study.<sup>17</sup> Suffice it to reiterate here that consensus constitutes a cooperative effort to find a solution acceptable to everyone rather

<sup>15</sup>Lindgren and Shawchuck, *Let My People Go*, pp. 125-126.

<sup>16</sup>See, e.g., David W. Johnson and Frank P. Johnson, *Joining Together: Group Theory and Group Skills*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1982), pp. 100-121.

<sup>17</sup>Kurtz, p. 119 and n. 30 on pp. 119-120.

than a competitive struggle. With consensus as the pattern of interaction, members need not fear being outsmarted or outmaneuvered by parliamentary procedures. As a rule, when parliamentary procedures are rigidly adhered to, interaction is structured into a win-lose relationship, which may, in turn, transform well-intentioned, intelligent people into warring camps.

As an increasing diversity and pluralism in society spills over into the church, decision-making becomes more difficult and conflictual. Skills in group problem-solving and decision-making are indispensable for congregations that would build a social fabric strong enough to deal creatively with conflict.

*Reality-Testing.* Finally, an essential process in developing a supportive organizational climate is reality-testing. As stated by Lindgren and Shawchuck:

Every organization needs to know how it is doing. If it is not meeting real needs, sooner or later it will find out, perhaps by having to close down. Reliable feedback evaluation is essential and depends upon an honest, open response by those within and without the organization.<sup>18</sup>

Worley reminds us that persons and groups in the church, as in any organization, have "feelings, perceptions, knowledge and evaluations of conditions, programs, persons and groups which affect their participation in congregational life whether such feelings are justified or not."<sup>19</sup> People act, react, and evaluate on the basis of these perceptions.

Processes to aid congregations in the work of self-assessment have been developed and tested. Worley describes the use of survey instruments by means of which members can surface and process their feelings and perceptions.<sup>20</sup>

Another feed-back method involves home-meetings under trained member-conveners who lead small informal groups into a discussion of hopes and concerns which members may have with respect to their church.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Lindgren and Shawchuck, *Let My People Go*, p. 126.

<sup>19</sup>Worley, *Dry Bones Breathe!*, p. 68.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 68-84.

<sup>21</sup>Lindgren and Shawchuck, *Let My People Go*, pp. 73-78; 135-138.

Self-assessment and reality-testing are particularly useful as tools for the anticipatory management of conflict. Wise church leaders have an early warning system to note signs of discontent and to provide for structures and processes to work through potential problem situations.<sup>22</sup> Worley points out:

When leaders of congregations note apathy or ill will among members, low attendance at meetings, expressions of frustration, resentment, and hostility by individuals and groups, self-assessment processes can identify reasons for such behaviors and suggest alternative responses and conditions to that which is producing negative behavior.<sup>23</sup>

The carefully planned use of questionnaires has been found to be helpful not only as a tool for the anticipatory management of conflict, but also in de-escalating conflict that has already arisen. By involving as large a portion of the conflicting parties as possible in designing the questionnaire and deciding upon its use, the "warring" factions are given an experience of successful collaboration. Such an experience helps the parties see each other as competent, human, and able to work with others in a noncombatant role.<sup>24</sup>

The foregoing, then, are in general terms, some of the characteristics of organizational life in churches in which conflict management might become institutionalized. We turn now to the possibilities of freeing a congregation for self-conscious control of conflict through education and training.

## 2. *Equipping for Conflict Through Education and Training*

In an appeal for more openness to conflict research, Ingo Hermann insists that any practice for coping with conflict "must depend to a great extent on enlightenment and a desire for emancipation in the groups involved." Resolution of conflict demands

<sup>22</sup>Rolla Swanson, in *The Chicago Theological Seminary Register* 59/4 (May 1969), p. 26.

<sup>23</sup>Worley, *Dry Bones Breathe!*, p. 68.

<sup>24</sup>Speed Leas and Paul Kittlaus, *Church Fights* (Philadelphia, 1973), pp. 94-95.

rationality, and there can be "no rationality without enlightenment, and no enlightenment which does not lead to the emancipation of man."<sup>25</sup>

Under the doctrine of an "equipping ministry" (in which every pastor sees himself as "dean of a seminary" where members are equipped for ministry), congregations have a right to expect help in developing skills to minister creatively in church conflict. Specifically, sermons and adult-education classes could be employed to instill basic concepts regarding conflict.<sup>26</sup> Workshop materials and kits for skills-training in peace-making and creative utilization of conflict are available to those pastors equipped to use them. One such resource, offered by the United Methodist Church, was developed under the leadership of Charles P. Jaeger of the Board of Discipleship, and is called the "Utilizing Conflict Learning System." Trained leaders help persons in congregations to learn how to utilize conflict. Four three-hour learning modules comprise the system.<sup>27</sup>

An excellent adult education program entitled "Resolving our Differences" has been prepared by Lynn and Juanita Buzzard.<sup>28</sup> The Mennonite Conciliation Service makes available a practical manual entitled, *Repairing the Breach: Ministering in Community*

<sup>25</sup>Hermann, pp. 114-115.

<sup>26</sup>That congregations are ready seriously to look at church conflict is indicated by the interest they manifest in the topic. James Glasse notes a wide and enthusiastic response to his sermon, "Learning to Fight Like Christians in the Church," in which he has popularized "Communal Conflict" (Coser's term) that is fought out according to guidelines accepted by both sides (as in the settling of labor-management disputes). He describes it as a "conflict game" for local churches based on four principles: containment, clarity, consideration, and commitment. See James Glasse, *Putting it Together in the Parish* (New York, 1972), pp. 106-121.

<sup>27</sup>Charles P. Jaeger, ed., *Utilizing Conflict: A Learning System* (Nashville, Tenn., 1976). I have also found very useful the workbook and leaders' guide for *The Art of Christian Relationships* prepared for the American Lutheran Church (Minneapolis, Minn., 1967) as resource material in the training of laymen in the art of Christian interpersonal relationships.

<sup>28</sup>The curriculum is published in workbook form (along with duplicating masters and overhead transparencies and tape) by the David C. Cooke Publishing Co., 850 North Grove Avenue, Elgin, IL 60120.

*Conflict*, by Ronald Kraybill.<sup>29</sup> Another good source of materials, of interest particularly to evangelical Christians, is the Christian Conciliation Service. This is a recently formed service of the Christian Legal Society, a network of evangelical lawyers which provides Christian lawyers as mediators or arbitrators in several metropolitan areas nationwide.<sup>30</sup>

Classes in group process are especially useful for church congregations. A wealth of guidance is becoming available to this field, including such books as Philip Anderson's *Church Meetings That Matter* and David W. and Frank R. Johnson's *Joining Together: Group Theory and Group Skills*.<sup>31</sup> Most church groups are largely task-oriented. Anxious to push the agenda through, there is little or no awareness of the critical need for the "maintenance" or group-morale functions of the "Harmonizer," "Encourager," or "Conciliator" which, under the shared leadership concept, can be performed by any member as the need arises.

### 3. Conclusion

My previous article and the present one have endeavored to call attention to understandings, principles, strategies, and resources that will be helpful to pastors toward positive church growth in this important area of conflict management.

The science of conflict management is a field of interest and relevance for pastors. Because of its contact with a wide variety of disciplines, a study of it has synthesizing value, for it provides a practical focal point for many of the elements in that body of knowledge to which the professionally trained minister would have already had exposure.

<sup>29</sup>Conciliation Services, Mennonite Central Committee U.S., Akron, PA 17501.

<sup>30</sup>Christian Conciliation Service, P. O. Box 2069, Oak Park, IL 60303. The Christian Legal Society recently conducted a national conference at Wheaton College in which the biblical emphasis was placed on reconciliation and the church's duty to handle disputes between Christians apart from the secular courts.

<sup>31</sup>Philip Anderson, *Church Meetings That Matter* (Philadelphia, 1967); and the work by Johnson and Johnson cited in n. 16, above. The former is a well-written book prepared for the lay leader, and the latter is a textbook from which training courses can be developed.

Like all who bear responsibility for groups of people, pastors have special reasons for informing and equipping themselves for intelligent action in relationships. Their task is to see and to depict creative elements in both cooperation and conflict. It is their duty to develop a sense of faithfulness in the face of inevitable conflict where the choice is between obedience to God or to man. It is also their task to depict forms of legitimate conflict and to develop the wisdom which discriminates between that to which God calls and that in which only man's pretense is at stake.

Administration is demanding an increasingly larger portion of the pastor's time and energy. Conflict management is a fundamental administrative skill, and one basis for measuring the progress of pastors as administrators might well be the nature and resolution of the conflicts in their organizational systems. As individuals develop spiritually, their conflicts rise to a higher level, and pastors might well test their administrative progress by asking, "What conflicts am I experiencing in my church, and how am I coping with them?"



## DARIUS THE MEDE: AN UPDATE

WILLIAM H. SHEA  
Andrews University

The two main historical problems which confront us in the sixth chapter of Daniel have to do with the two main historical figures in it, Darius the Mede, who was made king of Babylon, and Daniel, whom he appointed as principal governor there. The problem with Darius is that no ruler of Babylon is known from our historical sources by this name prior to the time of Darius I of Persia (522-486 B.C.). The problem with Daniel is that no governor of Babylon is known by that name, or by his Babylonian name, early in the Persian period. Daniel's position mentioned here, which has received little attention, will be discussed in a subsequent study. In the present article I shall treat the question of the identification of Darius the Mede, a matter which has received considerable attention, with a number of proposals having been advanced as to his identity. I shall endeavor to bring some clarity to the picture through a review of the cuneiform evidence and a comparison of that evidence with the biblical data. As a background, it will be useful also to have a brief overview of the various theories that have already been advanced.

### *1. The Biblical Data Regarding Darius the Mede*

Before we consider the theories regarding the identification of Darius the Mede, however, note should be taken of the information about him that is available from the book of Daniel. Aside from the description of the part he played in Daniel's fate as described in chap. 6, there are a number of vital bits of information about him scattered throughout the book.

It is stated in Dan 5:31 that he was about 62 years of age when he received the kingdom, and in 9:1 the kingdom which he received is identified as that of the Chaldeans. The first year of his reign is referred to twice, in 9:1 and 11:1, but no later regnal years are mentioned in the book. He apparently was succeeded by Cyrus

(10:1), for according to 11:1, in the third year of Cyrus the prophet looked back to the first year of Darius. He was the son of Ahasuerus and not only was referred to as a Mede but was said to have been of the "seed of the Medes" (9:1). From Dan 6:1-2 it is evident that he installed governors to administer the affairs of the kingdom after he received it.

Finally, as noted earlier, he became king over the realm of the Chaldeans. It is important to note that in 9:1 it is said that he was "made king" over this realm. The verb used here is in the Hophal or passive of the causative, which clearly implies the agency of someone else in appointing him to that office. Efforts to translate this verb as Hiphil have not been successful because of the absence of any object for the direct causative in this context.

## 2. *Theories Concerning Identification of Darius the Mede*

As far as theories concerning the identification of Darius the Mede are concerned, commentators on this matter divide into two main groups—those who hold that he was a historical figure, and those who hold that he was not. Adherents of the latter point of view generally consider the reference to Darius in Daniel to be garbled and unhistorical form of references to Darius I Hystaspes, who ruled the Persian Empire from 522 to 486 B.C. The classical statement of this position can be found in H. H. Rowley's work.<sup>1</sup> Among those who hold that Daniel's Darius was a historical figure, he has been identified with two Median kings, Astyages and Cyaxares; two Persian kings, Cyrus and Cambyses; and two governors of Babylon early in the Persian period, Ugbaru and Gubaru. The strengths and weaknesses of each of these positions may be noted here.

Since it is evident that none of these individuals was named Darius as far as they are known to us from the historical sources available, it has been suggested in the case of each of them that the name of Darius in Daniel was a throne name used in Babylon. This suggestion has been drawn from analogy with the instances in which the Assyrian kings Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V held title to the kingdom of Babylon late in the eighth century and

<sup>1</sup>H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel* (Cardiff, 1935).

were known by throne names there, Pulu (2 Kgs 15:29 and 1 Chr 5:26) and Ululaia, respectively. Whether or not Kandalanu was a Babylonian throne name for the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal has not yet been settled, but I think it probably was, since we now know that they both died in the same year. Thus, while the name Darius is considered to be a stumbling-block to identifying Darius with any of these figures by those who hold that he is not a historical figure, it is not considered to be an obstacle to any of these identifications by those who have advocated them. That moves the project of identification into the area of comparing details known about these figures from cuneiform and classical sources with the details known about Darius from Daniel.

### *Astyages*

Astyages is known from the Nabonidus Chronicle as the last king of Media whom Cyrus defeated when he brought that kingdom under his control in 550.<sup>2</sup> However, his father was Cyaxares I, not Ahasuerus, and the classical sources agree that he did not go to Babylon after he was defeated by Cyrus; consequently, this identification has received little attention in recent commentaries.

### *Cyaxares II*

The identification of Darius the Mede with Cyaxares II rests solely upon information obtained from Xenophon. Contrary to Herodotus and Ctesias, who wrote that Astyages had no male heir, Xenophon identified Cyaxares (II) as his son (*Cyropaedia* 1.5.2). Cyaxares II had no male heir either, according to Xenophon, so Cyrus became king of the Medes through marriage with his daughter, not through conquest (*Cyropaedia* 8.5.19). In this connection, therefore, Xenophon did not acknowledge Cyrus' conquest of Media in Astyages' time as described by the Nabonidus Chronicle. According to Xenophon, it was also Cyrus, not Cyaxares, who ruled Babylon after its conquest, although he set a palace in Babylon aside for Cyaxares' use whenever he visited there (*Cyropaedia* 8.5.17; 6.1ff.). Thus, while Xenophon added one more generation to the line of Median kings with Cyaxares II, he did not connect him with Babylon after its conquest.

<sup>2</sup>A. L. Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts," in *ANET*, p. 305.

As Rowley has pointed out in detail,<sup>3</sup> and as those who have identified Cyaxares II with Darius the Mede have acknowledged, there are numerous historical inaccuracies in Xenophon's account of these events. This, in conjunction with the fact that Cyaxares II is not known from any other classical or cuneiform source, makes it difficult to take seriously Xenophon's claim that Cyaxares II was the last independent king of Media, much less that he was Darius the Mede.

### *Cyrus*

The proposal that Darius the Mede may be another name for Cyrus is a recent addition to this field, having been first suggested in 1957 by D. J. Wiseman.<sup>4</sup> This proposal is derived from interpreting the *waw* in Dan 6:28 as explicative, "so Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius, even the reign of Cyrus the Persian." The classical writers indicate that Cyrus probably was the son of a Median mother, and the Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus refer to a king of the Medes at a time when Cyrus was the only person who could have occupied that position. It is possible that he was around 62 years of age when Babylon fell to his forces, and the economic texts from Babylonia written during his reign were dated by his years as "*king of Babylon, king of Lands.*" He is known to have installed vassal kings and subordinate governmental officers in several places, and "Ahasuerus" has been taken as a royal Iranian title rather than a personal name, since his father's name was Cambyses.

Some of the arguments drawn upon to support this theory seem a bit strained, and the old saw appears to be applicable here: It would seem strange to refer to Cyrus the Persian, who was the son of Cambyses, as Darius the Mede, who was the son of Ahasuerus.

Beyond that, this theory makes the dated references to these two kings in Daniel appear to be quite haphazard in arrangement, since it provides no explanation why Daniel would refer back from the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia (10:1), to the first year of

<sup>3</sup>Rowley, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup>D. J. Wiseman, "Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel," in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (London, 1965), p. 12.

Darius the Mede, who was king over the realm of the Chaldeans (11:1). To me, the logical sense of this order is that Cyrus had succeeded Darius by that time, not that Cyrus and Darius were one and the same individual. If biblical and extrabiblical texts from the ancient world are any indication, names, titles, and dates were not used in so haphazard a fashion.

### *Cambyses*

Several important points can be cited in favor of the theory identifying Darius the Mede with Cambyses. The classical statement of this theory is Charles Boutflower's presentation of it.<sup>5</sup> The dates and titles on some thirty cuneiform texts from Babylonia indicate that Cyrus installed his son Cambyses as his vassal king in Babylon for a year while he was still king of the Persian Empire. Furthermore, Cyrus did not carry the title "king of Babylon" in the datelines from the economic texts that were written in Babylonia during the first year after his conquest of that land. These two pieces of evidence have been taken to indicate that Cambyses, not Cyrus, was the king of Babylon for the first year after it fell to the Persians. In that respect, therefore, Cambyses would appear to fulfill a major historical requirement for consideration as Darius the Mede.

In other respects, however, he does not satisfy those requirements very well. He was not a Mede; his father was Cyrus, not Ahasuerus; and it is unlikely that he was 62 years of age when he came to the throne in Babylon. Of him it can also be said, therefore, that it seems unlikely that Cambyses the Persian, who was the son of Cyrus, should be identified with Darius the Mede, who was the son of Ahasuerus.

Although this theory does not appear to be correct, Boutflower has provided a valuable emphasis upon the relevance of the titularies from the contract tablets in the study of this problem. We will return to this proposed Cambyses identification later in this article when we give further attention to the titularies.

<sup>5</sup>Charles Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, reprinted ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963), pp. 142-155.

*Gubaru, Governor of Babylon*

The theory that the governor of Babylon named Gubaru was Darius the Mede was evidently first advanced by Babelon in 1881.<sup>6</sup> A number of commentators since that time have subscribed to this theory, and it has been given impetus recently by the monograph published by J. C. Whitcomb in support of it.<sup>7</sup> There was a Gubaru (or Ugbaru, as the name alternatively appears) who is identified in the Nabonidus Chronicle as the general in Cyrus' army who captured Babylon for him; and, according to the same source, he appointed governors there. On these two points, therefore, this Gubaru appears to fulfill the qualifications for Darius the Mede. He could have been quite elderly by that time, since he died soon after Babylon fell, and we know nothing significant about his parentage or his ethnic origin to contradict the idea that he could have been the son of a Median named Ahasuerus.

There is also a series of Babylonian texts dated from the 4th year of Cyrus to the 5th year of Cambyses which mentions Gubaru, the governor of Babylon. In the past, this Gubaru has been confused with the earlier Gubaru (Ugbaru) who conquered Babylon according to the Nabonidus Chronicle. That they could not have been the same individual is evident from the fact that the latter died soon after the fall of Babylon, well before the references to the former began to appear by Cyrus' 4th year.

It is to Whitcomb's credit that he has made a sharp distinction between these two individuals. Unfortunately, it appears to me, in so doing he selected the wrong Gubaru for Darius the Mede. There is no evidence that this later Gubaru was ever anything other than the governor of Babylon, while it is possible that the earlier Gubaru did hold a higher title, as I shall discuss below. In addition, this later Gubaru does not appear on the scene of action until after Darius the Mede passed off the scene, according to the dates connected with him and Cyrus in Daniel. Thus while Whitcomb has placed a welcome emphasis upon the distinction between these two individuals who had the same or similar names, the Gubaru who was later governor of Babylon does not fulfill any of the specific requirements for Darius the Mede in Daniel.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Rowley, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup>J. C. Whitcomb, *Darius the Mede* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1959).

*Gubaru, the General Who Conquered Babylon*

The five theories reviewed thus far in this article all fail in certain important ways of providing a convincing identification for Darius the Mede. By a process of elimination, the list of candidates presented above has been narrowed down to one individual: Gubaru (Ugbaru), the general who conquered Babylon and served as its first Persian ruler. I have written on this subject previously in a series of articles published in *AUSS* from January, 1971, to July, 1972. My emphasis at that time was strictly upon the cuneiform evidence relating to the possibility that someone other than Cyrus ruled Babylon as its king during the first year after its conquest by the Persians. I would like to take this opportunity to put my findings into a more biblical context. In so doing, there are many details presented in those earlier studies that must be left out here. Readers who desire more complete information on the materials that underlie the presentation here are referred to my earlier work on this subject, where such matters are treated in greater detail.

3. *Evidence from the Titularies and the Coregency  
of Cyrus and Cambyses*

The first of those four studies in *AUSS* contains a discussion of the different titularies utilized in dating economic documents in Babylonia from the eighth through the fifth centuries.<sup>8</sup> The purpose of that study was to point out that the changes that took place in those titularies followed a pattern which was consistent, distinctive, and at times politically significant.

*Three Stages of Development in the Titularies*

For our purposes here we may simply note briefly the stages in development of the titularies of the Babylonian kings. The standard titulary used in essentially all of the documents dated to the Neo-Babylonian kings from Nabopolassar to Nabonidus was simply "king of Babylon." With the Persian period, a change took place, the title "king of Lands" being added to "king of Babylon." The standard titulary employed in Babylonia for the Persian kings from

<sup>8</sup>W. H. Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period, I," *AUSS* 9 (1971): 52-67.

Cyrus to Darius I was "king of Babylon, king of Lands." There are some antecedents to the use of the title "king of Lands," but they need not be discussed here. Xerxes finally dropped the designation "king of Babylon" from his titulary because of the rebellion in Babylon, so the standard titulary employed for the Persian kings in Babylon from Xerxes to Alexander was simply "king of Lands."

Thus, the titularies used in the datelines of economic documents written in Babylonia during the period with which we are concerned went through three stages of development: (1) for Neo-Babylonian kings, "king of Babylon"; (2) for early Persian kings, "king of Babylon, king of Lands"; and (3) for later Persian kings, "king of Lands." There is but one significant exception to this pattern, and that is the title employed for Cyrus during his accession year and first year of rule over Babylonia. In contrast to the Neo-Babylonian kings who ruled Babylonia before him, it is clear from the contract tablet evidence that Cyrus *did not* take up the title "king of Babylon" during his accession year and most of his first year of rule there. Only late in his first year was "king of Babylon" added to "king of Lands" in titularies of tablets dated to Cyrus so as to make up the full titulary of the early Persian period.<sup>9</sup>

#### *The Transition in the Titulary of Cyrus*

This transition in the titulary of Cyrus, as documented by the contract tablets, is statistically significant and not due just to scribal variants. The pattern is clear. During the last four months of his accession year and the first ten months of his first year of rule over Babylonia, Cyrus carried only the title "king of Lands" and did not carry the additional title "king of Babylon" in the economic documents written there. This much is clear from the available contract tablets, and it is very unlikely that the publication of any number of new tablets from this period will change that picture. As far as I can see, there is only one logical explanation for this phenomenon: Cyrus was not the official king of Babylon during the first fourteen months of Persian control there.

If Cyrus was not the king of Babylon during these fourteen months, then there are only two possible explanations for this political situation. Either there was an interregnum, during which

<sup>9</sup>W. H. Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal King, II," *AUSS* 9 (1971):107-112.

the throne of Babylon was not occupied or someone else was king. An interregnum seems very unlikely here, since kings ruled Babylon down to its conquest by the Persians, since Cyrus himself took up the title to that throne fourteen months later, and since installing a king in Babylon would have been the most obvious method to use in organizing the new government of Babylon. For these reasons, the most likely explanation for the situation involved here is that there was a king in Babylon who ruled there as a vassal to Cyrus for this fourteen-month period.

In other words, contrary to what has been written in some commentaries, there is room in history for Darius the Mede. Moreover, the length of his reign as king of Babylon is sharply delimited by the dates on these contract tablets. It might also be noted that this period of time fits very well with the length of the reign of Darius the Mede in the book of Daniel, since his first year is the only one mentioned there (9:1; 11:1) and since he had passed off the scene of action by Cyrus' third year (10:1).

*A Cyrus-Cambyses Coregency at the Beginning of Cyrus' Reign?*

The question that arises from these observations is, Who occupied the throne of Babylon during this period of time? Older interpreters suggested that Cambyses reigned in Babylon at this time because of the titles in some economic documents which indicate he ruled Babylon for a year as vassal to his father Cyrus. The data involved include the dates and titles from twenty-nine texts that fall into two groups. The first group of nine texts are dated to year 1 of "Cambyses, king of Babylon, Cyrus, king of Lands."<sup>10</sup> The second group of texts includes twenty that are all dated to year 1 of "Cambyses, king of Babylon" without the customary additional title "king of Lands" used throughout his reign. It is possible that some of these titles could be scribal variants in texts that belong to the first regular regnal year of Cambyses, but it is not statistically possible that all of them could be. It is clear, then, that as a group, these texts belong to a special circumstance, i.e., the coregency pointed out by the other nine texts with the more specific titulary.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

The important question about this coregency is, During which of Cyrus' nine years of rule over Babylonia did Cambyses serve as his vassal king there? The older view of this matter is that he served in that capacity during Cyrus' first year, 538/537.

This view was based essentially upon the pragmatic test of fitting the titles from the coregency tablets, in which Cambyses was identified as the king of Babylon, into the gap in Cyrus' early titulary when the latter was not identified as the king of Babylon. There are some difficulties with this view, however, as it does not explain the unusual course of Cambyses' career, or why Cyrus removed Cambyses from the kingship of Babylon after just one year's reign.

#### *A Cyrus-Cambyses Coregency at the End of Cyrus' Reign?*

In view of the difficulties with the foregoing interpretation, W. H. Dubberstein proposed that Cyrus installed Cambyses as king in Babylon at the end of his reign, not at the beginning.<sup>11</sup> This view posits a more normal course for Cambyses' career, and specific support for it was drawn from the title on a contract tablet which read, "year 1, accession year, Cambyses king of Babylon and Lands."<sup>12</sup> Since Cambyses' accession year referred to in this case must have occurred in 530/529, year 1 at the beginning of this dateline must have occurred in that year also. What other circumstance could that "year 1" have referred to besides Cambyses' coregency with his father? Since all of the coregency tablets are dated to year 1, the connection seems obvious, and such a connection would date Cambyses' coregency at the end of Cyrus' reign.

In support of this proposal of Dubberstein, attention can be called to parallels from the datelines of three contract tablets which come from the accession year of Darius II: (1) "4th month, day 25, 41st year, accession year, Darius, king of Lands." (2) "41st year, accession year, 12th month, day 14, Darius, king of Lands," and (3) "41st year, accession year, 12th month, day 20, Darius, king of

<sup>11</sup>W. H. Dubberstein, "The Chronology of Cyrus and Cambyses," *AJSL* 55 (1938): 417-419.

<sup>12</sup>O. Krückmann, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte* (Leipzig, 1933), No. 92.

Lands."<sup>13</sup> These dates obviously refer to the 41st and last year of Artaxerxes I which preceded (in the same calendar year) the accession period of Darius II. Applying the principle of these parallels to the text from Cambyses' accession year referred to above makes it evident that the year 1 in this case should be located in the same year as, but prior to, the accession period of Cambyses. The accession year of Cambyses, however, fell in the same calendar year as the ninth year of Cyrus; therefore, year 1 of this text must refer to some other situation, i.e. the coregency between Cyrus and Cambyses. Thus, the parallels from the three accession-year texts of Darius II provide some additional support for interpreting the date formula of this text in such a way as to locate the coregency of Cambyses at the *end* of Cyrus' reign.

#### *A Cyrus-Cambyses Coregency Early in Cyrus' Reign?*

The matter did not rest with Dubberstein's proposal, however, as M. San Nicolò soon supplied an additional piece of evidence bearing upon the date of the coregency between Cyrus and Cambyses.<sup>14</sup> In his study of Neo-Babylonian texts, San Nicolò pointed out that the name of an official from Sippar that appears in one of the coregency texts disappears from the other business documents by the end of the 7th year of Cyrus, and another person appears in his place early in the 8th year. On this basis, it has been suggested that the coregency between Cyrus and Cambyses could not have occurred any later than the 7th year of Cyrus, and it may have occurred earlier than that. This suggestion is, of course, incompatible with Dubberstein's proposal to date the coregency at the end of Cyrus' reign.

Herein lies a problem which is as yet unsolved. On the one hand, there is the evidence from the dateline of the text published by O. Krückmann which cannot, to my knowledge at present, be explained in any other way than as referring to the coregency between Cyrus and Cambyses which should be dated in Cyrus' 9th

<sup>13</sup>R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75* (Providence, R. I., 1956), p. 18.

<sup>14</sup>M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten der Zivil- und Tempelverwaltung* (Munich, 1941), pp. 51-53.

year. Such a location for this arrangement also provides a clearcut explanation why no coregency texts are dated to Cambyses' year 2 or later, since Cyrus did not live beyond year 1 of such a coregency. On the other hand, any reason for concluding an earlier coregency remains obscure. Moreover, the evidence from the transition in position between these two officials earlier in Cyrus' reign cannot be harmonized with a date for this coregency so late in Cyrus' reign as the dateline of Krückmann's text appears to indicate.

If this coregency did occur in Cyrus' last year, as Dubberstein has proposed, then my discussion below continues undisturbed by that fact. If this coregency occurred earlier than that, I would suggest that it occurred in Cyrus' 2d year, not his 1st, because of the chronology of the events narrated in the Nabonidus Chronicle, where Cambyses' participation in the Babylonian New Year's festival is placed at the beginning of Cyrus' 2d regnal year. The description of Cambyses' activities on that occasion is tantamount to designating him as king then, and this is the only event known from Cyrus' reign with which such a period of kingship can be connected. In either case—whether the coregency was at the end of Cyrus' reign, or whether it began in Cyrus' 2d year—, Cambyses does not fit the data given in the book of Daniel regarding Darius the Mede.

#### 4. *The Chronological Data of the Nabonidus Chronicle: Are They Retrospective or Consecutive?*

One of the arguments against identifying Darius the Mede with the general Gubaru of the Nabonidus Chronicle has been that he did not live long enough after the fall of Babylon to conduct its affairs as required by the references to him in Daniel.<sup>15</sup> This argument rests upon a particular interpretation of the order of the dated events in column III of the Chronicle, which records that Gubaru died on the night of the 11th of Arahsamnu, the eighth month of the year.<sup>16</sup> Since Babylon fell to the Persians on the 16th of Tishri and Cyrus entered the city on the 3d of Arahsamnu, the standard interpretation of the order of these events has been that

<sup>15</sup>Rowley, p. 24; Whitcomb, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup>ANET, p. 306.

Gubaru died about three weeks after the fall of Babylon. He could not, therefore, have been Darius the Mede.

This particular interpretation, however, rests upon taking the events narrated in the Chronicle out of order, for the period from Kislimu to Adar, during which time the gods were returned to their cities, intervenes between Cyrus' entry into Babylon on 3 Arah-samnu and Gubaru's death on 11 Arah-samnu. There are two possibilities here: (1) that the events of the Chronicle should be taken in consecutive order, in which case Gubaru died a year and three weeks after Babylon fell, or (2) that the events of the Chronicle should be taken in retrospective order, in which case Gubaru died three weeks after Babylon fell.<sup>17</sup>

The question then is, Which of these two views is correct? According to which chronology should these events in the Chronicle be interpreted?

In searching for comparative materials with which to answer this question, I surveyed the dated events in all ten known texts of the Babylonian Chronicle, which cover events from the time of Nabonassar in the eighth century B.C. to the Nabonidus Chronicle. The latter, of course, records events in the sixth century.<sup>18</sup> I found that of the 318 chronological observations recorded in these ten texts, 313 are in consecutive order according to the dated events which precede or follow them, whereas only five dated events in the chronicles do not appear in consecutive order. These five exceptions are discussed in detail in my previous study of this subject.<sup>19</sup> Since it is obvious that the consecutive chronological order of the text was the standard rule in these chronicles, it seems reasonable to apply that rule to the events in column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle.

There is a distinct difference between the retrospective and the consecutive interpretation of these events. The problem is not just the difference between two equally reasonable alternative interpretations, for in the retrospective view of the text, a scribal error must definitely be posited, since the date for Gubaru's death does not overlap with any other dates in column III. On this basis, it must

<sup>17</sup>Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal King, III," *AUSS* 10 (1972):100.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 102-108.

be assumed that the scribe located Gubaru's death in the wrong place in the text. The reliability of the chronicles as historical sources has been commented upon by various observers.<sup>20</sup> As far as can be determined by this investigation, therefore, it is not only unwise but unwarranted to assume that the text in column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle is in error and that the dated events there are out of order.

There is another aspect to the text of the third column of the Nabonidus Chronicle that is relevant to the discussion of the chronological order of the events recorded there. This particular feature of the text is the manner in which the dates were written in this passage. Month names are missing from five of these dates, the event referred to being dated only by a day number. In all five cases, that day happened to fall in the month that had been last mentioned previously in the text. The first three cases of this come from the month of Tishri at the beginning of the passage that is pertinent to this study. After the initial statement there of Cyrus' attack on the army of Akkad at Opis, the dates that follow in the text are simply "day 14" (1.14), "day 16" (1.15), and "the end of the month" (1.16). Obviously, these three dates continue to refer to the month of Tishri mentioned earlier in line 12, since the next dated event in the text is Cyrus' entry into Babylon on the 3d of Arahsamnu.

The same phenomenon occurs at the end of this section. There the date when Cambyses entered the temple is simply given as "day 4." Again, this clearly refers to the month last mentioned in the text. The date in the last phrase of the preceding line is the 3d of Nisanu, on which the mourning for the king's wife ended, so this places Cambyses' entry into the temple on the 4th of Nisanu, during the New Year's festival.

Had the death of Gubaru occurred on the 11th day of the very same month of Arahsamnu that Cyrus entered Babylon, the record of his death should have followed that reference in the text, and the scribe, according to his custom, should have dated it simply to

<sup>20</sup>D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956), p. 1; W. F. Albright, "The Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar Chronicles," *BASOR*, no. 143 (1956), p. 28; A. R. Millard, "Another Babylonian Chronicle Text," *Iraq* 26 (1964): 22.

“day 11” without mentioning the month again. In such case, the account should have read, “in the month of Arahsamnu, the 3d day, Cyrus entered Babylon, . . . on the night of the 11th day, Gubaru died.” Since this is not the case, the death of Gubaru should be dated in a different Arahsamnu, i.e., a year later.

In view of the foregoing considerations, the *consecutive* view of the order of the events in column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle has been adopted in this study. It seems to be the most reasonable interpretation of the evidence currently available on the subject. And it merits notice again that the consecutive view places Gubaru’s death *a year and three weeks after the fall of Babylon*, rather than just three weeks after that event.

#### 5. *Gubaru and the Combined Evidence of the Titularies and the Chronicle*

Two of the major pieces of evidence relevant to the quest for Darius the Mede have been examined above—the titles from the contract tablets, and the order of the events in the Nabonidus Chronicle. It remains to bring these two pieces of evidence together.

#### *Change in Cyrus’ Titulary*

When these two lines of evidence are brought together, the point of greatest importance for the present study is that the change in Cyrus’ titulary in the economic texts, which formerly went unexplained, can now be connected with a dated historical event from the Nabonidus Chronicle—namely, the death of Gubaru. This correlation of data, utilizing the consecutive interpretation of the chronological data, indicates that the title “king of Babylon” was added to the titulary of Cyrus sometime during the 10th month—six weeks or so after the death of Gubaru on the 11th day of the 8th month in the year 538 B.C.

Since these two events are closely connected chronologically, it follows that they may have been related as cause and effect. If Cyrus took up the title “king of Babylon” and became the official king there shortly after Gubaru died, it seems reasonable to surmise that Gubaru may have held title to that office before him up to the time of his death. If this assumption is correct, then identification has been made of the king who was Cyrus’ vassal in Babylon during the time Cyrus carried the suzerain’s title of “king of Lands” rather

than "king of Babylon, king of Lands" in the texts written in Babylon. The time lag involved is about what one would expect for the news of Gubaru's death to reach Cyrus and for the latter's instructions of what to do with the kingship of Babylon to reach there in return.

*Other Lines of Evidence*

Other less prominent lines of evidence might also be cited in support of the hypothesis that Gubaru reigned as king of Babylon, vassal to Cyrus during the interval specified above. It is of interest in this connection that he is mentioned by name in the Nabonidus Chronicle. This fact already puts him in a category with royalty, since there are fifty-eight kings mentioned by name 177 times in the ten Babylonian Chronicle texts referred to above, while only seven persons mentioned by name in the chronicles were not kings.<sup>21</sup> The same point is reinforced by the fact that Gubaru's death date is furnished. Of the twenty-two individuals for whom death dates are available from the chronicles, twenty were kings or queens while only two were non-royal persons.<sup>22</sup> Both of these factors put Gubaru in a class with royalty, although they do not specifically indicate that he had to be a king.

The mention of Gubaru's death in the Nabonidus Chronicle indicates, in all probability, that he was still resident in Babylonia when he died. Since he conquered Babylon for Cyrus and appointed governors there afterwards, it is also likely that he continued to play a prominent part in the political affairs of Babylon until his death a year after he conquered it. The question is, What position did he hold when playing his part in those affairs?

The notice of the death of the wife of the king in the Nabonidus Chronicle immediately after the record of Gubaru's death may be significant here. To which *king* was this woman married? There are five possibilities: Nabonidus, Belshazzar, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Gubaru. That a mourning would have been performed for the wife of Nabonidus after he had been deposed and when he was an unpopular king seems unlikely. It seems even more unlikely that this woman would have been Belshazzar's wife.

<sup>21</sup>W. H. Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal King, IV," *AUSS* 10 (1972):148.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 153.

If she were Cyrus' wife, he does not appear to have taken much interest in her, since he did not attend the mourning held in her honor. If Cambyses' participation in the New Year festival following the mourning for her is an indication of his elevation to kingship, as noted earlier, then he had not yet become king by the time she died. Of these five possibilities, therefore, the most likely among them is that she was Gubaru's wife, in which case her title indicates that he was indeed king when he died.

#### *The Problem of Gubaru's Name*

Mention should be made of the problem connected with Gubaru's name, since there has been some confusion over just what his name was. This confusion has arisen because the first sign in his name differs in the three lines of the Nabonidus Chronicle in which it was written. In line 15 of column III of the Chronicle, the first sign in his name was written defectively so that it is not clear what value it was intended to represent.<sup>23</sup> The first sign of the name written in line 20 is *Gu/qu/ku*, and the first sign of the name written in line 22 is *Ug/uq/uk*. In my opinion, all three of these names refer to the same individual, and his proper name probably was Gubaru. In my former study of this subject, I referred to him as Ugbaru in order to avoid confusion with the later governor Gubaru, from whom this Gubaru is to be distinguished. The Greek form of the name of the general who conquered Babylon for Cyrus, according to Xenophon, was Gobryas.

#### 6. *Gubaru and Darius the Mede of Daniel*

How well does the description of Gubaru arrived at above compare with the description of Darius the Mede in Daniel? There are at least six points on which the cuneiform and biblical descriptions of these two individuals agree. There are also a few points mentioned in Daniel concerning which we have as yet no evidence one way or the other from the cuneiform records.

#### *Six Points of Correlation*

The six points of agreement may be listed as follows:

<sup>23</sup>Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* (London, 1924), p. 121.

First, according to the Nabonidus Chronicle, Gubaru led the division of Medo-Persian troops that conquered Babylon. The same may be inferred for Darius in Dan 5:28.

Second, Gubaru installed governors in Babylon, according to the Chronicle. This is precisely what Dan 6:1-2 states that Darius the Mede did.

Third, although Gubaru's age is not specifically stated in the Chronicle, one might infer that he was already elderly from the fact that he died soon after Babylon was conquered. This would harmonize with the indication that Darius was 62 years of age, mentioned in Dan 5:31.

Fourth, according to the chronology of the Chronicle and the contract-tablet titles adopted above, Gubaru died about a year after he conquered Babylon. This would fit well with his first year of reign that is mentioned in Dan 9:1 and 11:1. The most logical explanation for the transition to the third year of Cyrus in Dan 10:1 is that Darius the Mede had passed off the scene of action by that time. His death about a year after Babylon fell provides the best explanation for his passing off the scene of action.

Fifth, the distinction between the kingdoms of Cyrus and Darius correlates well with this situation. Dan 10:1 refers to Cyrus as the king of Persia, which fits well with his title of "king of Lands" in the contract tablets. Darius the Mede, on the other hand, ruled over the "realm of the Chaldeans," which agrees well with the title "king of Babylon" that Cyrus did not take up until late in his first year of rule over Babylonia, according to the contract tablets.

Sixth, Gubaru's position as vassal harmonizes with the statement that he was "made king" over the realm, since the suzerain who made him king at that time must have been Cyrus.

#### *Points on Which Cuneiform Evidence is Lacking*

Aside from the difference between the names of Gubaru and Darius, which may be taken tentatively at present as the difference between the individual's personal name and throne name in Babylon, as discussed above, only two items noted in Daniel regarding Darius the Mede cannot be correlated with available cuneiform records:

First, concerning Gubaru's parentage we know nothing from cuneiform sources, and the classical sources are also silent on this matter. Thus, we have no way to determine whether or not his father was named Ahasuerus, the name given him by Daniel.

Second, although the cuneiform sources are silent also about Gubaru's ethnic origin, Xenophon refers to the general Gobryas who conquered Babylon for Cyrus as an "Assyrian," by which he usually meant Babylonian. If this designation were accurate, it would indicate that Gubaru was not a Mede, but there are so many historical inaccuracies in Xenophon's account of these events that this designation need not be taken seriously. The fact that the Nabonidus Chronicle referred to him as the governor of Gutium before he conquered Babylon could be compatible with Median ancestry, but we have no way of determining this at present.

#### *Summary and Conclusion*

In summary, six of the points of identification about Darius the Mede in Daniel have been checked above with references to Gubaru from cuneiform sources and have been found compatible. Two points—his parentage and ethnic origin—cannot be checked as yet for lack of adequate historical documentation.

Our documentation for Gubaru also falls short of identifying him as the king of Babylon or calling him Darius, but the former point is compatible with the indirect evidence from the contract-tablet titles of this time, and the latter point is compatible with a known practice in Babylon.



## SHORTER STUDIES

### CHIASM IN THEME AND BY FORM IN REVELATION 18

WILLIAM H. SHEA  
Andrews University

My colleague Kenneth Strand has made significant contributions to the literature on the biblical book of Revelation in his studies which have elucidated its chiasmic literary structures on both the large and small scale.<sup>1</sup> I find these studies persuasive and am in agreement with him that chiasmus was a literary technique commonly employed throughout this book. The present brief study is presented to lend support to that idea by identifying a chiasm by form in Rev 18 where Strand has already found a chiasm by theme to be present.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1. *Revelation 18 and the Book's Broad Chiasmic Structure*

My personal approach to the study of Rev 18 has come from an examination of its contents according to the position that it occupies in the larger chiasmic framework of the book that Strand has outlined. In that outline, the seven last plagues in his eschatological series are balanced by the seven trumpets in his historical series. This seems reasonably clear from the balancing positions in which these passages appear in the literary framework of the book, and from their related contents in terms of the targets for their judgments. Strand has outlined these relations as follows:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Strand's work along these lines is included in the following studies: *Perspectives in the Book of Revelation* (Worthington, Ohio, 1975); *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Florida, 1979); "Chiasmic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 401-408; "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 127-135; and "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment as Portrayed in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 53-59. The present study is written especially in response to the last of these works by Strand.

<sup>2</sup>See Strand, "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment," pp. 53-57.

<sup>3</sup>Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, p. 47.

<i>Trumpets</i>		<i>Plagues</i>
8:7	Earth	16:2
8:8	Sea	16:3
8:10	Rivers and Fountains	16:4
8:12	Heavenly Bodies; Sun	16:8
9:2	Darkness	16:10
9:14	Euphrates	16:12
11:15	Christ's Rule: "It is done"	16:17

From these two types of relations it seems reasonable to conclude that the seven trumpets are indeed balanced chiastically by the seven last plagues. This conclusion raises the question as to whether the seven seals may be balanced by chap. 18, since that chapter in the eschatological series stands chiastically parallel with the section in historical series that presents the seven seals (primarily in chap. 6, with the final seal in 8:1). When one examines Rev 18 in detail, however, it is evident that no other set of seven judgments is found there to balance the seven seals.

This requires the student of Revelation to examine chap. 18 from a slightly different point of view. Indeed, there are in that chapter seven units of something else that may provide the balancing elements. The identification of these units stems from the observation that Rev 18 was written predominantly in the form of poetry. The poetic nature of this chapter has been recognized by such standard translations as the RSV and the NIV. I accept this poetic character of the chapter, and employ it as the basis for further observations on the literary forms found there. However, even if one does not accept the principle that the literary units isolated below were written in poetry, their demarcations still are sufficiently clear to enable one to work with them as discrete literary units.

## 2. *Literary Units in Revelation 18*

While it does seem true that much of chap. 18 was written in poetry, short pieces of prose introduce each of the poetic pieces or

hymns in the chapter. These prose introductions are quite useful in delimiting the extent of each of the poems, and indicate that this chapter contains seven main hymns of judgment upon, or lament over, Babylon, the prophetic symbol employed here. These seven hymns of Rev 18 are, I believe, the elements that balance the seven seals of Rev 6. Like the seven last plagues of Rev 16, these seven hymns in Rev 18 are specifically end-time pronouncements, and thus they belong appropriately to the eschatological series of the book.

As one can see from the analysis of these hymns (treated below), there really are eight of them, instead of just seven. These eight hymns are distributed in a chiastic literary format, however, and the two hymns at the center of that chiasm are linked together so closely that they may actually be considered as being one in nature; hence, it is correct to identify seven "main" hymns here. What we have in this type of relationship is a "7, yea 8" arrangement, reminiscent of poetically progressive enumerations found in some passages of the OT, such as Amos 1-2: "for three transgressions of Damascus, even for four, I will not turn back my punishment" (1:3; cf. vss. 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4, 6). It should further be noted that in Amos, this usage occurs in the context of a judgment upon a foreign power, a setting somewhat similar to that which we find in Rev 18.

The fact that some of the language of Rev 18 is related to phraseology found in judgments upon the nations in the OT, especially that of Ezekiel upon Tyre (Ezek 27-28), makes this relationship even more direct. A closer parallel to the number of units in Rev 18 appears in Eccl 11:2—"give a portion to 7, yea 8. . . ."

### 3. *The 7/8 Hymns in Chiastic Pattern*

We may now proceed to an analysis of Rev 18 to see how well these 7/8 hymns fit into a chiastic pattern. I would propose the following outline:

- A. *Prose Introduction*—an angel calls with a mighty voice, vs. 2a  
*Hymn No. 1*, vss. 2b-3
- B. *Prose Introduction*—another voice from heaven, v. 4a  
*Hymn No. 2*, vss. 4b-8
- C. *Prose Introduction*—kings of the earth stand afar off and weep  
 when they see the smoke of her burning, vss. 9-10a  
*Hymn No. 3*, vs. 10b
- D. *Prose Introduction*—“and the merchants of the earth weep  
 and mourn for her, since no one buys their cargo any  
 more [28 items listed],” vss. 11-13  
*Hymn No. 4*, vs. 14
- D'. *Prose Introduction*—“the merchants of these wares, who  
 gained wealth from her, . . . weeping and mourning  
 aloud,” v. 15  
*Hymn No. 5*, vss. 16-17a
- C'. *Prose Introduction*—sailors of the sea stand afar off and cry out  
 when they see the smoke of her burning, vss. 17b-19a  
*Hymn No. 6*, vs. 19b
- B'. [*Prose Introduction*—another voice, unidentified]  
*Hymn No. 7*, vs. 20
- A'. *Prose Introduction*—a mighty angel said, vs. 21a  
*Hymn No. 8*, vss. 21b-24.

In terms of general balance throughout the entire narrative, it may be noted that the longest poems occur at opposite ends of this chiasm, nos. 1-2 at the beginning and no. 8 at the end. The reverse is true of the prose introductions. The longest of these is found at the center of the narrative, as the introduction to the first of the two laments that issue from the mouths of the merchants. The prose list given there, noting twenty-eight objects of trade, far exceeds in length any of the other prose introductions that precede the other hymns of this chapter. Thus, in terms of form by volume, this chapter may be outlined in general as, *short introductions : long poems :: long introductions : short poems :: short introduction : long poem.*

The direct relations between Hymns 4 and 5 (or D and D') at the center of this chiasmic arrangement should be emphasized. The group that pronounces this lament is identified as the same in both of these instances, more so than is true for any of the other groups of paired hymns elsewhere in this chapter. The prose introduction

to Hymn 4 serves as the general introduction for Hymn 5 too, and the supplementary introduction found with the latter refers back to the introduction found with the former, by way of mentioning "these wares," i.e., the twenty-eight wares listed with the previous introduction. Another way in which these two hymns are linked directly together is through the lack of the conjunction *kai* between them at the beginning of vs. 15, when that conjunctive introduction is found at the beginning of all of the other hymns of this chapter (vss. 2, 4, 9, 11, 17b, and 21), with the exception of the distinct hymn found in vs. 20. Thus it is legitimate to identify these two short poems as two stanzas of the same song, at the center of this narrative, sung by the same group of persons. It is this direct link which provides the "7, yea 8" content by form for the poems found in this narrative, and this in turn provides the balance between 7(8) hymns and the 7 seals of Rev 6 in the chiasmic literary structure of the book.

#### 4. *Formal Analysis of the Literary Pattern*

Although there is no prose demarcator between the lament pronounced by the seamen in vs. 19 and the hymn which follows it in vs. 20, the content of the latter is sufficient to indicate that it should be set apart from the seamen's lament. The party pronouncing this lament may simply be taken as the "another voice" that pronounced Hymn 2 according to vs. 4, since that is the hymn that stands in chiasmic parallel with this one. Strand has already noted the comparative relations between the hymns of vs. 4-8 and vs. 20, even though he did not identify them with precisely the same poetic phraseology. That relationship is accepted here, and some support can be found for it in their respective forms. All of the other hymns of this chapter come from persons that are identified—either as angels (nos. 1 and 8), or as kings (no. 3), or as merchants (nos. 4 and 5), or as seamen (no. 6). For Hymn 2, the person from whom the voice comes is not identified; and for Hymn 7, even the voice itself is not mentioned. This contrast of Hymns 2 and 7 with the rest of the hymns in this chapter constitutes a further evidence of the link between them that Strand has already noted through another avenue of examination.

Links between the three (or four) central hymns of this chapter, which have also already been noted by Strand, can be

emphasized again here, more from the standpoint of form. The kings, merchants, and seamen all pronounce short laments. They are all introduced with the word-pair "alas, alas" (vss. 10, 16, 19) as they all pronounce woes upon Babylon in this formal way. Each one of these three hymns concludes with the statement about her judgment coming upon her in one hour. Appearing in the same position in the respective hymns, this statement constitutes as much of a link by form as it does by theme.

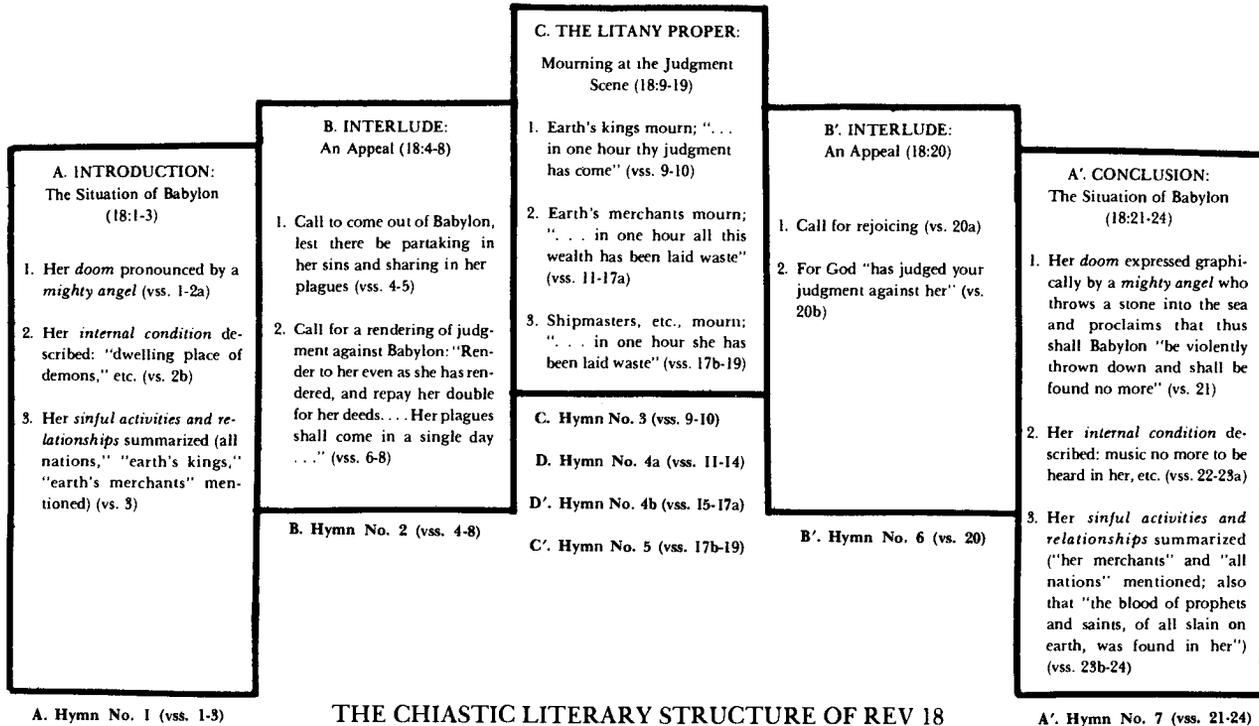
These three hymns thus compose a triad at the center of this overall chiasm, and the middle one of them—the merchants—has been divided into two subsections. The subjects who pronounce these three central laments are all plural, while the subjects pronouncing the hymns at the beginning and the end of the chapter (nos. 1, 2, [7], and 8) are all singular.

A reciprocal relationship between the first and the last of the hymns of this chapter can also be noted from a word-pair employed in their prose introductions, and from an adjective that describes their speaker. In the first hymn the angel speaks with a mighty voice, while with the latter hymn it is a mighty angel who speaks. The same adjective occurs in these two similar statements, but it has been transferred from modifying one noun to another. The word-pair of earth and sea is also involved here, since the first angel makes the earth bright while in the latter instance the angel casts a stone into the sea. The same pair of earth and sea is found closer to the center of this chiasm in that it is the kings of earth who pronounce the third lament while it is the sailors of the sea who pronounce the sixth and balancing lament. Thus the word-pair of earth and sea is balanced out among the prose introductions to four out of eight of the hymns present in this chapter.

##### 5. *Conclusion*

We may conclude this brief study of the 7(/8) hymns of Rev 18 by noting how well their chiasm by form fits with the chiasm by theme that Strand has outlined for this passage previously. His summary outline diagram has been utilized for this purpose in the accompanying chart (on p. 256). To that reproduced diagram has been added the hymn numbers described in this study, along with their verses from Rev 18.

In conclusion, it is suggested here that the basic chiasm that Strand has outlined from his study of Rev 18 through thematic relations has found additional support from this study of that chapter from the standpoint of the literary form in which those thematic units were cast. In addition, it may also be suggested that the number of hymns identified in this way balances the seven seals within the broad chiasmic literary structure of the entire book of Revelation.



## THE CHIASTIC LITERARY STRUCTURE OF REV 18

(Original Diagram from K. A. Strand, "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment," *AUSS* 20 (1982):54; Hymn Structure Added by William H. Shea)

## THE TWO OLIVE TREES OF ZECHARIAH 4 AND REVELATION 11

KENNETH A. STRAND  
Andrews University

In Zech 4, a picture is given of two olive trees supplying oil to a central lampstand (see especially vss. 2-4 and 11-12), whereas in Rev 11:4 the imagery has been varied so that the two olive trees are identified as equivalent to two lampstands. What is the significance of the symbolism, and why is there this striking variation in its use in the Apocalypse as compared with Zechariah?

### 1. *The Olive Trees and Lampstand in Zechariah*

Perhaps the most common interpretation of the Zechariah passage, as represented in the commentaries, is that the two olive trees represent two leaders among the returned Hebrew exiles after the Babylonian captivity—usually considered to be Joshua and Zerubbabel.<sup>1</sup> What is generally overlooked in this interpretation of the symbolism of chap. 4 is that *contextually* that chapter deals with *only the one* leader, Zerubbabel, just as chap. 3 deals with *only the other* leader, Joshua. To introduce Joshua into the symbolism of chap. 4 incorporates into that symbolism an element extraneous to the entire contextual setting of the chapter.

Another flaw in the Zerubbabel-and-Joshua identification arises, it seems to me, in the way in which adherents of this view tend to interpret 4:14 ("Then he said, 'These are the two anointed [lit., 'two sons of oil'] who stand by the Lord of the whole earth,'" RSV). It is assumed that the "two anointed" or "two sons

<sup>1</sup>Among examples are ICC (see main text below, and n. 2); Keil and Delitzsch (p. 277 in the work cited in n. 4, below); Joyce G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (London, 1972), p. 125; Christian Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (Göttingen, 1977), pp. 182-184; and H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Zechariah* (Columbus, Ohio, 1956), p. 95. Other names have also been suggested, such as the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.

of oil" are such by virtue of their being anointed. For instance, the ICC refers to them as "Zerubbabel, the hereditary prince, and Joshua, the hereditary high priest, both of whom had been, or were to be, anointed for their offices."<sup>2</sup> However, one would conclude from the context that rather they are "sons of oil" because they *furnish* oil, for that is the function of the olive trees with which they are identified in the definition of vs. 12-14.<sup>3</sup>

An important clue to this entire symbolism of a central lampstand flanked by oil-supplying olive trees comes in vs. 6, a response to the prophet's query in vs. 5, "What are these, my Lord?":

Then he said to me, "This is the word of the Lord to Zerubbabel: Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of hosts. What are you, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel you shall become a plain; and he shall bring forward the top stone amid shouts of 'Grace, grace to it!'" Moreover the word of the Lord came to me, saying, "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also complete it. Then you will know that the Lord of hosts has sent me to you. For whoever has despised the day of small things shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel" (vs. 6-10, RSV).

The foregoing explanation points to *one specific leader* accomplishing an important task, the strength being supplied by God's Spirit. Inasmuch as oil is symbolic of the Holy Spirit,<sup>4</sup> it would be logical to conclude that the oil-supplying olive trees (identified later as the "sons of oil") are somehow symbolic of the Spirit or his work. In any event, a connection between the olive trees and the Spirit is explicitly made in vs. 6—"Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of Hosts." The Spirit is the *supplier* of the strength for Zerubbabel, just as the olive trees supply the oil for the lamps of the lampstand.

<sup>2</sup>Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah, ICC (Edinburgh, 1912), p. 165.

<sup>3</sup>Some commentators, of course, reconstruct the text. Or they seek to distinguish what they consider later additions—e.g., connecting the olive trees to the lampstand by the two golden pipes. There is no justification for such manipulation of the text, which manipulation in fact destroys the very genius of the symbolic portrayal and hence militates against discovery of the real meaning of the message.

<sup>4</sup>Cf., e.g., C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, The Twelve Minor Prophets* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1949), 2:267.

The fact that there are *two* trees need not detain us here, inasmuch as the contextual evidence of Zech 4 explains sufficiently what the symbolism means. Nevertheless, it is tempting to call attention to the possible (or perhaps, probable) allusion to, or derivation from, the two pillars of the Solomonic temple, Jachin and Boaz (see 1 Kgs 7:21). These pillars certainly had symbolic significance with regard to unction from God for Israelite leaders. Kings were installed by one of the pillars (see 2 Kgs 11:12-14), and King Josiah also read the book of the law while standing by one of these pillars (2 Kgs 23:1-3).

A further word is in order concerning the lampstand as a symbol for Zerubbabel. In addition to the contextual support indicated above, we may observe that such usage would not be unusual in ancient Israel. Indeed, an earlier administrative leader, King David, was referred to as "the lamp of Israel" (2 Sam 21:17). In the administrative tasks facing Zerubbabel after the exile, would it not be appropriate to consider him as "the lamp of Israel" for that particular time?

## 2. *The Two Olive Trees and Lampstands in Revelation*

In Rev 11:4, as noted earlier, although we still have two olive trees, we find the lampstands increased to two and also equated with the olive trees. The meaning of the symbolism in Rev 11:4 has been dealt with at some length in a previous article,<sup>5</sup> and need not be reiterated here. Suffice it to say that several lines of evidence converge to indicate that the *two lampstands* = *two olive trees* symbolism reflects a two-witness theology that is broadly evidenced in the Apocalypse itself as well as elsewhere in the NT. This two-witness theology affirms that there is unified testimony of the OT prophetic forecasts and the NT apostolic confirmation—or as referred to in the Revelation, "the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" (1:9; see also 1:2 and 20:4, and cf. 6:9, 12:17, and 14:12).

Thus, in the Apocalypse a symbolic representation derived from Zechariah has been varied and utilized in another scripturally relevant way. Whereas in Zechariah the one lampstand refers to

<sup>5</sup>Kenneth A. Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 127-135. For interpretations generally given, see my discussion on p. 127 of that article, including the references called to attention in nn. 1 and 3 on that page.

Zerubbabel, in Revelation the two lampstands refer to God's word in its twofold aspect of OT prophetic forecast and NT confirmatory proclamation. In this connection, it may be noted that Scripture not only designates an administrative leader of Israel as "lamp," but also gives that designation to God's word (see Ps 119:105; cf. vs. 130).

As to the two olive trees—the part of the symbolic representation that has remained the same in Zechariah and Revelation—, I would suggest that the meaning has also remained constant, referring to the Spirit's work. In fact, through use of the two-olive-trees symbol and especially by equating the two trees with the two lampstands, the book of Revelation sets forth an important element in NT theology—namely, the Holy Spirit's role in providing the word of God, in both the OT and NT aspects. The close identification may be seen, for instance, in the Apocalypse itself, where the message to each of the seven churches is introduced as testimony from Jesus but summarized as "what the Spirit says to the churches" (see 2:1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 29; 3:1, 6, 7, 13, 14, 22). One further NT reference may be called to attention here (others are noted in my earlier article<sup>6</sup>), 1 Pet 1:10-12, which beautifully illustrates the Holy Spirit's part in *both* the OT and NT revelations:

The *prophets* who prophesied of the grace that was to be yours searched and inquired about this salvation; they inquired what person or time was indicated by *the Spirit of Christ within them* when predicting the sufferings of Christ and the subsequent glory. It was revealed to them that they were serving not themselves but you, in the things which have *now been announced to you by those who preached the good news to you through the Holy Spirit sent from heaven* (RSV, emphasis mine).

Thus, the OT prophets and NT apostles were inspired by the same Holy Spirit, who gave God's message through them.

### 3. Conclusion

The similar symbolic portrayals of Zech 4 and Rev 11:4 provide *timely* messages. In each instance, the constant part of the

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 131-134. It is interesting to notice, as well, that in patristic usage the term "prophetic Spirit" or "Spirit of prophecy" appears quite frequently as a synonym for "Holy Spirit." See *ibid.*, p. 134, n. 13.

symbolism—the two olive trees—indicates the presence of the Holy Spirit in his effective power for the occasion at hand. The variable part of the symbolism—the one lampstand flanked by the olive trees in Zechariah, and the two lampstands equated with the olive trees in Revelation—relates to the specific situation itself. In Zechariah's portrayal, the *one* lampstand supplied with oil from the olive trees fitly represents Zerubbabel receiving the Spirit's unction for the task before him. He was "the lamp of Israel" for that occasion. In the Apocalypse, at a time when a two-witness theology of OT prophetic prediction and NT confirmatory testimony was very much to the foreground in the experience and evangelistic mission of the early church, the symbolism of *two* lampstands provided a fitting manner in which to portray this basic theological motif. The identification of these lampstands with the olive trees aptly depicts the Holy Spirit's central role in providing both the OT and NT divine messages.

In short, John's fluid use in Rev 11:4 of symbolism drawn from Zech 4 holds constant the significance of one side of the symbolism while altering the other side. This new portrayal highlights an important NT theological theme which was indeed a vital existential dimension in the life of the early Christian community, just as the original portrayal in Zech 4 itself spoke hope and courage for a real situation faced by the administrator Zerubbabel and the returned Hebrew exiles.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Bebbington, D. W. *Patterns in History: A Christian View*. Downers Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity Press, 1979. xi + 211 pp. Paperback, \$7.25.

Bebbington, a professor of history at the University of Stirling in Scotland, received his D.Phil. at Cambridge. This book does not attempt to answer the question, "How should a Christian view history?," although this end may be accomplished in reading the book. Rather, the author analyzes the various concepts of how history works, presenting five conceptual frameworks. One of these five is the Christian view. He assumes a particular Christian stance and does little to defend this against alternative views that are put forth as Christian. The final conclusion is that the Christian view is most viable, at least for persons who have faith.

The book's first chapter provides an explanation of historical methods and problems, including the problem of "facts" versus "assumptions" and preconceptions that are brought to the study by the historian. In the next five chapters, each of the five conceptual frameworks is defined and discussed: the cyclical view, the Christian view, the progressive view, the historicist view, and the Marxist view. At the end of each chapter, the author suggests the advantages and problems of the view treated therein. Chap. 7 discusses the last four of the five views in terms of how they affect modern historiography. Then, the final chapter brings all the preceding into focus to show how the Christian view presents the truest meaning of history, and to indicate how the Christian historian should deal with the problems of using the Christian view in the academic world.

This reviewer's strongest complaint is with the chapter on "Cyclical History." Here the author pools together most philosophies of history evident in the ancient world. He includes some frameworks which do not contain room for even one complete cycle, claiming that they can be viewed as a segment of a cycle (such as the pessimist view being a downswing). Furthermore, it should be recognized that the Christian view itself contains major cycles too—cycles far more complete than some of the examples presented. At least Paul's concept of the first and second Adam contains a single complete cycle, as is also the case with Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. Indeed, it seems to me that it is not so much the cyclical aspect of these "cyclical views" which Bebbington finds objectionable or contrary to Christianity, but rather their common element of fatalism. By contrast, in almost all Christian views of history, God is not subject to fate, and he may also allow man some freedom in the

determination of history. In other philosophies, however, not only man, but the gods themselves are helpless at the hand of fate. The title "Fatalist History" might provide a better description for the conclusions of this chapter.

The chapter on the Christian view is very worthwhile, especially the analysis that is afforded of millennial thought throughout time. There is a lack, however, in that the author bypasses the role of revelation in interpreting history, and has also neglected the question of accurate history as evidenced in the remarkable accuracy of biblical records. The role of providence is discussed, especially in the last chapter.

The chapters on the progressive and historicist views are profitable, particularly so the discussion of the results of this sort of thinking in modern affairs. Marxism is also described accurately, except for a slight misconception of Marx's central dogma. Bebbington states that Marx saw the economics of production as the controlling factor in history, whereas Marx actually said that the economics of *essential* production was controlling—the essentials being food, clothing, shelter, etc. This is one reason why Marxism cannot explain the economics of America and western Europe, where the vast majority of the population is more than adequately fed and housed. The author is correct in assessing Marx himself as not being a fatalist, although some of his followers have been so.

The larger part of chap. 7, which discusses the last four of the five views and how they affect the recording and study of events and cultures, deals with the concepts of progressive-positivist determinism and historicist-idealist freedom. Determinism and freedom are then examined in Marxist and Christian historiography. The author's conclusion is that both determinism and freedom are necessary for the balanced Christian view.

Showing that the progressive, historicist, and Marxist views grew out of Christianity as emphases of extremes, the last chapter suggests that these three views must return to their Christian roots for proper balance. When it comes to the practical aspects of the Christian historian in the academic world, Bebbington warns against compartmentalizing the Christian viewpoint from the practice of historiography. He counsels that providence should be recognized in the study of history, but in order to make it acceptable to the academic community it should be pruned of overt reference to God and providence. He claims that even without direct reference to God and providence, the published product will still exhibit to the academic community Christian values and a Christian view of history.

De Waard, Jan, and Smalley, William A. *A Translator's Handbook on the Book of Amos*. Stuttgart and New York: United Bible Societies, 1979. 274 pp. Paperback, \$2.50.

For several years the United Bible Societies has been publishing a series of translator's handbooks and guides for both the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. As part of this series, this handbook is not intended solely as a guide for the translation of Amos, but also as an introduction to the translation of the Latter Prophets in general. (Likewise, the handbook on Ruth introduces translation of historical narrative, and the guide for selected Psalms provides information on the poetry of the Writings.)

The present volume begins with an introduction to Amos as a book and to the more general problems of translation in Amos. Included is a discussion of the geography involved, the literary styles, and the use of subheadings in a translation.

Next, there is a passage-by-passage and verse-by-verse guide to translating Amos. This makes up the greater part of this publication. Here great care is taken to do no more interpretation than absolutely necessary for the purpose of translation. This portion is about 170 pages, and the notes to it take up another 50 pages. (Inasmuch as these notes often contain the most important information, this handbook is best read with two bookmarks.) The RSV and TEV translations are placed in parallel throughout in order to illustrate translation under two models—formal and free. Other translations are occasionally quoted, when useful.

An appendix places emphasis on the chiasmic structures to be found in Amos, as well as on other structural elements. There are a glossary and an index. Unfortunately, there is no bibliography.

Before making use of this handbook, the reader must first understand the purpose of UBS in producing the series: (1) to distribute the Scripture portions where translations are available, and (2) to translate Scripture into languages where part or all of the Bible is unavailable. As the Bible is already available in most major languages, the target languages for translational work tend to be the local and tribal languages and dialects. A great deal of space in the handbook is dedicated to the special problems of these languages. Some of the discussion may be applied to the more widely known languages, such as the propriety of using poetry or prose, the available types of poetry, and the proper uses of the forms of 2d-person address. Other problems are solely those of local cultures, such as the translation of terms, concepts, climates, etc., that are foreign to the local receptor language and environment. This book, then, is an excellent aid for missionaries who are translating (or retranslating) the Latter Prophets for their congregations and adopted people.

There is also much value, however, for the reader who remains in a monolingual region dominated by a major world language (especially English). The translating guide is a verse-by-verse linguistic and textual commentary on Amos. Almost every feasible option for the translation of idioms and figures of speech is discussed, in terms of accuracy, credibility, and usefulness. The parallel use of the RSV and TEV for illustration is very handy.

The book is refreshingly committed to the MT. Some hypothetical variants are mentioned, but not recommended. The philosophy seems to be that if there is no textual evidence for a suggested variant, the variant would better be treated as commentary rather than as text.

The notes make an important contribution to the usefulness of this book. Not only do they round out the discussion of the text, but they also contain important references, thus becoming an excellent resource for the student who is beginning studies in Amos. The lack of a bibliography, however, is unfortunate, and the student must go to the section dealing with the particular text of interest in order to find the pertinent resources.

For those interested in chiasmic structures, the appendix not only outlines these with regard to the book of Amos itself, but also describes how chiasmic structures may be found in a piece of literature.

Finally, the fact that this handbook was designed for the purpose of translation into local receptor languages may be a great benefit for even those readers who are not involved in such projects. In emphasizing the problems of translation into a local receptor language, the discussions also confront the student with the distance which separates Amos from our own society. Indeed, far from being superfluous for the western student, this book helps such a student to see more fully the forcefulness of Amos; and it may bring, as well, the realization that various peoples of the third world may more readily be able to understand Amos than many a western student highly educated in the Hebrew language.

In closing, it should be mentioned that this handbook presupposes a basic knowledge of Hebrew and the availability of a good lexicon and grammar.

Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103

JAMES E. MILLER

Kantzer, Kenneth S., and Gundry, Stanley N., eds. *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1979. x + 289 pp. \$9.95.

*Perspectives on Evangelical Theology* is a selection of papers read at the Thirteenth Annual meeting of the Evangelical Theology Society. The papers deal with systematic, biblical, philosophical, and pastoral theology.

This book should be read by those who share the conservative viewpoints of the authors. It should also be read by those who do not, but assume that evangelical scholars are enclosed in a narrow tower of orthodoxy, totally out of touch with contemporary theological thought, and bent on supporting whatever has traditionally been taught. This volume will be an "eye-opener" to such, for it presents a group of well-informed scholars who are not parroting repeaters of ancient formulas. Demarest's article on process trinitarianism, Pinnock's on theism, Erickson's on christology, and Menzies' on the Holy Spirit, all ask that traditional formulations which are derived more from Greek philosophical categories than from biblical teaching be revised and that, following the example of the biblical authors, knowledge concerning the Godhead be stated in terms of the activity of God rather than of his essence.

Several authors, especially J. W. Montgomery and Gerhard F. Hasel, show the perils of using historico-critical methods on the biblical material. Hasel urges the use of the theologico-historical method.

Bockmuehl's essay on systematic theology and Hasel's on the future of biblical theology complement each other and provide a good answer to the often thorny problem of the legitimate objectives and methods of those two disciplines. For persons interested in dispensationalism, Radmacher's discussion of the basic principle of dispensationalism, which he claims to be biblical literalism, will be welcome reading, as will also be Robertson's discussion of the place of ethnic Israel in Rom 11. Robertson's exegetical study of Rom 11 is extremely rewarding.

Davis's discussion of Kant and the problem of religious knowledge is helpful to any evangelical who has wrestled with the problems of faith and reason or the epistemological presuppositions of contemporary theologians. Liberation and other radical theologies are considered in the collection, too.

The last part of the book is devoted to pastoral theology and gives two positions on the ordination of women. E. Margaret Howe shows several confusions resulting from biased translations or exegesis of the biblical text. Saucy's case against ordination of women is also argued well.

The type in this book is very legible, the articles are of good reading length, and the material is generally thought-provoking and clearly presented.

Andrews University

DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER

Kraus, C. Norman, ed. *Evangelicalism and Anabaptism*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1979. 187 pp. Paperback, \$5.95.

This book is a collection of addresses given as part of a discipleship forum at Goshen College. All but two of the essays collected here are by

faculty members of Goshen and represent the Mennonite community (the "Anabaptism" of the title). The two non-Mennonite writers contributing one chapter each are Wes Michaelson (of *Sojourners*) and Ronald J. Sider.

The book begins with Kraus's definition of evangelicalism and ends with his summation of the relationship between evangelicalism and Anabaptism. Other chapters by the Goshen faculty include an appraisal of pop evangelicalism, the organization of evangelicals and their denominations, evangelicals and politics, the inerrancy debate, and pop eschatology. Michaelson discusses radical discipleship among evangelicals, and Sider has anticipated Kraus's final essay by giving an evangelical appraisal of the relationship between evangelicalism and Anabaptism.

Clearly, the book is written for an Anabaptist audience (especially the Mennonites), since knowledge of Anabaptist history and ideals is assumed, and the nature of evangelicalism is the primary topic of discussion. Michaelson and Sider are identified with the radical evangelicals, which are distinguished from the larger group known as "evangelicals" or "popular evangelicals." With the exception of Burkholder's overly simplistic and incomplete appraisal of popular evangelicalism, most of the material is well done.

Especially for readers who wish to understand how Mennonites view the evangelical phenomenon, this is an excellent book; but, as suggested above, an understanding of the Mennonite view of its own history and purpose is a prerequisite for understanding the discussion given.

Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103

JAMES E. MILLER

Ozment, Steven. *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980. vii + 458 pp. \$35.00.

*The Age of Reform (1250-1550)* is first of all the brilliant synthesis of a very important period in the history of ideas and religion. Ozment's lucid presentation of the many currents of thought and action is a model of the genre. In many cases he gives a remarkable *état présent* of research (e.g., the discussion of the classification of the different groups of the radical reformation). Ozment speaks of the age of "reform," not "reforms," thus establishing a basic unity for those three centuries. The sixteenth century is studied in the setting of the late-medieval period. The author's sense of history and his skillful use of original material make the reading of his work a real delight.

But *The Age of Reform* is more than an historical survey; it is also the development of a thesis presented on p. 20: "It will be an argument of

subsequent chapters that rather than being a perfect norm from which later medieval thought strayed, the scholastic synthesis of reason and revelation in the thirteenth century was a chief source of both the intellectual and ecclesiological conflicts of the later Middle Ages; not the rejection of Thomism, but its persistence and embrace by church authority created new and serious problems for both church and society." The ground of those tensions was the Thomist axiom that nature finds its perfection in grace. Therefore, for Thomas, reason and revelation are brought together as unequals. Secular man and the state have value only in subservience to theology and the church.

Ockham, the mystics, the lay heresies, the defenders of conciliar authority, the humanists, and the Hussites, all appear in Ozment's treatment as fighters for the secular world against the clerical world and for the individual against the church. Ozment's thesis explains why, for instance, when he studies Luther, he devotes so much of his attention to the Reformer's relation to scholasticism and to social philosophy. For the same reason, there is a very important chapter, and an excellent one, on marriage and ministry in the Protestant churches, with very perceptive comments on the lay callings. The major legacy of the Reformation, he states, is "the resistance to the bullying of conscience" (p. 437).

Although the author has obviously a special interest in intellectual and social movements, he does not ignore spiritual currents. At times, however, one wonders whether he does full justice to them, for instance in his chapter on the mental world of Martin Luther.

The conclusion of the work will certainly arouse controversy. "Protestant success against medieval religion actually brought new and more terrible superstitions to the surface. By destroying the traditional ritual framework for dealing with daily misfortune and worry, the Reformation left those who could not find solace in its message—and there were many—more anxious than before, and especially after its leaders sought by coercion what they discovered could not be gained by persuasion alone. Protestant 'disenchantment' of the world in this way encouraged new interest in witchcraft and the occult, as the religious heart and mind, denied an outlet in traditional sacramental magic and pilgrimage piety, compensated for new Protestant sobriety and simplicity by embracing superstitions even more socially disruptive than the religious practices set aside by the Reformation" (p. 436). And further: "Its [the Reformation's] failure rather . . . lay in its original attempt to ennoble people beyond their capacities—not, as medieval theologians and Renaissance philosophers had done, by encouraging them to imitate saints and angels, but by demanding that they live simple, sober lives, prey not to presumption, superstition, or indulgence, but merely as human beings. This proved a truly impossible ideal; the Reformation foundered on man's indomitable credulity" (p. 438).

The foregoing assertions should be the object of a long discussion. While we must admit readily that witch-hunting occurred too frequently, one must recognize that it was a minor phenomenon compared to the increase in education and lay involvement in church affairs. It would be more accurate to say that a superstitious fear in the power of the occult was replaced with a very objective sense of duty to combat evil and the Evil One. For the many who grasped the meaning of the new piety, it brought an unshakable trust in a loving God and his salvation.

The book is beautifully printed, and one must wonder how in such a careful publishing job the maps could be so carelessly drawn, especially the one on p. 247, where Strasbourg is located south of Zurich, and Geneva is at the same latitude as the North of Spain!

The Furbity affair needs to be checked again. The treaty of combourgeoisie between Geneva and Bern was signed in 1526, six years before the Furbity debate of January 1534, and thus it is inaccurate to say, as does Ozment on p. 360, that the Furbity affair occasioned the new political alliance with Bern. It did greatly strengthen the bonds between the two cities, it is true. Insults against the Bernese at the 1533 Advent sermons preceded and caused the Furbity debate, and the debate ended in boredom rather than a riot. The next months, though, were full of disturbances and violence.

Furthermore, how could the magistrates in December 1535 lay before the Catholic clergy the option of conversion to the new evangelical faith or exile from the city, when the Reformation was only adopted formally in May, 1536? Also, for some reason the author likes the expression "Zwinglian Tetrapolitana." While the Tetrapolitana confession that was presented at Augsburg in 1530 was admittedly closer in many points to Zwingli than to Luther, it certainly was quite independent from Zwingli in many respects too.

The foregoing are minor questions. The book as a whole is quite outstanding and is a necessity for the library of anyone interested in the western Europe of 1250-1550.

Andrews University

DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER

Swartley, Willard M. *Mark: The Way for All Nations*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1981. 243 pp. \$8.95.

As Robert P. Meye, dean of Fuller Theological Seminary, noted in the "Foreword" to the first printing (1978), this book "was written for students willing to discipline themselves to learn from Mark" (p. 12). A quick perusal of the volume shows that its format is didactic in nature. Early in

the book, Swartley gives suggestions as to how it might be used, either by an individual or by a group with a chosen leader.

Each chapter is divided into four parts: (1) In the "pre-session study," questions are asked that alert the student to key issues that should be watched for within the chapter to be studied. A leader can use these questions for group discussions that will prepare the group for deeper insight into Mark. (2) The "exposition" of passages from Mark isolate the major themes. The exposition is not detailed, as one expects to find in commentaries, but rather peruses the development of the various themes in Mark. Swartley refers to this procedure as "composition analysis." (3) A "visual portrayal" of each passage is presented in chart form, with accompanying scriptural references. By examining each chart, the student can see the progression of the themes in Mark. (4) "Discussion, reflection and action" questions are asked at the end of each chapter to reinforce the learning process, and questions are raised which apply or correlate the studies to our contemporary situation. This again gives a group leader the opportunity to expand by group discussion an understanding of the themes just studied.

The background information concerning the book of Mark is quite helpful. The "Introduction" traces the history of the use of the Gospel of Mark within the Christian church. Markan sources and the messianic secret are also touched upon.

Chap. 1 deals with the identity of the author of Mark. Swartley concludes that he was John Mark, the student of Peter and the fellow-traveler of Paul. Every possible bit of information contained in the NT relating to John Mark is examined. Following the lead of Kirsopp Lake and H. J. Cadbury, Swartley concludes that John Mark had been trained by Peter to be a "minister of the Word" (ὄνηρέτης, Luke 1:2), i.e., "one who had been trained to memorize and pass on a particular body of knowledge" (p. 28). Mark functioned in this role as he accompanied Paul on his first missionary tour (Acts 13:5). It was Mark's responsibility to recite and even interpret Jesus' words and deeds.

Swartley concludes that John Mark left Paul because he did not originally anticipate a ministry to the Gentiles; and, feeling loyalty to Peter, and possibly also to the "circumcision party," he returned to Jerusalem to report how Paul was accepting Gentiles into the church without requiring circumcision.

The appendices further aid the student of Mark. "Appendix I" lists quotations from the early church concerning Mark. Some sources quoted include Papias, the Anti-Marcionite Prologue, Irenaeus, the Muratorian Canon, Clement of Alexandria, etc. "Appendix II" contains helpful suggestions for the study and interpretation of the Bible.

This revised edition (1981) is further enriched by the incorporation of seven short chorics from Urie A. Bender's *To Walk in The Way* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1979). Bender's book is a dramatic interpretation of Mark's Gospel. Each choric, relating to themes touched upon in Swartley's exposition, together with the prayer that closes each exposition, makes the study of Mark a devotional experience as well as an academic exercise.

I highly recommend *Mark: The Way for All Nations* for church study groups, religion classes, or anyone who wishes an introduction to the Gospel of Mark and the themes this Gospel presents.

Andrews University

GEORGE E. RICE

White, James F. *Introduction to Christian Worship*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1980. 288 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

"There is no better way to discover the heart of Christianity than by becoming more aware of what Christians do when they gather to worship" (p. 10). In these words, the author expresses a basic theme of his book—the idea that the history of Christian worship is, in a sense, the history of Christianity.

White is professor of Christian worship at Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. He indicates in his preface that Christian worship has been a top priority of his for "a score of years." It is from this background of concern and experience that the volume under review was written.

It is customary for writers on Christian worship—and they are legion—to try their hand at definition. This author is no exception. After quoting and discussing definitions proposed by various Protestant and Catholic authorities on the subject, White suggests the following: "Christian worship is speaking and touching in God's name" (p. 22). He explains as follows: "The meaning of this definition is that in worship we speak to God for the people and to people for God. At the same time, our worship involves touching people in God's name, especially (but not entirely) in the sacraments" (ibid.).

The author also defines the term "liturgy." He sees it as more than "smells and bells." He calls liturgy "the essential outward form through which a community of faith expresses its public worship" (p. 24).

The emphasis of the book is strongly historical. The "seven Protestant liturgical traditions" are listed as Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, Free Church, Quaker, Methodist, and Pentecostal.

This work presents a unique approach to the worship experience, indicated in the chapter headings: First, the reader is reminded of "The

Language of Time" (pp. 44-75). The time factor is revealed in the weekly day of worship, and in recurring yearly festivals such as Christmas and Easter. The "seasons" of the commonly accepted "Christian Calendar" cover the entire year. Based on this calendar is the "lectionary," which lists Scripture lessons appropriate to each "season." White defends this highly structured planning of worship services as a remedy for the tendency toward building the weekly services around various promotions "much like the yearly cycle of a department store" (p. 61).

Second, the author emphasizes "The Language of Space." This refers to the place of worship—to what we ordinarily describe as "Church Architecture." Two considerations are stressed, based on the author's definition of worship: (1) the church should be adapted to effective "speaking in God's name," and (2) it should be arranged for "touching in God's name." In other words, the church must be a place where we can hear the word of God and where we can experience fellowship with other worshippers. "We need both a synagogue and an upper room" (p. 80). Those who build and remodel churches today are urged to consider *utility, simplicity, flexibility, and intimacy*.

Third, the emphasis shifts to "The Spoken Word." Perhaps the most important ancestor of the ministry of the word was the Jewish synagogue with its Scripture, psalmody, preaching, and prayers. During the Christian centuries, a great variety of rites, ceremonies, prayers, and music was introduced into the Christian worship service. The author suggests some criteria for sorting out an appropriate order of worship. His first is *the centrality of Scripture*; his second, *a sense of progression*; and his third, *clarity of function*. In this reviewer's judgment, White errs in devoting only one page to preaching. He says very wisely that "the preacher speaks for God, from the scriptures, by the authority of the church, to the people" (p. 138). But he advises preaching from a lectionary. Should not the preacher have a greater degree of freedom, and should not the sermon deserve a more prominent place in the service? These are questions that the church must face in seeking to plan a balanced worship service.

Fourth, the author discusses the sacraments. He calls them "sign-acts," and he reviews their history. White firmly believes that "God acts" in the sacraments, that they are more than reminders of the body and blood of Christ.

The next chapter (chap. 6) is entitled "Initiation and Reconciliation," with particular emphasis on baptism. Conversion, "new birth," reception of the Holy Spirit, and forgiveness of sins are discussed in their relation to the beginning of the Christian life.

The discussion of the Eucharist in chap. 7 is of historical and ecclesiastical significance, but does not help much in planning a service in a contemporary free-church setting.

The final chapter, entitled "Passages," is one of the most meaningful in the book, in this reviewer's estimation. The term "passages" refers to marriage, ordination, serious sickness, death. "These and other crisis points of life are marked by times when the community of faith gathers around individuals to express its love as they pass through various stages" (p. 237). The author proceeds to discuss the wedding, the ordination service, ministry to the sick, Christian burial. These are all services that illustrate the second part of the author's definition of worship—"touching in God's name."

Colton, California 92324

NORVAL F. PEASE

Wilson, Robert R. *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980. xiii + 322 pp. \$15.95.

The study of the OT with the methods of the social sciences continues to bear fruit. Wilson has now directed these methods to a study of the prophets, clarifying not only the tradition in which the prophets stand, but also the groups that supported or opposed the various views.

The first three chapters are concerned with a review of studies leading up to the present work, an in-depth study of prophecy in modern societies, and prophecy in the ancient Near East. Chaps. 2 and 3 establish the sociological characteristics of prophecy, provide controls for the study, and give us a sociological and comparative window for looking in at prophecy in Israel and in Judah, the subjects of chaps. 4 and 5. The study of the relationship between prophecy and society in Israel has implications for the history of prophecy in Israel, which is the subject matter of chap. 6.

Wilson's goal is to see, on the basis of the anthropological material, how Israelite society was involved in every aspect of prophetic activity. Thus, when we study Israelite prophecy we must look for evidence of various relationships between the prophet and society. Social groups were involved in both creating the prophet and shaping his behavior. Prophetic speech in turn reflects the expectations of the social group which supported the prophet's activity. Together the group and the prophet were located either on the periphery of society or within the central structure of the society, and closely related to their place in society is the question of the location of their prophetic activity. A final point to consider is how peripheral prophecy sought to reform the social order and improve the status of the peripheral group while trying to see, at the same time, how central intermediaries concern themselves with maintaining the social order and regulating the pace of change.

The materials dealing with prophecy in the Torah and the deuteronomic histories are not always clear on all of these questions; nevertheless, we may see these elements in a broad survey of the literature. We are

permitted to hear in various accounts disputes between prophets and prophetic groups over authority. In the Ephraimite literature the story of Miriam's and Aaron's challenge to Moses' authority is one such story, and the account of Elijah and the prophets of Baal is another. The picture presented of Jeremiah coming to Jerusalem from Anathoth, prophesying against Jerusalem, being accused of treason, supported by various groups and threatened by others, provides a richer source for sociological studies of prophecy. Ephraimite prophets seem to have functioned centrally prior to the time of the monarchy, but operated on the periphery of society afterward.

Prophecy in the Judean tradition is not as cohesive as prophecy in the Ephraimite tradition. There is less stereotypical behavior and speech. On the other hand, Judean tradition is more fruitful in suggesting the social function of the Judean prophet. Judean prophets, for the most part, functioned within the central structure of society in order to assure orderly change and preserve the tradition. They may have been located in the royal court. Occasional peripheral prophets arose and some, like Isaiah, seem to have oscillated between a central and a peripheral function.

In the post-exilic period, Judean and deuteronomic types of prophecy became mixed, and individual prophets appeared less frequently. Eventually prophecy disappeared, to be replaced by apocalyptic.

Wilson's study has much to recommend it. Not everyone will agree that the methods of the social sciences should be applied to biblical literature, but the results do make the prophets and the social groups which supported and opposed them come alive. Unfortunately, Wilson has not attempted to relate his study to the question of the formation of the Hebrew canon. Because of this, Joseph Blenkinsopp's *Prophecy and Canon* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980) should accompany a serious study of Wilson's material. (Blenkinsopp's study is not mentioned in Wilson's work nor is it included in the bibliography, possibly because it was not yet available at the time of Wilson's writing.) Perhaps it is because of Wilson's all-inclusive approach to the prophetic material that a statement is not made on the relationship between the editing of texts and the formation of the prophetic canon and the tensions between prophetic types and those who held traditions where Moses was central and authoritative. But this question is too important to be omitted in such a work as Wilson's. Wilson's work does, however, provide materials in the form of reasons for the tendency to prophetic anonymity in the late period, for the practice of writing oracles instead of delivering them orally, and for the editing of prophetic books—all of which bear upon the question of the formation of a prophetic canon and the demise of prophecy.

There is certainly a mistake in the second sentence on p. 295, where the word "premonarchical" should read "preexilic."

## BOOK NOTICES

ELLEN S. ERBES

Inclusion in this section does not preclude the subsequent review of a book. Where two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperback edition.

- Brown, Raymond E., S.S. *The Epistles of John. Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary.* The Anchor Bible. Vol. 30. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982. xxviii + 812 pp. \$18.00. This latest addition to the Anchor Bible series completes the author's trilogy on the Johannine corpus.
- Carson, D.A., ed. *From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1982. 444 pp. Paperback, \$10.95. The thesis of this work, written by numerous authors, is "that Sunday is a new day of worship that was chosen to commemorate the unique, salvation-historical event of the death and resurrection of Christ, rather than merely being another day for celebrating the Sabbath."
- Davidson, Richard M. *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical τύπος Structures.* Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series. Vol. 2. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1981. xiv + 496 pp. Paperback, \$8.95. Seeks to "ascertain the nature of biblical typology by allowing its conceptual structures to emerge from within the biblical text through a semasiological analysis of the term τύπος and NT cognates and an exegetical investigation of the hermeneutical τύπος passages in the NT."
- Davis, Anne, and Rowatt, Wade, Jr., eds. *Formation for Christian Ministry.* Louisville, Kentucky: Review and Expositor, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981. 200 pp. Paperback, \$6.00. Help for today's minister to be effective. Treats the minister's humanness, his spiritual development, family life, his different roles in the church, etc.
- Goldberg, Michael. *Theology and Narrative: A Critical Introduction.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1982. 288 pp. Paperback, \$10.95. Examines the view that all convictions, both religious and non-religious, are founded in some narratives, and investigates the meaning, truth, and rationality of narrative theology.
- Gross, Leonard. *The Golden Years of the Hutterites: The Witness and Thought of the Communal Moravian Anabaptists During the Walpot Era, 1565-1578.* Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History. No. 23. Scottdale, Pa./Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1980. 263 pp. \$12.95. Deals with the second-generation Hutterian Anabaptism of the sixteenth century, interpreting mainly from the group's own corpus of writings. Many previously unknown historical details, mainly from Europe, are here pieced together. Explores the Hutterite encounter with the world, Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, the Polish Brethren, and the Swiss Brethren.
- Haines, J. Harry. *Committed Locally—Living Globally.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1982. 95 pp. Paperback, \$3.50. Appraisal of how the United Methodist Church, which will celebrate its 200th anniversary in 1984, has fulfilled its task in the past, and challenge to meet its

central task of the future: evangelism within the denomination and throughout the world.

Jackson, Jeremy C. *No Other Foundation: The Church Through Twenty Centuries*. Westchester, Ill.: Cornerstone Books, 1980. 304 pp. \$12.95. Comprehensive overview of the church, giving a broad understanding of each historical epoch, while highlighting significant details. Seeks "to interpret the meaning of the past for our own day."

Provonsha, Jack. *You Can Go Home Again*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982. 128 pp. Paperback, \$6.95. Portrays God's love, good will, and eagerness to forgive. By better understanding the nature of human sinfulness, we can better understand God's dealing with us. Also surveys historical interpretations about the atonement.

Punt, Neal. *Unconditional Good News: Toward an Understanding of Biblical Universalism*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1980. x + 169 pp. Paperback, \$6.95. Suggests that "all persons are elect in Christ except those expressly declared by the Bible to be lost."

Reid, George W. *A Sound of Trumpets: Americans, Adventists, and Health Reform*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982. 190 pp. \$7.95. Based on the author's dissertation, the book treats the rise of the American health movement, and relates the history of the involvement of the Adventist denomination in health care.

Schaller, Lyle E. *The Small Church Is Different!* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon. 192 pp. Paperback, \$6.95. Considers the size of the small congregation to be an advantage rather than a problem in need of remedy. Points out that the small congregation puts more emphasis on the individual, has a tendency to be intergenerational, and has unique methods of financing itself.

Strand, Kenneth A., ed. *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982. 391 pp. \$19.95. Written by 19 specialists in their fields, this work deals comprehensively with the two main days of Christian worship. Discusses Sabbath and Sunday in the biblical period, as well as in Christian church history. Three chapters deal with Sabbath theology (modern Jewish and contemporary theologies of the Sabbath).



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# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

## CONSONANTS

א = 'a	ד = d	י = y	ס = s	ך = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = 'e	ש = s
ג = g	ו = w	ח = h	פ = p	ט = t
ד = g	ז = z	צ = l	ק = q	ת = t
ה = d	ח = h	מ = m	ל = l	
ו = d	ט = t	נ = n	מ = s	
			נ = q	

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

· = a	·, · (vocal shewa) = e	· = o
· = ā	·, · = ē	· = o
· = a	· = i	· = o
· = e	· = i	· = u
· = ē	· = o	· = u

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<b>AASOR</b> <i>Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	<b>BT</b> <i>The Bible Translator</i>
<b>AB</b> <i>Anchor Bible</i>	<b>BTB</b> <i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<b>AcOr</b> <i>Acta orientalia</i>	<b>BZ</b> <i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<b>ACW</b> <i>Ancient Christian Writers</i>	<b>BZAW</b> <i>Beihette zur ZAW</i>
<b>ADAJ</b> <i>Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan</i>	<b>BZNW</b> <i>Beihette zur ZNW</i>
<b>AER</b> <i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>	<b>CAD</b> <i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
<b>AFO</b> <i>Archiv für Orientalforschung</i>	<b>CBQ</b> <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<b>AHR</b> <i>American Historical Review</i>	<b>CC</b> <i>Christian Century</i>
<b>AHW</b> <i>Von Soden, Akkad. Handwörterb.</i>	<b>CH</b> <i>Church History</i>
<b>AJA</b> <i>Am. Journal of Archaeology</i>	<b>CHR</b> <i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
<b>AJBA</b> <i>Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.</i>	<b>CIG</b> <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<b>AJSL</b> <i>Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.</i>	<b>CIJ</b> <i>Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum</i>
<b>AJT</b> <i>American Journal of Theology</i>	<b>CIŁ</b> <i>Corp. Inscript. Latinarum</i>
<b>ANEP</b> <i>Anc. Near East in Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	<b>CIS</b> <i>Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum</i>
<b>ANESTP</b> <i>Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	<b>CJT</b> <i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
<b>ANET</b> <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Pritchard, ed.</i>	<b>CQ</b> <i>Church Quarterly</i>
<b>ANF</b> <i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>	<b>CQR</b> <i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<b>AnOr</b> <i>Analecta Orientalia</i>	<b>CR</b> <i>Corpus Reformatorum</i>
<b>AOS</b> <i>American Oriental Series</i>	<b>CT</b> <i>Christianity Today</i>
<b>APOT</b> <i>Apocr. and Pseud. of OT, Charles, ed.</i>	<b>CTM</b> <i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<b>ARG</b> <i>Archiv für Reformationsgesch.</i>	<b>CurTM</b> <i>Currents in Theol. and Mission</i>
<b>ARM</b> <i>Archives royales de Mari</i>	<b>DACL</b> <i>Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de lit.</i>
<b>ArOr</b> <i>Archiv Orientalni</i>	<b>DOTT</b> <i>Docs. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.</i>
<b>ARW</b> <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>	<b>DTC</b> <i>Dict. de théol. cath.</i>
<b>ASV</b> <i>American Standard Version</i>	<b>EKL</b> <i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
<b>ATR</b> <i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	<b>EnclIsl</b> <i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
<b>AUM</b> <i>Andrews Univ. Monographs</i>	<b>EncJud</b> <i>Encyclopedia judaica (1971)</i>
<b>AusBR</b> <i>Australian Biblical Review</i>	<b>ER</b> <i>Ecumenical Review</i>
<b>AUSS</b> <i>Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies</i>	<b>EuQ</b> <i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<b>BA</b> <i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	<b>EuT</b> <i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<b>BAR</b> <i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i>	<b>ExpTim</b> <i>Expository Times</i>
<b>BARev</b> <i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>	<b>FC</b> <i>Fathers of the Church</i>
<b>BASOR</b> <i>Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	<b>GRBS</b> <i>Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies</i>
<b>BCSR</b> <i>Bull. of Council on Study of Rel.</i>	<b>HeyJ</b> <i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<b>Bib</b> <i>Biblica</i>	<b>HibJ</b> <i>Hibbert Journal</i>
<b>BibB</b> <i>Biblische Beiträge</i>	<b>HR</b> <i>History of Religions</i>
<b>BibOr</b> <i>Biblica et Orientalia</i>	<b>HSM</b> <i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
<b>BIES</b> <i>Bull. of Isr. Explor. Society</i>	<b>HTR</b> <i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<b>BJRL</b> <i>Bulletin, John Rylands Library</i>	<b>HTS</b> <i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
<b>BK</b> <i>Bibel und Kirche</i>	<b>HUCA</b> <i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<b>BO</b> <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>	<b>IB</b> <i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
<b>BQR</b> <i>Baptist Quarterly Review</i>	<b>ICC</b> <i>International Critical Commentary</i>
<b>BR</b> <i>Biblical Research</i>	<b>IDB</b> <i>Interpreter's Dict. of Bible</i>
<b>BSac</b> <i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>	<b>IEJ</b> <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
	<b>Int</b> <i>Interpretation</i>
	<b>ITQ</b> <i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>

Abbreviations (cont.)

<b>JAAR</b>	<i>Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.</i>	<b>RenQ</b>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<b>JAC</b>	<i>Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum</i>	<b>RevExp</b>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<b>JAOS</b>	<i>Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.</i>	<b>RevQ</b>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
<b>JAS</b>	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>	<b>RevScRel</b>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<b>JB</b>	<i>Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.</i>	<b>RevSém</b>	<i>Revue sémitique</i>
<b>JBL</b>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	<b>RHE</b>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
<b>JBR</b>	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>	<b>RHPR</b>	<i>Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.</i>
<b>JCS</b>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>	<b>RHR</b>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<b>JEA</b>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	<b>RL</b>	<i>Religion in Life</i>
<b>JEH</b>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.</i>	<b>RLA</b>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
<b>JEOL</b>	<i>Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux</i>	<b>RPTK</b>	<i>Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche</i>
<b>JES</b>	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>	<b>RR</b>	<i>Review of Religion</i>
<b>JHS</b>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	<b>RRR</b>	<i>Review of Religious Research</i>
<b>JJS</b>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	<b>RS</b>	<i>Religious Studies</i>
<b>JMeH</b>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>	<b>RSPT</b>	<i>Revue des sc. phil. et théol.</i>
<b>JMES</b>	<i>Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>	<b>RSV</b>	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
<b>JMH</b>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>	<b>RTP</b>	<i>Revue de théol. et de phil.</i>
<b>JNES</b>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	<b>SB</b>	<i>Sources bibliques</i>
<b>JPOS</b>	<i>Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.</i>	<b>SBLDS</b>	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.</i>
<b>JQR</b>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>	<b>SBLMS</b>	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.</i>
<b>JR</b>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>	<b>SBLBS</b>	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study</i>
<b>JRAS</b>	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>	<b>SBLTT</b>	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.</i>
<b>JRE</b>	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>	<b>SBT</b>	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
<b>JReLS</b>	<i>Journal of Religious Studies</i>	<b>SCJ</b>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
<b>JRH</b>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>	<b>SCR</b>	<i>Studies in Comparative Religion</i>
<b>JRS</b>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>	<b>Sem</b>	<i>Semitica</i>
<b>JRT</b>	<i>Journal of Religious Thought</i>	<b>SJT</b>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<b>JSJ</b>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>	<b>SMRT</b>	<i>Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought</i>
<b>JSOT</b>	<i>Journal for the Study of OT</i>	<b>SOR</b>	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
<b>JSS</b>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>	<b>SPB</b>	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i>
<b>JSSR</b>	<i>Journ., Scient. Study of Religion</i>	<b>SSS</b>	<i>Semitic Studies Series</i>
<b>JTC</b>	<i>Journal for Theol. and Church</i>	<b>ST</b>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
<b>JTS</b>	<i>Journal of Theol. Studies</i>	<b>TAPS</b>	<i>Transactions of Am. Philos. Society</i>
<b>KJV</b>	<i>King James Version</i>	<b>TD</b>	<i>Theology Digest</i>
<b>LCC</b>	<i>Library of Christian Classics</i>	<b>TDNT</b>	<i>Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.</i>
<b>LCL</b>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>	<b>TDOT</b>	<i>Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.</i>
<b>LQ</b>	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>	<b>TEH</b>	<i>Theologische Existenz Heute</i>
<b>LTK</b>	<i>Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche</i>	<b>TGI</b>	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
<b>LW</b>	<i>Lutheran World</i>	<b>THAT</b>	<i>Theol. Handwört. z. AT, Jenni and Westermann, eds.</i>
<b>McCQ</b>	<i>McCormick Quarterly</i>	<b>TLZ</b>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<b>MLB</b>	<i>Modern Language Bible</i>	<b>TP</b>	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
<b>MQR</b>	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>	<b>TQ</b>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<b>NAB</b>	<i>New American Bible</i>	<b>Trad</b>	<i>Traditio</i>
<b>NASB</b>	<i>New American Standard Bible</i>	<b>TRev</b>	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
<b>NCB</b>	<i>New Century Bible</i>	<b>TRu</b>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
<b>NEB</b>	<i>New English Bible</i>	<b>TS</b>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<b>Neot</b>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>	<b>TT</b>	<i>Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
<b>NHS</b>	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>	<b>TToday</b>	<i>Theology Today</i>
<b>NICNT</b>	<i>New International Commentary, NT</i>	<b>TU</b>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
<b>NICOT</b>	<i>New International Commentary, OT</i>	<b>TZ</b>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<b>NIV</b>	<i>New International Version</i>	<b>UBSGNT</b>	<i>United Bible Societies Greek NT</i>
<b>NKZ</b>	<i>Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>	<b>UF</b>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<b>NouT</b>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	<b>USQR</b>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<b>NPNF</b>	<i>Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers</i>	<b>VC</b>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<b>NRT</b>	<i>Nouvelle revue théologique</i>	<b>VT</b>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<b>NTA</b>	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>	<b>VTSup</b>	<i>VT, Supplements</i>
<b>NTS</b>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	<b>WA</b>	<i>Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe</i>
<b>NTTS</b>	<i>NT Tools and Studies</i>	<b>WO</b>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<b>ODCC</b>	<i>Oxford Dict. of Christian Church</i>	<b>WTJ</b>	<i>Westminster Theol. Journal</i>
<b>OIP</b>	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>	<b>WZKM</b>	<i>Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.</i>
<b>OLZ</b>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>	<b>ZA</b>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<b>Or</b>	<i>Orientalia</i>	<b>ZAS</b>	<i>Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache</i>
<b>OrChr</b>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>	<b>ZAW</b>	<i>Zeitsch. für die altes. Wiss.</i>
<b>OTS</b>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>	<b>ZDMG</b>	<i>Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft</i>
<b>PEFQS</b>	<i>Pal. Expl. Fund. Quart. Statem.</i>	<b>ZDPV</b>	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.</i>
<b>PEQ</b>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>	<b>ZEE</b>	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i>
<b>PG</b>	<i>Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.</i>	<b>ZHT</b>	<i>Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie</i>
<b>PJ</b>	<i>Palästina-Jahrbuch</i>	<b>ZKG</b>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<b>PL</b>	<i>Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.</i>	<b>ZKT</b>	<i>Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie</i>
<b>PW</b>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl.</i>	<b>ZMR</b>	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft</i>
<b>QDAP</b>	<i>Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.</i>	<b>ZNW</b>	<i>Zeitsch. für die neues. Wiss.</i>
<b>RA</b>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.</i>	<b>ZRGG</b>	<i>Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.</i>
<b>RAC</b>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.</i>	<b>ZST</b>	<i>Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie</i>
<b>RArch</b>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>	<b>ZTK</b>	<i>Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche</i>
<b>RB</b>	<i>Revue biblique</i>	<b>ZWT</b>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>
<b>RechBib</b>	<i>Recherches bibliques</i>		
<b>RechSR</b>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>		
<b>REg</b>	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>		
<b>ReLS</b>	<i>Religious Studies</i>		
<b>RelSoc</b>	<i>Religion and Society</i>		
<b>RelSRev</b>	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>		

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