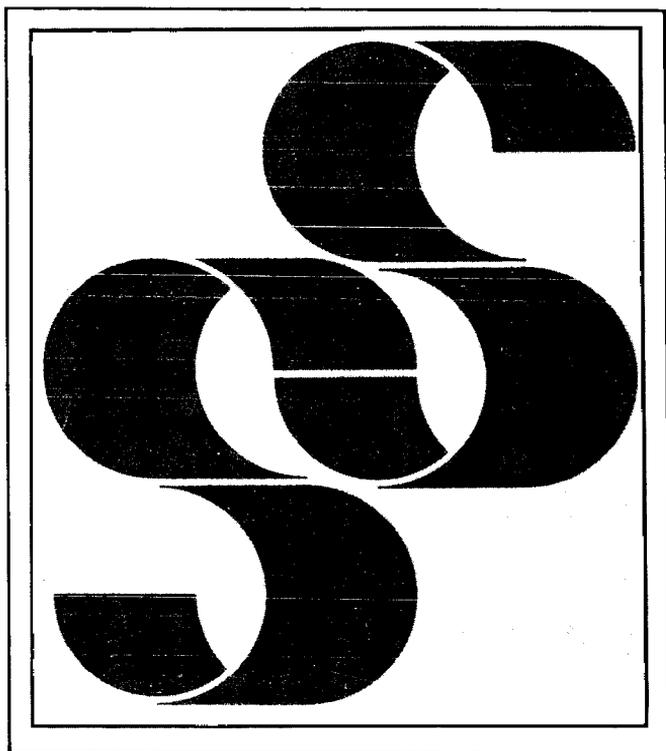


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HULDRYCH ZWINGLI AND THE REFORMED TRADITION

DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER
Andrews University

The 500th anniversary, in 1984, of Huldrych Zwingli's birth (born on January 1, 1484) was certainly marked with much less pomp than that of Luther the year before. Even in Zurich the commemoration was rather subdued. No major international congress gathered in that city; not even a commemorative stamp was issued. Somehow, Zwingli is considered by many as a reformer of mostly local significance, who did not make a major contribution to the church at large. While there are clearly identified Lutherans and Calvinists all over the world, where are the Zwinglians?

It would be a grave mistake, however, to look upon Zwingli as a man who grew up within the narrow confines of an Alpine valley, far out of touch with the rest of the world. It is true that Zwingli remained a Swiss in language and ways, but his education took him to two of the most vibrant centers of humanism of the time, Vienna and Basel, and he had among his teachers some highly respected humanists. His master at Basel, Amerbach, was the editor of the works of Augustine that Luther used. As a chaplain to Swiss mercenary soldiers in Italy, Zwingli knew Italy as one who had lived there, not merely as a visiting scholar. There he came in contact with some of the worst social cancers of his age. He knew first-hand the dissolution, the greed, the social diseases which accompany troops in a foreign land. When Zwingli came to Zurich, he had a vision that was far wider than that of the men who grew up in the small villages of the Toggenburg. He knew the world, and his ministry and his writings were concerned with the problems of the world. By blending together the concern for truth and life, he is the fountainhead of the reformed tradition. By his insistence on a church doctrine, a church polity, and a Christian society that are clearly and exclusively grounded in the Scriptures, he is the spiritual father of the reformed strand of the Protestant family.

1. *Centrality of God's Word in Zwingli's Thought*

Much of Zwingli's attitude and thought can be explained by what was probably the most significant experience of his life. In his sermon on "The Clarity and the Certainty of the Word of God," he says:

I know for certain that God teaches me, because I have experienced the fact of it: and to prevent misunderstanding this is what I mean when I say that I know for certain that God teaches me. When I was younger, I gave myself overmuch to human teaching, like others of my day, and when about seven or eight years ago I undertook to devote myself entirely to the Scriptures I was always prevented by philosophy and theology. But eventually I came to the point where led by the Word and Spirit of God I saw the need to set aside all these things and to learn the doctrine of God direct from his own Word. Then I began to ask God for light and the Scriptures became far clearer to me—even though I read nothing else—than if I had studied many commentators and expositors. Note that this is always a sure sign of God's leading, for I could never have reached that point by my own feeble understanding. You may see then that my interpretation does not derive from the over-estimation of myself but the subjection.¹

In this passage, Zwingli expresses several ideas of great importance for him and the reformed tradition. First, he holds to a radical concept of *scriptura sola*, with a frank and a thoroughgoing contempt for teachings that are of human origin. For him, traditional theology and philosophy are not only unnecessary; they are detrimental, because they prevent a seeker for truth from learning directly from the Word. Even commentaries should be shunned: one must learn directly from the sacred text itself.

Also, Zwingli is absolutely certain that he understands the Bible properly. It is clear and self-explanatory when one depends on the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, who gives not only an inner witness to the authority of the biblical writings but also the correct

¹In *Zwingli and Bullinger*, trans. G. W. Bromiley, LCC 24 (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 90-91. On the reformed tradition, see John H. Leith, *Introduction to the Reformed Tradition* (Atlanta, 1977).

interpretation.² This assurance of learning truth from a divine source produces an unspeakable joy because of the conviction that on his own he could never have discovered the proper meaning of the Word. For Zwingli, therefore, the knowledge of truth is the ultimate experience of man. It occupies in his life and thought the place that the assurance of forgiveness of sin and divine favor has in Luther.

With Zwingli, the humanist "ad fontes" takes a totally new dimension of being the key to all spiritual enlightenment. Direct contact with the Scriptures provides a form of mystical ecstasy, the assurance of the proximity of the divine that does away with the need for the "mysteries" of traditional Catholicism, its elaborate ritual in a foreign tongue, and its dependence on music, vestments, and incense to produce an elevation of the soul to God. Zwingli would vehemently reject the accusation commonly heard these days that reformed worship is a barren, didactic experience that says little to the heart or the imagination of the worshiper and fails to provide an experience of the presence of the divine. For the reformer of Zurich, there is no time when God is so near as when he speaks directly to a person through his Word. Thus, Zwingli could substitute preaching for the Mass, the spoken word for the visual experience of a sacrifice on the altar of the church, without fear of impoverishing the spiritual impact of public worship.

With this conviction, he could let go of the *magisterium* of the church, because too often church councils have depended on human reason and compromise to achieve their objectives. To the vicar of the bishop of Constance, who asserted that the church assembled in council in the name of the Holy Spirit cannot err, Zwingli replied: "But when he says what has been decreed by councils and fathers is to be obeyed like the Gospels I say what is as true as the Gospels and in accordance with the divine Spirit one is bound to obey, but

²The witness of the Spirit is usually given as the ground of the authority of Scripture. "We know these books to be canonical and the sure rule of our faith, not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and inward illumination of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books upon which, however useful, we can not found any articles of faith" (*The French Confession of Faith*, 1559, Art. IV, in *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century*, ed. Arthur C. Cochrane [Philadelphia, 1966], p. 145).

not what is decreed in accordance with human reason.”³ What Zwingli expected to be the collective assent of the church through the illumination of the Holy Spirit was to have the supreme authority. Thus, we have in Zurich the public debates held under the sovereignty of the sacred writings. If there is any disagreement, those writings are the proper arbiter in religious matters. As he speaks to the vicar, he says:

... I beg of him for the sake of God and of Christian love to show me the place and location, also of the words of the Scripture, where it is written that one should pray to the saints as mediators, so that if I have erred, and err now, I may be better instructed, since there are here present Bibles in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages. These we will have examined by those present who are sufficiently well taught in the above-mentioned tongues. . . .⁴

For Zwingli, trust in the enlightenment that comes to all through the Word does away with the Catholic requirement of implicit faith in the word of the church. It is the duty of each individual to learn for himself, to verify for himself, what he is being taught. This certainly announces the reformed layman, who reads the Scriptures for himself and who can discuss theological issues with opponents of his faith. This justifies also Zwingli's concept of the church. The true church is never an assembly of high church officials, but is a collectivity of individuals who depend exclusively upon the Word and the will of God:

I ask what is meant by “Church?” Does one mean the pope at Rome with his tyrannical power and the pomp of cardinals and bishops greater than that of all emperors and princes? then I say that this Church has often gone wrong and erred as everyone knows. . . . But there is another Church which the popes do not wish to recognize; this one is no other than all right Christians, collected in the name of the Holy Ghost and by the will of God, which have placed a firm belief and an unhesitating hope in God, her spouse. That Church does not reign according to the flesh powerfully upon earth, nor does it reign arbitrarily, but depends and rests only upon the word and will of God, does not seek

³*Acts of the First Zurich Disputation*, in *Ulrich Zwingli: Selected Works*, ed. Samuel M. Jackson (1901; reprint ed., Philadelphia, 1972), p. 84.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 63.

temporal honor and to bring under its control much territory and many people and rule other Christians. That Church cannot err.⁵

Acceptance of the *magisterium* of the Word provides, therefore, an authority that is even greater than that of the church of Rome.

At any rate, this divine illumination is a requirement because man by nature cannot come to faith. The presence of belief is a sure sign of the activity of God:

Since, therefore, it is clear that whoever upon hearing the words "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," immediately believes that the world is the work of God does not come to that through the power of the words or of our intellect (for if the words could effect this, all would be made pious; and, if our intellect could, no one who heard would be impious), it is manifest that the faithful believe that God exists, and that the world is His work, etc., just because they are taught this by God. It is of God alone, therefore, that you believe that God exists and that you have faith in him.⁶

Zwingli contrasts here the power of words and the teaching of God; and he attempts to show that if human formulas could give faith, all men would have faith because, as he states just above, there is really no difference between the endowment of the pious and the impious. Men do not believe merely because they hear someone assert something. More people who hear disbelieve than believe. The presence of faith is, therefore, always the evidence of a divine illumination. For the same reason, truth among Christians and among non-Christians comes from the same source: "If certain men have uttered certain truths on this subject, it has been from the mouth of God, who has scattered even among the heathen some

⁵Ibid., p. 85. Cf.: "We say, then, according to the Word of God, that [the Church] is the company of the faithful who agree to follow his Word, and the pure religion which it teaches; who advance in it all their lives, growing and becoming more confirmed in the fear of God according as they feel the want of growing and pressing onward" (*French Confession*, Art. XXVIII, in *Reformed Confessions*, p. 153).

⁶*True and False Religion*, ed. Samuel M. Jackson (1929; reprint ed., Durham, N.C., 1951), p. 61. Cf.: "We believe that we are enlightened in faith by the secret power of the Holy Spirit . . ." (*French Confession*, Art. XXI, in *Reformed Confessions*, p. 151).

seeds of the knowledge of Himself, though sparingly and darkly.”⁷

Man was created to be able to be illumined by God. Being created in the image of God was not only being endowed with mental and moral capacities but especially being driven by a yearning for the experience of hearing the word of God:

[Man] has this in common with God, not merely that he is rational, but that he looks to God and to the words of God, thus signifying that by nature he is more closely related, more nearly akin to God, far more like God, all of which undoubtedly derives from the fact that he is created in the divine image. . . . [Several pages later:] Now if we have found that the inward man is as stated, and that it delights in the law of God because it is created in the divine image in order to have fellowship with him, it follows necessarily that there is no law or word that will give greater delight to the inward man than the word of God.⁸

Zwingli thus swerves from the classical emphasis upon human rationality to the human being’s unique capacity to relate to God. To be truly human is to live to hear and understand God’s Word. Man will be frustrated and restless as long as he turns to human words. Happiness can only be found in listening to God’s communication. The rationale for the reformed obsession with religion, for giving a religious significance to all the acts of life, appears here. To commune with God is not something that is abnormal and which must be reserved to the moments of worship, but it is the purpose of every instant of life. Communing with God is not an extraordinary experience that easily makes the one who does it somewhat peculiar or strange, but it is the most natural function of a being created in the image of God.

It is also easy, according to Zwingli, to distinguish between true and false religion. True religion is suited to the nature of man. It is built on the word of God; false religion is built on the word of man. A pious man cannot rely upon church traditions. His very nature rebels against that. Zwingli sets forth his position as follows:

⁷*True and False Religion*, p. 62.

⁸“Clarity,” *Zwingli and Bullinger*, pp. 62 and 67. “On the contrary, God created man good and in his image, that is, in true righteousness and holiness, so that he might rightly know God his Creator . . .” (*Heidelberg Catechism*, Q. 6, in *Reformed Confessions*, p. 306).

The pious man, therefore, is the only one who is fed, refreshed, and comforted by the word of God. Conversely, it follows that the pious man cannot feed on any other word than the divine. For as he trusts in God alone, so he is made sure by His word alone, so he accepts the word of none but God. . . . Nothing, therefore, of ours is to be added to the Word of God, and nothing taken from His word by rashness of ours.⁹

Zwingli's determination can be expected: "The will of God is this that he alone should be the teacher. And I intend to be taught by him and not by men, that is, in respect to doctrine. For in respect of sin and disobedience I will be subject to all."¹⁰

The tragedy of Adam, Zwingli declares, is that he tried to listen to other words than God's words; and the fallacy of the scholastic system is that it attempts to discover truth from both revelation and human speculation, and it must be rejected. All the subtleties of Aristotelian logic are no match for the simple illumination of the Holy Spirit. "The doctrine of God is never formed more clearly than when it is done by God himself and in the words of God."¹¹ Genuine reformation always leads to the Word. In *True and False Religion*, Zwingli calls the reformation the "renascent word."¹²

2. *God's Word in Personal Life and Society*

God's Word had a unique place in Zwingli's personal life. According to Bullinger, he committed to memory the epistles of Paul in the original language.¹³ As soon as Erasmus' Greek NT appeared, he copied it for his personal use.¹⁴ No one, he felt, now had any excuse to be ignorant of the Word:

⁹*True and False Religion*, p. 94.

¹⁰"Clarity," *Zwingli and Bullinger*, p. 92.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

¹²*True and False Religion*, p. 98.

¹³Gottfried Locher, "Zwingli and Erasmus," *Erasmus in English: A Newsletter Published by University of Toronto Press*, 10 (1979-80): 4.

¹⁴Jean Rilliet, *Zwingli: Third Man of the Reformation*, trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 37.

But now through the grace of God the divine Gospel and Scriptures have been born and brought to light by means of print (especially at Basel) so that they are in Latin and German, wherefrom every pious Christian who can read or knows Latin can easily inform himself and learn the will of God. This has been attained, God be praised, that now a priest who is diligent may learn and know as much in two or three years concerning the Scriptures as formerly in ten or fifteen years. Therefore I wish all the priests who have benefices under my lords of Zurich or in their counties . . . exhorted that each one is diligent and labors to read the Scriptures, and especially those who are preachers and caretakers of the soul, let each one buy a New Testament in Latin or in German, if he does not understand the Latin or is unable to interpret it. For I also am not ashamed to read German at times, on account of easier presentation. . . . For matters have reached such a state that also the laymen and women know more of the Scriptures than some priests and clergymen.¹⁵

He gives some instruction concerning the order in which the Scriptures should be read:

Let one begin to read first the gospel of St. Matthew, especially the v., vi., and vii. chapters. After that let him read the other gospels, so that he may know what they write and say. After that he should take the Acts. After this the epistles of Paul but first the one to the Galatians. Then the epistle of St. Peter and other divine texts; thus he can readily form within himself a right Christian life, and become more skillful to teach this better to others also. After that let him work in the Old Testament, in the prophets and other books of the Bible, which, I understand, are soon to appear in Latin and German.¹⁶

However, Zwingli is not opposed to the reading of the church fathers. But when something is found in them which is like the gospel, then the gospel should be quoted.

Zwingli's dependence upon the sacred texts leads him to a kind of proof-text use of the Scriptures that is especially observable in his *True and False Religion*. For instance, in the chapter on God, after

¹⁵*First Zurich Disputation*, pp. 106-107.

¹⁶*Ibid.* Cf. the sequence of the books on which Zwingli preached in Zurich; see Gottfried Locher, *Zwingli's Thought—New Perspectives*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 25 (Leiden, 1981), p. 27.

a brief "argument" (the name that Zwingli gives to a summary of the topic), he says: "Now is the time to bring forward the witness of the word itself to everything that has been said so far about the wisdom and providence of God."¹⁷ In the discussion of the nature of man, he states: "But it is better to prove the matter by the testimony of the Word of God than by arguments, even though these are founded upon the Word of God."¹⁸ "Now I will come to the testimony of the Word," he writes in the section on repentance, "lest I seem to anyone to have brought forward my own rather than heavenly testimony."¹⁹

This radical dependence upon divine help for the understanding of truth gives to Zwingli's theological writings a unique tone. He interrupts himself at times to ask for divine illumination. For instance, as he is about to discuss the significance of the gospel, he stops and writes: "Since by human discourse, however rich, the untaught mind cannot be persuaded in the things of faith unless the Lord so teach and draw the heart that it delights to follow, we must also appear to him . . . so to illumine the minds of those to whom we would communicate His gospel that they shall be able to grasp the meaning of the gospel. . . . May the Lord put the right words in my mouth!"²⁰

It was around the Word that the prophesyings at Zurich were conducted. Every day at 7:00 a.m., except Sunday and Friday, students and pastors gathered in the cathedral. One person read the text for the day in Latin, another gave the Hebrew, while a third provided the reading in the Greek Septuagint and explained the passage. Then the practical use was shown. Suggestions were made on how to preach on that text, and finally someone would preach a sermon in German on the passage that had been studied.²¹

Zwingli's loyalty to the Word was such that he even countenanced civil disobedience for its sake: "Where the government, therefore, obstructs the free course of the heavenly word, the best men turn away from the government and have regard to everything

¹⁷*True and False Religion*, p. 68.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 132; cf. pp. 74-75.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 106.

²¹Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, pp. 27-32.

that can preserve the heavenly teaching. Even though it is very hard to do this, yet they do it, because they are unwilling to lose the soul's treasure when it has been found."²² This stubborn commitment to the law of conscience was to become quite characteristic of the reformed faith, which often led its followers to persecutions and to exile.

This high concept of the Word extends to the OT as well as to the NT. Zwingli does not distinguish in the Decalogue between laws grounded on natural law (and therefore binding on all mankind) and laws given exclusively to the Jews. He says: "The law is nothing else than the eternal will of God. . . . The law is therefore nothing else than teachings as to the will of God, through which we understood what He wills, what He wills not, what He demands, what He forbids. But that the will of God is permanent, so that He is never going to change any part of that law which has to do with the inner man, is evident from the words of the lawgiver himself."²³ Freedom from the law is not to be understood in the sense of not being bound to do what the law bids, but in pleasing God from the heart freely: "We do for love that which we know will please God."²⁴

It is interesting that Zwingli affirms the moral guidance of the law more than its condemnation of sin. For him, salvation is much more than the forgiveness of sin and relief from the sense of guilt before God. Defining the gospel, he states: "The gospel . . . teaches us to embrace not only grace but a new life."²⁵ God's plan is to

²²"Dedicatory Letter," *True and False Religion*, p. 53.

²³*True and False Religion*, p. 137. In the *Institutes* 2.8.51, Calvin says: "Now it will not be difficult to decide the purpose of the whole law: the fulfillment of righteousness to form human life to the archetype of divine purity. For God has so depicted His character in the law that if any man carries out in deeds whatever is enjoined there, he will express the image of God, as it were, in his own life."

²⁴*True and False Religion*, p. 141. In the 1538 *Catechism*, Calvin writes: "Now Christians make a far different use of the law than those without faith can make of it. For where the Lord has engraved on our hearts the love of His righteousness, the outward teaching of the law which previously was accusing us of nothing but transgression is now a lantern for our feet to keep us from wandering away from the straight path. It is our wisdom by which we are formed and instructed in complete righteousness. It is our discipline which does not permit us to abandon ourselves in more wicked license" (trans. Ford L. Battles [Pittsburgh, 1972], p. 21).

²⁵*True and False Religion*, p. 172. Cf.: "Hence Christ makes no one just whom He does not also make holy. For those benefits are connected together by an eternal and indissoluble bond" (Calvin, *Inst.* 3.16.1).

change man: "When, therefore, Divine Majesty formed the plan of redeeming man, it did not intend that the world should persist and become inveterate in its wickedness. . . . He proclaims, therefore, at the start, that our lives and characters must be changed. For to be a Christian is nothing less than to be a new man and a new creature [2 Cor 5:17]." ²⁶

The Zurich reformer does not, however, assert that a human being can become perfect. What is renewed is the heart. Through the Holy Spirit, the person knows himself. The power of self-deception of sin is broken. The renewed individual stops trusting his goodness, his wisdom, and puts his hopes in God alone. As the body brings forth carnal works, this person sorrows over the wretched evidence of the power of the "old man" in him, but he refuses to give up. Zwingli states: "This, then, is the Christian life: when the hope in God through Christ never wavers, even though man through the weakness of the flesh is not without sin, yet comes out victorious because he does not surrender himself to it, but as often as he falls always rises again." ²⁷

For Zwingli, not one area of human activity is exempt from the control and purification of the Word. As Gottfried Locher states: "Thus of all the reformers Zwingli is the most conscious reformer not only of the faith of the church, or even of the personal Christian life, but rather of the whole life of Christendom." ²⁸

With respect to public worship, Zwingli's concept was that the worship service must be structured as a response to the witness of the Word. For him, even the order of worship reflects the action of the Word. The prayer of confession must follow the sermon, for confession without a true exposition of the Word is only hypocrisy; but after the Scripture has been heard, it is possible to have genuine common prayer. The promise of forgiveness of sin comes before, rather than after, the sermon. ²⁹

The purpose of God is to create a holy Christian community, Zwingli contends. That is what God seeks when he appoints some-

²⁶*True and False Religion*, p. 120. "We believe that this true faith, being wrought in man by the hearing of the Word of God and the operation of the Holy Ghost, doth regenerate and make him a new man, causing him to live a new life" (*Belgic Confession*, in *Reformed Confessions*, p. 205).

²⁷*True and False Religion*, pp. 149-150.

²⁸Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*, p. 4.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 18, n. 55.

one as a magistrate. Christian love makes man a good citizen and a good magistrate. The state has everything to gain from the influence of the church, and the latter benefits from the protection of the state. "Since therefore, the spirit of Christ has that which the state particularly needs, nothing more auspicious can come to the state than love," Zwingli states (along with Augustine), "and since the gospel brings this with it, it is evident that the state becomes strong and holy only in case good hearts are united with good laws. No state, therefore, will be happier than that in which also true religion dwells."³⁰ This means that the best magistrate is a Christian; in fact, only a Christian can be a good ruler:

Hence, I declare, quite differently from what our friends hold, that a magistrate cannot even be just and righteous unless he be a Christian. Take away from the magistrate, who is above the fear of man, the fear of God and you make him a tyrant. Infuse into the tyrant the fear of God and of his own accord he will do more freely and faithfully what the law orders than any terror could have caused him to, and out of a tyrant you will make a father on the pattern of Him whom as a result of faith he begins to fear and to serve, namely God.³¹

This integration of gospel, life, and society is typical of the reformed tradition. This ideal was expressed in what John Knox called the most perfect school of Christ at Geneva. It was Martin Bucer's dream for England in his treatise for the young king Edward, *De regno Christi*. In the *Institutes*, John Calvin has stated: "For what great zeal for uprightness, for prudence, gentleness, self-control, and for innocence ought to be required of themselves those who know that they have been ordained ministers of divine justice?"³²

The unique authority and importance of Scriptures for Zwingli, therefore, cannot be overemphasized. It stands at the heart of his theology and his actions. We must remember also that in his sermon on the clarity of Scriptures in 1522, Zwingli had joined certainty with the clarity of the Word, which, for the reformer,

³⁰*True and False Religion*, p. 295.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 296.

³²*Inst.* 4.20.6.

came from the Holy Spirit's conveying of the true meaning of the Word.

3. *Changing Approach in Bible Study*

It is interesting to note that this second dimension—this illumination by the Holy Spirit—is greatly toned down in some of Zwingli's later writings. In the *Treatise on Baptism* (1525), he states: "I ask all believers to read and ponder my words with Christian good-will and charity, not allowing themselves to be so hardened by contentiousness or obstinacy that they will not accept that which they clearly perceive, but obscure by controversy."³³ Zwingli does not here attribute clearly that perception to the Holy Spirit. It could be purely the result of persuasion through the evidence that has been offered. In his work *On the Lord's Supper* (1526), he describes the method that he will follow in dealing with this subject:

The whole question has its source in the misunderstanding of the text: "This is my body." Therefore our first task will be to consider these words in the light of the various misinterpretations and to see what errors result. As our second article we will turn to the Scriptures and the articles of the Creed in order to prove that the text cannot have the meaning which a wresting of the words has given to it. As our third, we will establish out of Scriptures the true and natural sense.³⁴

It is interesting that now Zwingli plans to quote the creed before he turns to the Scriptures exclusively.

Similarly, to Francis I, he states in his "Dedication" to his *Exposition of the Faith* (1531): "For we teach not a single jot which we have not learned from the sacred Scriptures. Nor do we make a single assertion for which we have not the authority of the first doctors of the Church—prophets, apostles, bishops, evangelists and expositors—those ancient fathers who drew more purely from the fountainhead."³⁵ Obviously, Zwingli could have reserved these

³³Zwingli and Bullinger, p. 129.

³⁴Ibid., p. 278. On p. 246 of the same work, Zwingli refers to divine knowledge that a man has "in his own experience."

³⁵"Dedicatory Letter," *True and False Religion*, p. 53.

titles for the writers of the Scriptures; but if he did so, he allowed himself to be extremely ambiguous.

In the sermon on the clarity and certainty of Scriptures, he had tried to formulate certain criteria for determining when the Spirit was speaking.³⁶ First, a Christian must pray for the death of the "old man," who depends so much on his own wisdom. That request for humility and for the capacity to study the Scriptures without preconceived opinion must be accompanied by a special desire for complete teachability. The secret of hearing the Spirit is humility, and Zwingli notes that when the Word speaks to us, it exalts the lowly and humbles the one who trusts in himself. The activity of the Spirit is also marked by an unselfish attitude of seeking the good of others, rather than the vindication of one's own ideas. When the Spirit is present, the Word becomes more precious, and there is an assurance of eternal salvation. The fear of God gives joy rather than sorrow. When these conditions are met, the Holy Spirit speaks.

In his dedicatory epistle in *True and False Religion*, Zwingli had provided another evidence: "This word which we preach today is diametrically opposed to the vices in which we abound. It cannot be denied that it is the Word of God."³⁷

However, he found out that others who claimed the Spirit's illumination came to different conclusions. "Though [the Catabaptists] had not a right understanding of the passage they yet said that they had been taught by the Holy Spirit, and that they must obey God rather than man."³⁸

In the *Institutes*, Calvin assigns to the Spirit the role of sealing the truth on the mind. "Therefore the Spirit, promised to us, has not the task of inventing new and unheard-of revelations, or of forging a new kind of doctrine of the gospel, but of sealing our minds with that very doctrine which is commended by the gospel."³⁹ A little further along, he says: "But if through the Spirit it is really branded upon hearts, if it shows forth Christ, it is the word of life. . . . For by a kind of mutual bond the Lord has joined together

³⁶"Clarity," *Zwingli and Bullinger*, pp. 93-95.

³⁷*True and False Religion*, pp. 50-51.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 299.

³⁹*Inst.* 1.9.1.

the certainty of his Word and of his Spirit so that the perfect religion of the Word may abide in our minds when the Spirit, who causes us to contemplate God's face, shines."⁴⁰

That new approach is reflected in the *Second Helvetic Confession*:

We hold that interpretation of the Scripture to be orthodox and genuine which is gleaned from the Scriptures themselves (from the nature of the language in which they were written, likewise according to the circumstances in which they were set down, and expounded in the light of like and unlike passages and of many and clearer passages) and which agrees with the rule of faith and love, and contributes much to the glory of God and man's salvation."⁴¹

The direct illumination of the Spirit is no longer mentioned. The emphasis lies on the language, on the knowledge of Scriptures, and on comparison with other texts. That is to say, an historico-literary approach is safer than a pneumatic interpretation. And hence, Zwingli's demand for an educated clergy now takes on an immense significance. To understand truth, one must have the proper training. The tradition of a well-educated ministry is very strong among the Reformed.

Thus, the naive trust that anyone who opened the Bible could depend on the Holy Spirit to arrive at the proper meaning of the text and that all who followed that method would agree had to be abandoned. Zwingli's dream of the "blank mental page" that could register the teaching of the Spirit in complete detachment from one's cultural and spiritual background had to fade. Different people who studied the Word with the same trust in the Spirit came to different conclusions. A more objective method had to be used.

But men continued to hold to that ideal of the Spirit's guidance in interpretation, and to the feeling that they could not disregard the truth they had received. It was a mighty spur for discovering new truth, and led to one of the characteristics of the Reformed family of churches, a more and more complex religious pluralism—a trait that manifested itself especially clearly in England. The

⁴⁰*Inst.* 1.9.3.

⁴¹*Reformed Confessions*, p. 226.

effort was not vain, however, for it was one of the greatest incentives for the spiritual descendants of Zwingli to love the Scripture and to be diligent students of its pages. It was also the root of one of the greatest privileges of modern man in many of the Christian lands—religious freedom.

RIGHTEOUSNESS AND WICKEDNESS IN ECCLESIASTES 7:15-18

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Good and evil, righteousness and wickedness, virtue and vice—these are common subjects in the Scriptures. The poetical books, especially, are much concerned with the acts of righteous and unrighteous persons. Qoheleth, in Ecclesiastes, declares that “there is nothing better . . . than to rejoice and to do good in one’s lifetime” (3:12, NASB). In fact, he concludes the book with the warning that “God will bring every act to judgment, everything which is hidden, whether it is good or evil” (12:14).

But how righteous should one try to be, and for what purpose? Qoheleth sets forth what appears to be a strange answer in Ecc 7:15-18:

I have seen everything during my lifetime of futility; there is a righteous man who perishes in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man who prolongs his life in his wickedness. Do not be excessively righteous, and do not be overly wise. Why should you ruin yourself? Do not be excessively wicked, and do not be a fool. Why should you die before your time? It is good that you grasp one thing, and also not let go of the other; for the one who fears God comes forth with both of them. (NASB)

1. *Common Interpretations of Ecclesiastes 7:15-18*

Walter C. Kaiser contends that “few verses in Ecclesiastes are more susceptible to incorrect interpretations than 7:16-18.”¹ In fact, interpreters of Ecclesiastes tend to view the argument of 7:15-18 in a variety of ways, depending upon whether they are willing to attribute to the author a sense of relativity and “moderation” in moral conduct.²

¹Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *Ecclesiastes: Total Life* (Chicago, 1979), p. 85.

²The Jewish Targum seems to interpret the word “righteous” here in a technical sense as an admonition to judges not to be too severe in their judgments,

The Golden Mean

Kaiser has also observed that "for many, Solomon's advice is the so-called golden mean; it is as if he had said: 'Don't be too holy and don't be too wicked. Sin to a moderate degree!'"³ Indeed, almost every commentator speaks directly or indirectly of Qoheleth's "doctrine of the golden mean."⁴ Those commentators who understand the author of Ecclesiastes to be advocating the idea of this sort of "golden mean" between virtue and vice usually date the book quite late, since the concept of a "mean" by which to guide one's life is thought to have gained popularity during the time of Aristotle, or even of the Stoics.⁵

To many, Qoheleth's apparent failure to exhort his readers to totally righteous behavior seems to leave him open to the charge of teaching immorality and misconduct.⁶ They believe that he was advocating a "middle way" between righteousness and wickedness, because, as stated by R. N. Whybray, "(i) his [Qoheleth's] experience had taught him that neither necessarily has any effect on men's

but this is a minority view and is certainly not consistent with the context; cf. A. D. Power, *Ecclesiastes or The Preacher* (London, Eng., 1952), p. 94; Christian D. Ginsburg, *Cohoeleth* (1861; reprint, New York, 1970), p. 379.

³Kaiser, p. 85; the arguments and conclusions presented here are valid regardless of one's view of the authorship of Ecclesiastes, as long as one accepts the unity and positive perspective of the book; this latter problem is important, but cannot be discussed in this article.

⁴R. N. Whybray, "Qoheleth the Immoralist? (Qoh. 7:16-17)," in *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien*, ed. John G. Gammie (New York, 1978), p. 203, n. 4.

⁵See n. 2, above; cf. Robert Gordis, *Koheleth: The Man and His World*, 3d ed. (New York, 1968), pp. 178, 276. Aristotle said, "Virtue lies in a mean between opposite extremes" (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 2.6.7), a golden mean that was constantly advocated by Greek and Latin writers (see Power, pp. 94-95). Confucius also advocated a type of "common sense" which resembled the Aristotelian mean (see Harold H. Watts, *The Modern Reader's Guide to Religions* [New York, 1964], p. 540). Buddha recommended his "Middle Way," which sought to avoid the two extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification; this "Middle Way" involves an eightfold path toward detachment from life, the elimination of desire, and thus the cessation of suffering (see Watts, p. 480; and J. N. D. Anderson, *The World's Religions* [Chicago, 1950], p. 121).

⁶Whybray, p. 191.

fortunes in terms of divinely imposed reward or punishment"; and "(ii) it had also taught him that extremes of any kind are in practice more likely to lead to disaster than is moderation."⁷

Is this what Qoheleth is urging? Is he suggesting that since personal righteousness is no guarantee of long life or happiness (7:15), the reader should become "amoral,"⁸ steering a middle course between right and wrong? Or is he warning against becoming "too goody-goody or too impossibly naughty"?⁹

G. A. Barton, who concludes that Qoheleth's warning against "extreme righteousness" is a reproof of the excessive legal observances of the "*Chasidim*," states further that "some interpreters . . . hesitate to admit that Qoheleth really implies that one may sin to a moderate degree. That, however, is what he undoubtedly implies."¹⁰

Loyal Young takes the meaning of the passage to be that if "one would avoid premature death, let him be neither too righteous nor too wicked"; he refers to a number of Hebrew and Christian martyrs, on the one hand, and to the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, on the other hand, and then concludes: "The first class were too righteous for their own safety:—the last class were too wicked to be spared. This seems to be the only *satisfactory* explanation of the verses."¹¹ He adds, however, that "every man, judging for himself, is consoled in his short-comings by the supposition that those more godly or more moral than he are too righteous," and that the true explanation seems to be that "if there is no future world, let us make the best we can of this, avoiding the extremes of too much zeal for God, and too much wickedness."¹²

Some commentators who recognize the "golden mean" in Eccl 7:15-18 do so because they believe that the author is speaking as a mere "man under the sun." Samuel Cox, for example, concludes

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 102, n. 3.

⁹Power, p. 95.

¹⁰George A. Barton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes*, ICC (New York, 1908), p. 144.

¹¹Loyal Young, *A Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes* (Philadelphia, 1865), p. 170.

¹²Ibid., p. 171.

that the author permits a “temperate indulgence both in virtue and in vice, carrying neither to excess (ver. 18)—a doctrine still very dear to the mere man of the world.”¹³

J. N. Coleman suggests that the word “saying” belongs at the end of 7:15, so that the passage should read: “And there is a wicked man who prolongs his life through his iniquity (saying), ‘Be not righteous overmuch, neither make yourself overwise; why should you destroy yourself?’”¹⁴ Coleman thus declares that “this worldly maxim is the counsel of the wicked man, not the maxim or teaching of Solomon”; and consequently, the inspired reply of Solomon, then, is at vs. 17: “Do not be overmuch wicked”—that is, do not add to original sin actual rejection of God and his will.¹⁵

R. B. Y. Scott contends that the “mean” of 7:16-17 follows from the assertion in 7:15 that “men do not receive their just deserts.” It is therefore “as unprofitable for men to exhaust themselves in struggling for moral perfection as it is to hasten their demise through folly”; and while wisdom is important, he says, no one can be perfect.¹⁶ On the other hand, Robert Gordis interprets the passage as a warning that “both extremes of saintliness and wickedness lead to unhappiness”; what is best is a moderate course between both extremes.¹⁷

According to C. D. Ginsburg, it is impossible to make the passage conform to orthodoxy.¹⁸ The author teaches that one should be “as moderate in the indulgence of sin” as he should be “temperate in the practice of virtue.”¹⁹ Ginsburg adds, however, that this viewpoint is not the final opinion of the author; that opinion comes later, at the end of the book, and it should not be anticipated in this passage.²⁰

¹³Samuel Cox, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, The Expositors' Bible, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll (New York, n.d.), p. 200.

¹⁴John N. Coleman, *Ecclesiastes* (Edinburgh, 1867), p. 37.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁶R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, AB (Garden City, N.Y., 1965), p. 237. He attributes the Greek maxim, “nothing too much,” to Solon (ca. 600 B.C.).

¹⁷Gordis, p. 179.

¹⁸Ginsburg, p. 379.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 380.

²⁰*Ibid.*

Fanaticism and Legalism

Other commentators, while perhaps acknowledging an exhortation to moderation in Eccl 7:15-18, see the author as warning especially against fanaticism. Edgar Jones, for instance, says that the passage is "reporting that the fanatical extremist does run into trouble."²¹ And Franz Delitzsch holds a somewhat similar opinion, declaring that the author teaches that one should not exaggerate righteousness; for "if it occurs that a righteous man, in spite of his righteousness, perishes, this happens, at earliest, in the case in which, in the practice of righteousness, he goes beyond the right measure and limit."²²

Certain other commentators see in all of this a reference to the legalism of the Pharisees. A. D. Power, for example, suggests that possibly "religious" would be a better understanding of the word "righteous" here, "for K. might have been thinking of the Pharisees who paid tithes of mint and anise and cummin, but overlooked such matters as judgment, mercy and faith (cf. Matt 23:23), so perhaps the writer here meant religious or ritualistic, like the Pharisees who strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel. . . ."²³

This view understands the words of Qoheleth to refer to an excessive concentration on legal observance or pious practices. H. C. Leupold describes them as referring to "a righteousness that is beginning to go to seed, a righteousness that will flourish in its most distorted form in the days of Jesus, in regard to which Jesus will be moved to say: 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, etc.' (Matt 5:20)."²⁴

Whybray states that scholars have suggested two possible reasons for the giving of such advice:

- (i) Such striving after perfection is not a virtue, but rather a sin: that of pride or blasphemy. (ii) Such excessive behavior is not required by God, and is to be avoided: for on the one hand its

²¹Edgar Jones, *Proverbs and Ecclesiastes*, Torch Bible Commentaries (New York, 1961), pp. 319-320.

²²Franz Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1950), p. 324.

²³Power, p. 95.

²⁴H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Ecclesiastes* (Columbus, Ohio, 1952), p. 164.

goal is beyond man's capacity and so it can achieve nothing; and on the other hand it makes life joyless, leading to narrowness and bigotry. So, in one way or another, the striving after perfection produces misery.²⁵

Overreaction to Truth

R. W. DeHaan and Herbert Vander Lugt explain Eccl 7:16-17 as a warning against overreactions to the truth of 7:15:

First, some conclude that everyone who goes to an early grave somehow must have fallen short of doing what pleases the Lord. Therefore they set about to make up this lack in their own lives by extreme legalism, ascetic practices, or some other form of works-righteousness. . . .

The second wrong reaction is that of going down the road of lustful living, giving oneself over to unbridled sensuality. . . . Many who see apparently good people suffer adversity or die young go down the pathway of a false and artificial works-religion while others go down the road of unrestrained wickedness. Both courses will lead to disaster.²⁶

This viewpoint explains the context (both 7:15 and 7:18) and is in concord with the rest of Scripture. The command not to be "overly wise" (7:16) would be interpreted similarly, as a possible overreaction to the failure of wisdom to provide the full answer to life (do not devote yourself fully to wisdom as if it *were* the only solution to life, but do not reject it to become a fool either).

Self-righteousness

An increasingly common interpretation has been to see in the word "righteous" a reference to hypocrisy, and to understand the author to be referring to "self-righteousness" rather than genuine righteousness.²⁷ As Power puts it: "It may be he [Qoheleth] had in mind those excessively religious people who spend all their time seeking out wickedness in others and have no time for real religion

²⁵Whybray, p. 191.

²⁶Richard W. DeHaan and Herbert Vander Lugt, *The Art of Staying Off Dead-end Streets* (Wheaton, Ill., 1974), pp. 107-108.

²⁷A. F. Harper, "Ecclesiastes," in the *Beacon Bible Commentary* (Kansas City, Mo., 1967), 3: 575.

themselves; another translation therefore might read as an injunction not to be self-righteous."²⁸

According to Kaiser, what most commentators miss is that "verses 16-17 are not cautioning against possessing too much real righteousness." Rather, the danger is that men might delude themselves and others through "a multiplicity of pseudoreligious acts of sanctimoniousness; ostentatious showmanship in the art of worship; a spirit of hypercriticism against minor deviations from one's own cultural norms, which are equated with God's righteousness; and a disgusting conceit and supercilious, holier-than-thou attitude veneered over the whole mess."²⁹ He states, further, that the real clue to this passage is that the second verb in 7:16 ("to be wise") must be rendered reflexively, as "to think oneself to be furnished with wisdom."³⁰

G. R. Castellino, in a careful analysis of the Hebrew forms, comes to a similar conclusion: namely, that 7:16 refers to "passing oneself off as righteous" (self-righteousness) and "passing oneself off as wise" (intellectualization). Vs. 18 then urges the reader to "grasp true wisdom" and not to let go of "the avoidance of foolishness," both of which are achieved through the fear of God.³¹

Whybray argues from the structure, grammar, and meaning of the passage as a whole that what is in view is "the state of mind which claims actually to have achieved righteousness or perfection."³² He advances the following arguments:

1. In 7:16 the use of the construction *haya* + adjective (*ʿal-t ʿhī šaddiq*—"do not be overly righteous") instead of the cognate verb *ʿal-tiṣdāq* is not due to chance or to purely stylistic considerations, but has a deliberate purpose: in order to give some special meaning to the word *šaddiq* which could not be conveyed by the use of the verb. The phrase "refers to the self-righteous man, the would-be *šaddiq*, the man who claims to be, or sees himself as, exceptionally righteous."³³

²⁸Power, p. 95.

²⁹Kaiser, pp. 85-86.

³⁰Ibid., p. 86.

³¹George R. Castellino, "Qohelet and His Wisdom," *CBQ* 30 (1968): 24.

³²Whybray, p. 191.

³³Ibid., pp. 192-195.

2. The word *ṣaddiq* ("righteous") has an ethical sense, and the author recognizes that in the strict sense there is no *ṣaddiq* in existence (7:20). He does not distinguish between "righteous" and "perfect," but uses the same term for both. Whybray concludes, therefore, that in 7:16 he must be using the term in an ironical sense: "Do not be a self-styled *ṣaddiq*."³⁴

3. The word *harbēh* (7:16) always means "much, many, greatly, very," etc., and does not express any value-judgment such as "too great, or too much." The word is best taken as qualifying the whole preceding phrase. Qoheleth thus "uses the qualifying adverb *harbēh* to indicate that he recognizes a tendency in human nature towards self-righteousness." His meaning is "Do not allow self-righteousness to become your dominating characteristic." It is "a gentle warning which takes account of human weakness."³⁵

4. In 7:16b the phrase "be overly wise" is simply the hithpael of the verb *ḥkm*. Whybray contends that of the meanings generally attributed to the hithpael, only three would make any sense at all here: "to conduct oneself in a particular way"; "to imagine/set oneself up to be"; or "to pretend to be." The first possibility would mean "Do not act with great wisdom," which cannot be what the author is saying. The last two options have a similar meaning: "Having first warned his readers against setting themselves up to be, or pretending to be, absolutely righteous, Qoheleth now warns them against similar pretensions to wisdom."³⁶

5. Vs. 17 states, "Do not be very wicked." Here again the word *harbēh* is a concession to human frailty. Qoheleth adds a warning not to go to the other extreme and throw off all restraints and all striving towards these virtues, abandoning oneself to a life of folly. But "he knows that one cannot entirely avoid either wickedness or folly (cf. vs. 20), and so he adds the word *harbēh*: what is to be avoided is the carrying of them to extremes." It is not an encouragement to immorality, but merely a recognition of the frailty and inherent sinfulness of man.³⁷

³⁴Ibid., p. 195.

³⁵Ibid., p. 196.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p. 197.

Charles Bridges likewise understands Qoheleth's words as a warning against self-righteousness: "To whom then, and to what, does the admonition apply? We have seen that it does not warn us against true righteousness. But it is a wholesome caution against the 'vain affectation of it.' Every right principle has its counterfeit."³⁸

2. Exegesis of Ecclesiastes 7:15-18

In Eccl 6:8, Qoheleth introduces the question, "What advantage does the wise man have over the fool?" Throughout the second half of the book, he deals with the futility, benefits, and limitations of *wisdom*, focusing especially on the issue, "Who knows what is good for a man during his lifetime?" (6:12).

In chap. 7, the author points out that no one can really understand the work or the ways of God, or of the future. "Who is able to straighten what He has bent?" he asks (7:13b). God has made adversity as well as prosperity, and both must be accepted from him (7:14). Human beings cannot *really* know for certain what the future holds for them during their lifetime.

What Qoheleth Has Seen—7:15

At this point a question surely enters Qoheleth's mind: "I have already said that in place of righteousness there is wickedness [3:16], and that man can expect both prosperity and adversity from God [7:14]. What, then, of the age-old principle that righteousness brings blessing [prosperity], and wickedness brings cursing [adversity]? Is that principle invalid?"

This question clearly relates closely to the central problems of the Book of Job. Qoheleth has neither the problem with God's justice that Job had, nor the faulty view of reality that Job's friends demonstrated. He sees clearly (with Job) that the principle of righteousness→prosperity is only a general principle and has many exceptions. Qoheleth thus states from his experience: "There is a righteous man who perishes in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man who prolongs [אָרַךְ—"lengthen," "prolong"] his life

³⁸Charles Bridges, *An Exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes* (London, Eng., 1960), p. 163.

in his wickedness" (7:15). *In spite of* their righteous character, some men die young. And *in spite of* their wickedness, some evil men live long, prosperous lives.

The Law stated time after time that those who obeyed God and lived righteously would "prolong" (אָרַךְ) their days and receive blessing (Deut 4:26, 40; 5:16, 33; 6:2; 11:9; 17:20; 25:15; 30:18; 32:47). Solomon in his wisdom had also made similar promises (cf. Prov 28:16). But the problem of exceptions persisted.

Job recognized the same problem when he asked, "Why do the wicked still live, continue on, also become very powerful?" (Job 21:7). They have many children, safe houses, prosperity, and many days of rejoicing (21:8-12). "They spend their days in prosperity," Job complains (21:13), while many righteous men are suffering or dying.

The psalmist also "saw the prosperity of the wicked" (Ps 73:3), and it nearly caused him to stumble (73:2). He complains: "Behold, these are the wicked; and always at ease, they have increased in wealth. Surely in vain I have kept my heart pure, and washed my hands in innocence" (Ps 73:12-13). This was very "troublesome" to him (73:16), until he went to God's sanctuary and finally understood the end of the wicked (73:17). God would destroy them, sooner or later (73:18-20). The psalmist's solution is to focus all his desires on God: "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? And besides Thee, I desire nothing on earth. . . . God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever . . . as for me, the nearness of God is my good" (Ps 73:25-28; cf. Matt 6:33).

Qoheleth himself explains the problem and its principle more in detail in the following chapter (Eccl 8). The general principle is valid, he says, that "it will not be well for the evil man and he will not lengthen his days like a shadow, because he does not fear God" (8:13). And, on the other side, it is still true generally that "it will be well for those who fear God, who fear Him openly" (8:12).

However, judgment for evil does not come quickly; and because of that, many are inclined to give themselves over to do evil (8:11). Qoheleth declares further that "there are righteous men to whom it happens according to the deeds of the wicked," and, on the other hand, "there are evil men to whom it happens according to the deeds of the righteous. I say that this too is futility" (8:14).

This is the same problem that he relates in 7:15. Righteousness does not *necessarily* bring prosperity, and wickedness does not *necessarily* bring suffering and death.

Qoheleth's Advice—7:16-17

The following two verses must therefore be understood as Qoheleth's counsel in the light of vs. 15. It is here that the two major exegetical problems of the passage arise: (1) Do the expressions "excessively righteous" and "overly wise" really refer to self-righteousness and pretended wisdom, as Kaiser, Whybray, Castellino, and others contend? Or do these expressions imply, instead, an exaggerated "striving after" righteousness and wisdom? (2) Does Qoheleth in 7:16-17 intend to warn against a possible overreaction (on the part of some) to the statement in 7:15 that righteousness does not guarantee prosperity, nor wickedness death (i.e., deciding to strive fanatically for perfection or to slide cynically into foolish immorality)? Or does he instead begin a new, unrelated section, discussing the nature of true righteousness and true wisdom, in order that the reader might be able to evaluate inner character?

Before embarking on a detailed consideration of these questions, the unusual structure of this passage must be noted:

- 7:16a אֶל-תְּהִי צְדִיק הַרְבֵּה
do not be excessively righteous
- 7:16b וְאֶל-תְּחַכְּמֶם יוֹתֵר
and do not be wise to excess
- 7:16c לָמָּה תִשׁוּמָם
why should you cause yourself desolation?
- 7:17a אֶל-תִּרְשַׁע הַרְבֵּה
do not be excessively wicked
- 7:17b וְאֶל-תְּהִי סָבֵל
and do not be a fool
- 7:17c לָמָּה תָמוּת בְּלֹא עֵתְךָ
why should you die before your time?

Each verse consists of three parts, each of which begins with the same word: אֶל, וְאֶל, and לָמָּה, respectively. Each verse begins with a *pair* of negative warnings ("do not"), these four warnings

generally containing a negative particle (אֵל), a verb or verbal clause, and an adverb (the adverb is lacking in 7:17b). The *third* part of each verse consists of an interrogative sentence introduced by the word לְמָה followed by a verb. And in each case, the interrogative sentence implies a positive concept or result.³⁹

At this point, several of the more controversial words in the passage must be defined. Lexically, the word צַדִּיק in 7:16a means “just” or “righteous” in conduct and character, either toward God or, ethically, toward others. Nothing more than this can be read into the statement from the term itself. The form הַרְבֵּה is the hiphil infinitive absolute of the verb רָבָה (“to be many, much, great”), and is here used adverbially to mean “greatly,” “exceedingly.”⁴⁰ It is used, for instance, in Neh 2:2: “Then I was *very much* afraid.” In Eccl 7:16a, this word modifies the adjective “righteous,” so that the sentence should read, “Do not be exceedingly righteous.” The meaning of the statement will depend on the nuance which the context gives to the expressions “exceedingly” and “righteous.” If “righteous” refers to inward character, then an inordinate striving for perfection may be in view. If, however, “righteous” refers to outward conduct, then the warning probably has to do with excessive occupation with some sort of Pharisaic externalism.

In 7:16b, הִתְחַכֵּם is the hithpael form of the verb חָכַם (“to be wise”), and, according to Whybray, means “to pretend to be wise” or “to make great pretensions to wisdom.”⁴¹ In the Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lexicon*, it is rendered as “make or show thyself wise.”⁴² A. B. Davidson states that the hithpael is reflexive of piel⁴³ (in this case, “to make wise,” “to teach wisdom”). Thus, the hithpael would mean “to make oneself wise” or “to teach oneself wisdom.” But Davidson adds that “it very often implies that one shows himself as, or gives himself out as, performing the action of the

³⁹Whybray, p. 192. Another interesting aspect of this structure is the fact that there is a 3:2:2 decrescendo in the meter of vs. 16, followed by a 2:2:4 crescendo in the meter of vs. 17, indicating, perhaps, the comprehensive, yet parallel, nature of the passage.

⁴⁰Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1906), s.v. רָבָה, p. 915. (This title hereinafter cited as *BDB*.)

⁴¹Whybray, pp. 196-197.

⁴²*BDB*, s.v. חָכַם, p. 314.

⁴³A. B. Davidson, *An Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 25th ed. (Edinburgh, 1962), p. 107.

simple verb.”⁴⁴ In this case, the verb in Eccl 7:16b could mean “to show oneself to be wise,” or perhaps even “to pretend to be wise.”

Several factors argue against the latter meaning of the word in the passage at hand. First, there is absolutely no reason from the context to understand the verb as a reference to pretense. Second, grammatically the hithpael form may just as easily mean “to make oneself wise” or “to teach oneself wisdom,” as noted above. Third, the only other use of the hithpael of חָכַם is in Exod 1:10, where it refers to wise conduct—“Let us deal wisely with this people”—and there is no reason to treat it in any other way in Eccl 7:16. (The appeal made by some exegetes to Prov 3:7 [“Do not be wise in your own eyes”] is invalid, since the reference there has the modifying expression [“in your own eyes”] spelled out; and, moreover, the verb is not hithpael, but rather “to be” with an adjective.)

The word יִתָּר (Eccl 7:16b) is common in Ecclesiastes, usually meaning “superiority,” “advantage,” or “excess.”⁴⁵ As an adverb it means “to excess,” or perhaps “to a superior degree.” It is used in Eccl 2:15, where Qoheleth asks himself, “Why then have I been extremely wise?” In 7:16b, he is apparently saying that there is no need for anyone to try to become the wisest person on earth. It is not worth the trouble.

In 7:16c, the verb תְּשׁוּמָה is the hithpael form of שָׁמַם, which means “to be desolated.” As a reflexive, the word means “to cause oneself desolation or ruin.”⁴⁶ Qoheleth asks, “Why should you cause yourself ruin by such extreme reactions?” This cannot refer primarily to either a divine judgment or societal sanctions, as Whybray suggests,⁴⁷ since the reflexive makes the ruin self-caused.

The verb תִּרְשָׁע in 7:17a is simply the Qal imperfect of the verb רָשַׁע (“to be wicked,” “to act wickedly”). It is important to note that on this negative side of the coin, no process is in view (such as was the case with “make yourself excessively wise”). The word simply looks on the actions of wickedness.

It is perhaps obvious by now that Whybray’s interpretation of the passage depends almost entirely upon a highly questionable

⁴⁴Ibid.; Ginsburg, p. 380, notes, however, that the wisdom under consideration must be real, since the antithesis speaks of real, not affected, foolishness. He thus concludes that the piety referred to is also sincere and genuine piety.

⁴⁵BDB, s.v. יִתָּר, p. 452.

⁴⁶BDB, s.v. שָׁמַם, p. 1030.

⁴⁷Whybray, p. 198.

meaning of *one word* in the passage: חִתְּפוּלָה (7:16b). Having concluded that this word refers to “pretensions of wisdom,” he reasons that 7:16a is parallel and that it should therefore read, “Do not pretend to be righteous” or “Do not be self-righteous.” This is an unwarranted leap.

Whybray’s solution fits neither the context nor the details of the passage. He is forced to conclude that 7:15 is totally disconnected from 7:16, and that 7:16–17 in *no* way provides counsel for the problem of 7:15.⁴⁸ He is also forced to treat the questions of 7:16c and 7:17c as extremely vague references to a possible future calamity, and in the process he violates his own explanation of the *hithpael/hithpoel* form. In addition, Whybray completely boxes in 7:16–18 as a separate passage almost totally unrelated to the rest of the chapter,⁴⁹ since he has divorced himself from any sort of correct contextual meaning.

What, then, is the conclusion of the matter? (1) The expressions “excessively righteous” and “make yourself overly wise” are best understood as an exaggerated striving and seeking after perfection and super-wisdom. Qoheleth’s point is that these things are not *really* of value; he had discovered that himself—both experientially and through observation. (2) Vss. 16 and 17, therefore, have a very close relationship to vs. 15. As DeHaan and Vander Lugt suggest, if the principle that righteousness brings prosperity does not always hold (7:14-15), and if wisdom cannot really discover everything that man needs to know for his life (6:10-7:14), many people would have one of two types of reaction: (a) They might decide that if they could reach perfection in character and knowledge, their problems would be solved; or (b) they might decide that God is unfair and simply devote themselves to immorality and foolish living as the best they can get out of life. Qoheleth warns them against both of these options, since both of them lead to disaster. The best life, he says, depends on the fear of God.

The Spiritual Conclusion—7:18

Following the negative admonitions of 7:16-17, Qoheleth now describes positively a “good” in life. Though neither righteousness nor wisdom can guarantee prosperity or unlock the mystery of the future, they are nevertheless good and necessary. It is good to hold

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 202.

⁴⁹Ibid.

on to righteousness, and not to let go of wisdom. Both wickedness and foolishness lead to disaster.

Both righteousness and wisdom are achieved through the *fear of God*. It is through trust in, and obedience to, God that righteousness and wisdom can actually be balanced and made worthwhile.

3. Conclusion

In Eccl 7:15-18, Qoheleth discusses the problem of the value and balance of *righteousness* and *wisdom*. He has concluded that human wisdom cannot really explain all of life nor the future (6:10-7:14), and that even the principle that righteousness brings prosperity has many exceptions (7:14-15). Thus, he notes in 7:15 that some righteous people die *in spite of* their righteousness, and some wicked people live long lives *in spite of* their wickedness.

How would a concerned human react to this admission of reality? Many would tend to overreact either toward striving harder, or toward ending all efforts and slipping into identity with those who do not know God. Qoheleth offers some helpful counsel: Do not strive for exaggerated righteousness or try to make yourself the wisest person on earth, for these are not really worthwhile goals; and in the end, such striving will ruin your life. Likewise, do not turn to immorality or act like a fool, since God's principles do still operate and you will put yourself in danger of premature death. God is still in control.

What then of righteousness and wisdom? What good are they? Qoheleth answers that they are both of great benefit. Grasp them both. If you learn to *fear God* (which is the important thing), you will come out right in both areas.

THE EXEGETICAL METHODS OF SOME
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ROMAN CATHOLIC
PREACHERS IN ENGLAND:
FISHER, PERYN, BONNER, AND WATSON

PART II*

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In Part I of this series, I provided an overview of the preaching careers of the four Catholic preachers here under consideration—John Fisher (d. 1535), William Peryn (d. 1558), Edmund Bonner (d. 1569), and Thomas Watson (d. 1584). I also dealt with their use of allegory, noting that although the later preachers Bonner and Watson made little genuine attempt to exegete passages of Scripture, they did move away from the more thoroughgoing use of allegory noticeable in the sermons of Fisher and Peryn. The doctrinal stance of all four preachers was the same and did not undergo modification because of the methodological change—a

*Part I was published in *AUSS* 23 (1985): 161-180. The following abbreviated forms are used herein for works already cited in Part I:

Bonner = Edmund Bonner, *A Profitable and Necessary Doctrine* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 3283, 1555).

DNB = *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Fisher, *EW* = John Fisher, *The English Works of John Fisher*, ed. John E. B. Mayor, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, no. 27 (London, 1876).

Fisher, *TFS* = John Fisher, *Two Fruytfull Sermons* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 10909, 1532).

ODCC = *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*.

Peryn = William Peryn, *Thre godlye and notable sermons* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 19789, 1548).

Surtz = Edward Surtz, *The Works and Days of John Fisher* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

Watson, *HCD* = Thomas Watson, *Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the seuen sacramentes* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 25112, 1558);

Watson, *TNS* = Thomas Watson, *Two notable Sermons made . . . before the Quenes Highnes . . .* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 25112, 1558).

change which, on the part of Bonner and Watson was undoubtedly intended to address more effectively the "literal" interpretations of the Protestant Reformers.

In the present article I will continue my analysis of the preaching methods of the four preachers, noting specifically their procedures with regard to (1) typology, (2) literal exposition of Scripture, (3) redaction, (4) use of patristic sources, and (5) appeal to classical antiquity.

1. *Typology*

Typology, which borders upon and merges into allegory, is relatively common in Fisher's early sermons and in Peryn's sermons. But this exegetical method is quite rare in Fisher's later sermons and in those of Bonner and Watson. With the exception of Peryn's, the apologetic sermons of these preachers tended to diverge from the interpretive methods of the late Middle Ages. Peryn's sermons were specifically designed to answer heresy. He was concerned by the news that "the horrible heresye, of Berengary and Wikclyfe sacramentaries abbomynable was rayseed agayne, of late, and by meanes of evell and pestiferous bookes crept secretlye into the hartes of manye of the yonger and carnall sort."¹ Yet his exegetical method, unlike that of Fisher, Bonner, and Watson in their apologetic sermons, makes large use of allegory and considerable use of typology.

Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the resurgence of Catholicism in England in the latter years of Henry VIII's reign. Peryn's sermons were first published in 1546.² Hence they were possibly preached in the preceding year. These were years of reaction against Protestantism, when most Englishmen still regarded themselves as Roman Catholic, and when the methods of biblical interpretation generally accepted in England involved allegory and typology. Although Fisher's controversial sermons made scant use of these techniques, they did make some use of them. The fact that his 1520 sermons, in which allegory was quite well represented, were not published until 1532 would indicate that

¹Peryn, sig. Aiii^r.

²*DNB*, "Peryn."

Fisher and his contemporaries by this latter year were by no means weaned away from allegorical interpretations. Evidently Fisher had seen that allegory and typology were not best suited to answering the heretics, even though those methods were quite acceptable to himself. Either Peryn lacked insight into the kind of approach most likely to win his opponents, or he felt sufficiently comfortable in using a time-honored method which, at the point of his preaching, was acceptable to the majority of Englishmen.

By far the greatest instance of typology in Fisher's sermons is to be found in his *Fruytful Sayings of David*, the sermons on the penitential psalms, preached in 1504 and first published in 1508. Preaching on Ps 51, Fisher argues that animal sacrifices in the OT sanctuary services prefigured the shedding of the blood of Christ. He cites the book of Hebrews chaps. 9 and 10 in support of his contention.³ His typology merges into allegory when he proceeds to use the OT types as the "old-law" counterpart of the sacrament of penance as practiced in his day.⁴ In another context, Fisher briefly narrates the parable of the good Samaritan and uses it in a biblical manner to represent the condition of the soul wounded by sin but delivered by Christ.⁵ Fisher also uses the story of the Syrophenician woman (Matt 15:21-28) to illustrate the Christian's pleading with God to hear his petitions.⁶

In his 1521 sermon against Luther, Fisher makes an appeal to the Mosaic system: "But so it is that the lawe of Moyses & the gouernaunce of the synagoge of the Iewes, was but a shadowe of the gouernaunce of the vnyuersall chirche of christ."⁷ As evidence he quotes Heb 10:1, which in context says nothing of the government of the church. Then he provides the application. In the government of Israel there were two heads appointed, Moses and Aaron, to lead them through the wilderness to the promised land. But the Jews were but "a shadow of the chrystn people." Their journey was a type of the journey of Christians through this wretched world to heaven. Therefore, Moses and Aaron must be

³Fisher, *EW*, 1:126-127.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 127; cf. pp. 130-131, 136.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 143-145.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 315.

regarded as "the shadowe of chryste & of his vycare saynt Peter whiche vnder christ was also the heed of chrysten people."⁸

It is interesting to note that Fisher rejected the OT Mosaic law in his 1504 sermons, but now found it most useful in 1521 as justification for his concept of the papal primacy. In fact, both instances illustrate how typology very readily merges into allegory. Although Fisher's arguments in his 1521 sermon did not make wholesale use of allegory, his typological applications were so tenuous that they verged on allegory of the late-medieval variety.

William Peryn employs typology quite extensively. He quotes Origen as his authority for the claim that the passing of the children of Israel through the Red Sea was a type of Christian baptism.⁹ The water that came from the rock in the wilderness prefigured the "water of eternall lyfe whiche gushed out of the syde of Christ."¹⁰ The manna with which the Jews were fed was a figure of the literal body of Christ which is partaken of in the sacrament of the altar.¹¹ The sacraments of the Christian Church are the antitype of the Mosaic law.¹² The bread and wine brought to Abraham by Melchizedek after the war of the kings (Gen 14:17-20) was a type of Christ's "very bodye and bloode in the blessed sacrament, under the kyndes of bread and wyne."¹³ Peryn cites Ps 110:4 and Heb 7:1-19 to prove that Melchizedek was a type of Christ. The sacrifices of the "old law" were pre-enactments of the sacrifice of Christ.¹⁴ The paschal lamb eaten by the Jews at passover time was a figure of Christ as our Passover Lamb.¹⁵ Indeed, many of Peryn's applications are simply reiterations of biblical motifs, but he also goes beyond the intention of his sources to bolster his doctrinal presuppositions.

In the sermons of Bonner and Watson, there is very little of typological exegesis. As noted in my previous article, they

⁸Ibid., p. 316.

⁹Peryn, sig. Ev^v.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., sig. Evi^r.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., sig. Evii^r.

¹⁴Ibid., sigs. Evii^{r-v}, liv^v.

¹⁵Ibid., sig. lvi^v.

used scriptural proof texts to support their world view, evidently realizing that the allegorical and typological approaches of past generations were inadequate to turn the tide of Protestant influence that swept England in the reign of Edward VI.¹⁶ Yet, Watson's *Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the seuen sacramentes* (1558) does appeal to the argument of his predecessors that the sacraments of the Mosaic system were intended to prefigure the sacraments of the Christian church.¹⁷ Christian baptism, he argues, was typified by Noah's flood as well as the passing of Israel through the Red Sea.¹⁸ Watson's typology becomes distinctively allegorical when he uses the placing of the blood of the paschal lamb upon the two posts of the door as a type of Christ's blood "sprinkled upon both the postes of our doore, when it is received not onelye wyth the mouth of the body for redemption, but also with the mouth of the hearte for imitation."¹⁹

2. *Literal Exposition of Scripture*

Scriptural exposition, like interpretation of any literature, cannot be regarded as "literal" just because it is not allegorical or typological. Surely, literal interpretation is that which says exactly what the author of the particular literature intended to say. Because there is little allegory or typology in the homilies of Bonner and Watson, it does not follow that their interpretations are all literal. This point will become more evident as we proceed. Nevertheless, there are parts of the sermons of Fisher, Bonner, and Watson which can be regarded as a genuine attempt to explicate the literal meaning of the text. It would be an exaggeration to claim, however, that this is the most characteristic exegetical method employed in their sermons. Fisher's interpretations, as we have seen, were quite characteristically allegorical or typological, and Bonner and Watson often used biblical passages in a manner which was quite unrepresentative of their meaning in context.

¹⁶Part I in this series, pp. 178-180. (See the first note [marked by *] at the beginning of the present article.)

¹⁷Watson, *HCD*, fols. vi^v-vii^r.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, fol. ix^r.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, fol. xli^r.

In the introduction to his sermons on the penitential psalms, Fisher does make some attempt to put the literature into its historical setting. He tells the background story of David, who was the youngest and least significant of Jesse's sons. Nevertheless, he was chosen by God and anointed by Samuel as king.²⁰ Fisher proceeds to tell the stories of David and Saul, and David and Goliath. Because of the guidance and protection he had enjoyed, when David became king he should have remained humble and pure. But he committed adultery and manslaughter. Although he was forgiven for all this, he fell into the sin of pride. Again he was forgiven. Fisher indicates that the penitential psalms depict for us the efforts of David to gain forgiveness and cleansing at a time of physical and spiritual calamity.²¹

When preaching the funeral sermon of Henry VII in 1509, Fisher quite literally interpreted Isaiah and Ezekiel on the issue of repentance and forgiveness.²² He applied the message of Ecclesiastes, in regard to the vanity of this life's activities, to the circumstances of Henry VII.²³ Fisher illustrated loyalty to the monarch by referring to David's servant who refused to forsake him in time of crisis, and Saul's servant who committed suicide on the field of battle after the king had set the example. The moral issue raised by Fisher's use of this incident is interesting, but he did not misrepresent the biblical account.²⁴ In the same sermon, Fisher quoted 1 John 1:9 to indicate that God forgives sin, and alluded to 1 John 2:1 and 1 Tim 2:5 as support for the concept of Christ as the heavenly mediator.²⁵

Preaching the "Month's Mind of the Lady Margaret" in 1509, Fisher gave literal applications of passages from the Psalms and from Jeremiah.²⁶ His sermon on the Passion contained literal applications of Mary Magdalene's act of anointing Christ at the feast in

²⁰Fisher, *EW*, 1:3.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 275.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 279.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 282.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 298.

Simon's house, the story of the woman taken in adultery, the story of the crucifixion, and the story of Tamar, who was raped by her brother Amnon (2 Kgs 13).²⁷

Bonner sometimes used scriptural passages in a manner which is in no way contrary to their contextual meanings. He provided a literal interpretation of Ps 100 and Gen 1,²⁸ and of the narrative portions of Gen 2 and 3.²⁹ Even his use of Rom 5:12-21 stays by a literal exposition of the text, avoiding the extreme Augustinian concept of guilt biologically transmitted.³⁰ Bonner told the story of the Flood with no attempt to embellish the account or to read allegorical meanings into it.³¹ He used Rom 3 and Gal 3 to teach the universality of sin.³² He quoted Ps 51:5 to prove that David was born in sin. And so on. It was when Bonner broached the controversial issues raised by the Reformation that he allowed his scriptural interpretations to become strained.

Watson, like Bonner, cannot be regarded as famous for literal exposition of the Bible, but it occurs occasionally in his sermons. He briefly outlines the life story of Peter in the fifth sermon of his *Holsome and Catholyke doctryne* (1558).³³ He refers in a quite literal manner to the Bible concept of Lucifer's being cast out of heaven and man's being ejected from Paradise.³⁴ Watson uses the parables of the lost sheep and the prodigal son in the same way that Luke does (Luke 15).³⁵ He deduces the obvious moral from 1 Cor 5, which deals with the problem of incest in the Corinthian church.³⁶ When he refers to the Sermon on the Mount, Watson treats it quite literally.³⁷

²⁷Ibid., pp. 404, 416-418.

²⁸Bonner, fol. 2^v.

²⁹Ibid., fols. 4^r-6^r.

³⁰Ibid., fol. 6^r.

³¹Ibid., fols. 8^{r-v}.

³²Ibid., fols. 8^v-9^r.

³³Watson, *HCD*, fols. xxvi^v-xxvii^r.

³⁴Ibid., fol. xxx^v.

³⁵Ibid., fol. xxxx^{r-v}.

³⁶Ibid., fol. xci^r.

³⁷Ibid., fol. cxxxiii^{r-v}.

3. *Redaction*

Redaction, in the sense of editorial embellishment, is not frequent in the homilies of these sixteenth-century Roman Catholic preachers. In this respect, their sermons reveal a marked evolution of method from that of the late Middle Ages, when homiletical embellishment was an accepted procedure. In the sixteenth-century sermons there are no examples of legends and fabulous miracle-stories that were used to supplement the biblical account in the Middle Ages.

There are a few examples of redaction in the sermons of John Fisher. Speaking on the first penitential psalm (Ps 6), Fisher declares that David prayed that God would neither "punysshē hum eternally by the paynes of hell, neyther . . . correcte hym by the paynes of purgatorie but to be meke and mercifull unto hym."³⁸ Ps 6 does not refer to David's likely punishment in hell (*Sheol*), nor does it once mention purgatory. Later in the same sermon Fisher cites the Vulgate version of Ps 6:1 as though it were referring to purgatory; and in commenting on vs. 5—"For in death there is no remembrance of thee, in Sheol who can give thee praise?"—he paraphrases:

. . . therefore the prophete sayth, . . . No creature beynge in purgatory may have the in remembraunce as he sholde. Then syth it is so that in purgatorye we can not laude and prayse god how shal we do yf we be in hell, truely in that terryble place no creature shall neyther loue god, neyther laude him.³⁹

Clearly Fisher has read his theological presuppositions into the text.

The "Month's Mind of the Lady Margaret" embellishes the life story of Martha so that she might be depicted as an ancient counterpart of the Lady Margaret. Martha is said to have been commended in ordering her soul to God by frequent kneelings, sorrowful weepings, and continual prayers and meditations, "wherein this noble prynces somewhat toke her part."⁴⁰

³⁸Fisher, *EW*, 1:8.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 294.

The story of Adam is embellished too. The *Two Fruytfull Sermons*, published in 1532, contain the information that, because he had eaten the apple, Adam was kept after death for three thousand years in a prison of darkness (*limbus patru*).⁴¹

Editorial embellishment in the sermons of Peryn, Bonner, and Watson is closely related to their distinctive interpretations of the text, rather than being a conscious attempt to add to the Bible account. For example, interpreting 1 Cor 5:7-8, which enjoins a right attitude upon those who are to partake of the Lord's Supper, Peryn comments that it should not be eaten or received "with the olde leaven, neither with the leaven of malice, neither with the leaven of wyckednes, That is to say, in obstinate Jewishnes or froward heresie, neither with wicked myne, or unpure lyfe."⁴²

The "obstinate Jewishness" and "froward heresie" are Peryn's understanding of "the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil" (1 Cor 5:8). This kind of redaction is quite common in Peryn, Bonner, and Watson. The obvious intent is to render the text of Scripture relevant to the contemporary situation. The effort results in the preachers reading into the text meanings and applications which were not intended by the author.

The method becomes especially potent when the issue being discussed is controversial. Bonner, for example, uses the scriptural passages which speak of Christ's promise of the Holy Spirit to his disciples as evidence that the Spirit was given to the church forever, not to individuals apart from the church. Therefore, he concludes, the individual has no right to arrive at interpretations of the Bible contrary to those of the papal church.⁴³

By reading his ecclesiastical presuppositions into the text, Bonner is able to use it to support his claims. In support of his concept of the sacrament of the altar, Watson speaks of Christ's walk to Emmaus, after his resurrection, with two of his disciples. The meal at the end of the journey, Watson says, represents the sacrament of the altar because, as Augustine pointed out, the eyes of the two disciples were opened, just as our eyes are opened when

⁴¹Fisher, *TFS*, sig. F3^v.

⁴²Peryn, sigs. Fiv^v-Fv^r.

⁴³Bonner, fols. 37^r-39^r.

we partake of the sacrament.⁴⁴ The interpretation is redactional in that there is no indication in Luke 24:30-31 that the bread which Christ broke and gave to the two disciples was "the blessed bread which is the sacrament of the aultare."⁴⁵ The passage seems to be referring simply to an evening meal.

This kind of redactional interpretation of the Bible has been common in every era of Christian church history and has undoubtedly been practiced by every denomination. In the sixteenth century, redactional exegesis was both the result and the source of religious division: the result, in that it was used as a tool for the defense of opinions already well-established in the minds of interpreters; the source, in that the failure of interpreters to confine themselves to the strict contextual meanings of scriptural passages resulted in endless polemical debate and acrimonious vilification.

4. *Use of the Fathers*

Each of our four preachers quite often referred to the early-church Fathers and medieval doctors as a source of authoritative interpretations of the Bible. At the funeral of Henry VII, Fisher appealed to Augustine's teaching that "the prayer of many can not be but herde."⁴⁶ Henry would have great comfort in Augustine's doctrine of divine forgiveness, which was that no amount of crime nor the nearness of the individual to death could exclude him from pardon if he truly repented. St. Anthony was the recipient of special revelation: "Saynt Anthony sawe by reuelacyon that all the worlde was full of snares, and he asked this questyon. Blessyd lorde sayd he who shall passe these daungers? It was answered him *Sola humilitas*, Onely humblenes and lowlynesse."⁴⁷

Preaching the "Month's Mind of the Lady Margaret," Fisher cites Boethius on the question of loyalty to the virtuous manners of noble ancestors.⁴⁸ On the authority of Bonaventure, Lady Margaret's acts of charity to the twelve poor folk she kept in her house were of

⁴⁴Watson, *TNS*, sigs. Eii^v-Eiii^r.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Fisher, *EW*, 1:273.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 283-284.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 290.

greater merit than if she had done "all this to the selfe persone of our sauour Ihesu."⁴⁹ Fisher gleaned from St. Gregory the teaching that whoever has enjoyed the pleasures of life after death, as Lazarus did, can only regard this earthly life as a living death.⁵⁰

Edward Surtz virtually admits that Fisher regarded the church and the Fathers to be as authoritative as the Scriptures in theological and religious matters, pointing out that Fisher had difficulty, in particular, with the "demand that controversies be settled by Scripture alone."⁵¹ When the meaning of Scripture is in doubt, whose explanation is to be accepted? Surtz indicates that to this question "Fisher's response is most definite: first, the Sovereign Pontiffs; then, the orthodox Fathers and authors; and finally the preachers who faithfully and assiduously minister the word of God to the people."⁵²

On the relationship between the Fathers and Scripture, Fisher asserted that "the Scriptures are surer and stronger in themselves, the commentaries the better known and clearer in our regard, for the Fathers throw light on obscure places in the Scriptures."⁵³ In his *Defense of the Royal Assertion*, Fisher argued that faith must be placed in that interpretation of the Bible on which the Fathers are uniformly agreed.⁵⁴ In fact, this interpretation is more certain than the words of the Gospel as they stand. Surtz summarizes Fisher's overall position as follows:

It belongs to the hierarchical Church to interpret and set forth the true sense of scriptural texts. Because the Church has made her own any unanimous testimony of the Fathers, the faithful Christian must accept and follow their interpretation. Under no circumstances may a person develop a meaning which sets the inspired authors at odds with one another or with the teaching of the Church.⁵⁵

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 297.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 306.

⁵¹Surtz, p. 124.

⁵²Ibid., p. 127.

⁵³Ibid., p. 130.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 132.

In practice, Fisher treated the pronouncements of the Fathers on doctrinal issues as being as authoritative as the Scriptures. Preaching against Luther in 1521, he defended the doctrine of the primacy of Peter by quoting Augustine, Ambrose, St. Gregory, Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostom, and Origen.⁵⁶ Introducing Augustine's opinion, Fisher said that he brought "but one doctour," whose testimony should tip the scale against Martin Luther when weighed on the balances of any true Christian's heart.⁵⁷ Luther had appealed to Scripture alone (*sola scriptura*). Fisher's answer was that Augustine's interpretation of Scripture should be accepted over Luther's. And why? Because Augustine's interpretation, at least on the question of the primacy of Peter, is that of the church. In fact, Fisher treated the interpretation of the Fathers on this issue as inspired of God. The evidence for the truthfulness of their teaching was supernatural. The validating factor was their holy living which, according to Fisher, was confirmed by miracles done both in their lives and after their death.⁵⁸

Peryn, Bonner, and Watson also considered the Fathers as being as influential as the Bible writers themselves. Peryn accepted the first-century dating for the life and work of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. He attributed the writings of this late fifth-century author to St. Denys, who in the ninth century was identified with the first-century Dionysius the Areopagite and, therefore, believed to have been the author of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings. In fact, St. Denys was a third-century Christian who was sent to convert Gaul, became a Bishop of Paris, and finally suffered martyrdom. Peryn evidently did not know that the authority of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings had already been questioned by the Reformers and by the Catholic Thomas de Vio Cajetan (1469-1534).⁵⁹

Peryn believed without question St. Denys' explanation of the darkness which came down over Calvary at the time of the crucifixion.⁶⁰ At noon, the moon came out of the east into the south and, moving between the earth and the sun, caused an unnatural

⁵⁶Fisher *EW*, 1:319-320.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁵⁹*ODCC*, 1957 ed., s.v. "Dionysius."

⁶⁰Peryn, sig. D^r.

and universal eclipse of the sun which lasted six hours. St. Denys was in Egypt at the time and witnessed the whole phenomenon.

Peryn uses Chrysostom as an authority for his view of transubstantiation.⁶¹ In fact, he uses many of the Fathers, and regards them as instructed by the Holy Spirit. The ancient Catholic writers and interpreters, he declares, wrote "in theyr time, not contrary unto the church, but as the holy goost instructed them, specialye, in so weightye a matter."⁶²

Watson also appealed to Chrysostom and to the unanimous testimony of the Fathers on the doctrine of transubstantiation.⁶³ He related the agreement of the Fathers to the consent of the universal church, "the pyller and upholder of all trueth."⁶⁴

In a similar way, Bonner cited Origen, Cyprian, Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine on the question of the Roman primacy.⁶⁵

5. *Attitudes to Classical Antiquity*

Fisher respects the philosophers sufficiently to cite them occasionally as secondary sources for his remarks. He quotes Aristotle as saying that death is of all things the most terrible.⁶⁶ Speaking of the departure of the soul from the body at death, he points out that the natural desire of both is to be knit together again, "whiche thinge not onely the theologyens wytnesse, but the phylosophers also."⁶⁷ The philosophers arrived at great knowledge of earthquakes, thunder, lightning, snow, rain, comets, and eclipses of the sun and moon. They searched for causes of these effects. "And so by dyligent searche and inquisition, they came to great knowledge and cunning, which cunnyng men call Philosophie naturall."⁶⁸ But superior to this is the philosophy of the Christian,

⁶¹Ibid., sigs. Fviii^v-Gi^r.

⁶²Ibid., sigs. Giv^v-Gv^r; cf. Gvii^r^v, Gviii^v, Kiii^r^v, Kiv^r, Lvi^r, Miv^v, Nviii^v, Oi^r-Qj^r.

⁶³Watson, *HCD*, fol. xxxviii^v.

⁶⁴Ibid., fol. xlvii^r.

⁶⁵Bonner, fols. 46^r-47^v.

⁶⁶Fisher, *EW*, 1:276.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 303.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 388-389.

who comes to understand the secret of salvation by virtue of Christ's crucifixion.

In praising Henry VIII's literary attack on Martin Luther's understanding of the sacraments, Fisher in 1521 cited Plato's statement that commonwealths shall be blessed when philosophers govern or when rulers give themselves to philosophy.⁶⁹ The statement hardly gives evidence of new humanistic leanings by Fisher in 1521, however. After all, Plato's remark really does not fit, since Henry had temporarily given himself to theology of a medieval variety, rather than to the philosophy of antiquity. Nor is there any evidence in his sermons that Fisher was enamored with the thought and literature of antiquity. As for early Italian humanists, he speaks once of Francesco Petrarch, but only to refer to the latter's dream, not to extol Petrarch's humanism nor to identify himself in any way with it.⁷⁰

Bonner and Watson do not use the thought of antiquity at all in their sermons, and Peryn refers to the philosophers with scorn. Speaking of the German Reformers, Peryn remarks that their learning and lives "are as muche unlyke unto the fathers" as were the lives "of Socrates and Sardanapalus, or the lyfe of Diogenes and the lyfe of Epicure."⁷¹ Since he dislikes the Reformers so heartily, the comparison speaks volumes for his impression of the philosophers.

The point in all this seems to be that our four preachers made no attempt to relate the teachings of Scripture to the literature and philosophy of antiquity. Fisher, very briefly and in passing, appealed to the philosophers occasionally, but not in a manner which would lead the listener to assume that he had been seriously influenced by the interests and concerns of humanists. Occasionally he used a story from antiquity as a sermon illustration. In his sermon on the Passion he told the story of Lucretia and Sextus Targuinius to illustrate the evil of immorality.⁷² At the funeral of Henry VII he illustrated by reference to Solon, Croesus, Seneca, and Hannibal.⁷³ In the same funeral sermon he quoted from Cicero's

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 327.

⁷⁰Fisher, *TFS*, sig. E2^r.

⁷¹Peryn, sig. Sii^{r-v}.

⁷²Fisher, *EW*, 1:419.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 270-280.

De oratore.⁷⁴ But these are incidental references of a kind which are rare in Fisher's sermons. They are not sufficient to indicate humanistic leanings.

Summary

Allegorical interpretation of the Bible and typology merging into allegory are pervading methods in the early sermons of John Fisher and in those of William Peryn, although not so prevalent in Fisher's later sermons or in the homilies of Edmund Bonner and Thomas Watson. Evidently Fisher, Bonner, and Watson found the traditional allegorical method not so suitable for apologetic sermons, which were intended to defend the Roman Catholic Church against the theological innovations of the Reformers. Furthermore, the relative scarcity of allegory from the sermons of Bonner and Watson can be explained by their apparent realization that the exegetical methods which were likely to be influential in Henry VIII's reign were unlikely to be so effective after the influence of Protestantism had become so widespread in Edward VI's reign. Nevertheless, Bonner and Watson do make some use of allegory.

Peryn's sermons, which are apologetic in nature, make large use of allegory and typology, evidently because of the resurgence of Catholicism in England in the latter years of Henry VIII's reign. Peryn preached in 1545, and his sermons were published in 1546 and 1548. Either Peryn lacked insight into the best method of meeting the mind of Protestants, or he felt secure in the use of a time-honored mode of interpretation.

Literal exposition does occur in the sermons of these four preachers, but it is by no means characteristic. Even when the obvious intent of the preachers was to hew to the literal Bible line, they tended to ignore contextual matters and read their own traditional concepts into passages whose original settings dealt with quite different motifs. There is considerably less redactional material in these sermons than in those of the late Middle Ages, in the sense that they contain less homiletical embellishment by means of legends and fabulous miracle-stories. Even so, some redaction occurs in view of the preachers' attempts to render the biblical material relevant to the contemporary sixteenth-century situation

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 285.

and supportive of the positions traditionally held by the Catholic Church.

The church Fathers are regarded by these preachers as authoritative in theological and religious matters insofar as they are unanimous on any issue. On such questions, the Fathers are regarded as taught by the Holy Spirit, and their declarations are seen as representing the beliefs of the church. They are often quoted by all four preachers, and in a manner which suggests that their teachings are as authoritative in religious matters as are those of the Bible.

The thought of ancient Greece and Rome figures very little in these sermons. Fisher occasionally cites philosophers whom he regards as learned in natural philosophy, even though deprived in Christian philosophy. It is interesting to compare Fisher's attitude to philosophy with that of John Colet. Colet used Platonism as a source of material for his lectures on the Bible. Although he rejected Ficino's speculative, intellectual approach, he incorporated many Platonic and Neo-Platonic features into his lectures.⁷⁵ Fisher, by contrast, incorporated practically nothing of ancient thought into his sermons and, like the late medieval preachers, attempted no synthesis between philosophy and Scripture. Bonner and Watson did not use philosophers, and Peryn openly scorned them.

The world view and doctrinal stance of these preachers were also those of the traditional medieval church. Thus, on the basis of both homiletical technique and content, the four Catholic preachers—Fisher, Peryn, Bonner, and Watson—were distinctly medieval, as judged by their sermons. These sermons contain no evidence of conformity to the mores of the Renaissance, or to the interests and procedures of humanists. Thus, they stand in somewhat striking contrast to the sermons of the Anglicans and the Puritans whose work I reviewed earlier.⁷⁶ The Puritans accepted the Reformation

⁷⁵John Colet, *An Exposition of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians*, trans. J. H. Lupton (Farnborough, Hants., Eng., 1874 [reprint, 1965]), and *An Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, trans. J. H. Lupton (Farnborough, Hants., Eng., 1873 [reprint, 1965]); Sears Jayne, *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino* (London, 1963); Ernest William Hunt, *Dean Colet and His Theology* (London, 1956); Leland Miles, *John Colet and the Platonic Tradition* (LaSalle, Ill., 1961).

⁷⁶My earlier series of articles on Anglican and Puritan preachers are as follows: "The Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Anglican Preachers: Latimer, Jewel, Hooker and Andrewes," Parts I and II, *AUSS* 17 (1979): 28-38, 169-188; and

doctrine of *sola scriptura*, but remained relatively untouched by the humanist literary method and world view. In certain major respects, their exegesis and outlook retrogressed towards the Middle Ages. The Anglicans accepted the method of the humanists and allowed their humanist training to predispose them to philosophical and theological outlooks which projected them, in certain respects, a step nearer to the modern world.

With the sixteenth-century Roman Catholic preachers, it was quite otherwise. Even in the case of John Fisher, not only was the humanist element in his training considerably inferior to that present in the training of Jewel, Hooker, and Andrewes, but also his sermons reveal none of the interests and methods of humanists. He admired humanists and abetted their work, but he was not one himself, nor did he grasp the implications of their work for the future of the church. It is not incorrect to conclude that the changed understanding of religious authority, from that of the Roman Catholic preachers of the late Middle Ages and sixteenth century to that of the Anglicans and Puritans of the sixteenth century, was influenced to a considerable extent by humanism.

"The Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Puritan Preachers: Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins," Parts I and II, *AUSS* 19 (1981): 21-36, 99-114. Also of interest in this connection is my further study, "Late-Medieval Sermons in England: An Analysis of Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Preaching," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 179-203.

**FURTHER LITERARY STRUCTURES IN DANIEL 2-7:
AN ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 5, AND THE BROADER
RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN CHAPTERS 2-7**

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In the previous study in this series, I analyzed the chiasmic structure of chap. 4 in the OT book of Daniel.¹ The fifth chapter in that book is juxtaposed with chap. 4 at the center of a broader chiasmic section covering the Aramaic portion of the book, from chap. 2 through chap. 7. This broader chiasm has been set forth by A. Lenglet, to whose work on this subject I also called attention in my previous article.²

In the present article, I shall examine the chiasmic structure in Dan 5 and then incorporate the results both of this and of my analysis of Dan 4 within that broader context of Dan 2 through 7. For purposes of easy reference, I repeat (on the next page) my concluding outline from my earlier study ("Outline 1"), which outline provides a "birds'-eye view" of the structure of Dan 4.

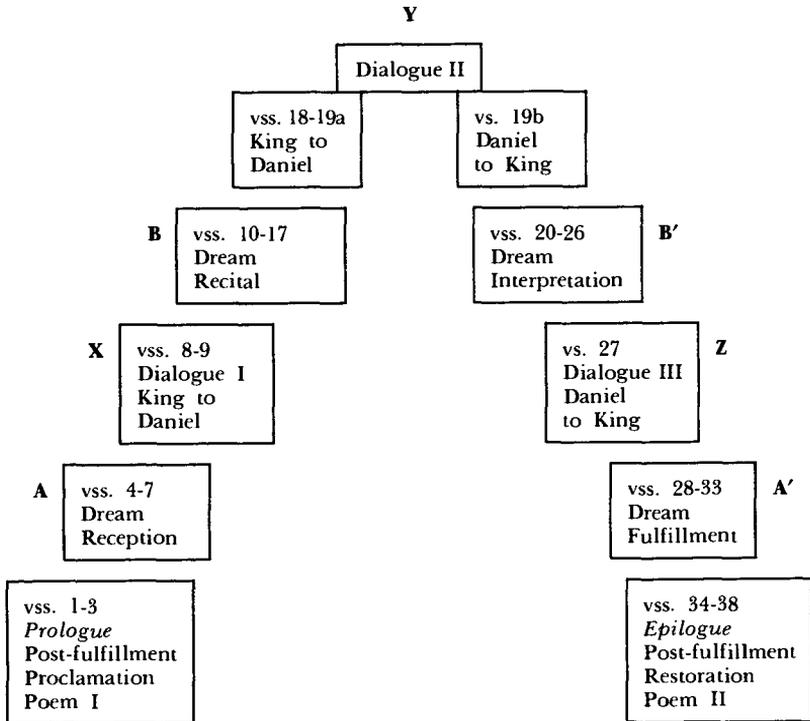
1. Chiasmic Structure in Daniel 5

Inasmuch as Dan 4 has been found to have a chiasmic pattern, it might readily be expected that Dan 5 would also have such a pattern, because these two chapters are paired at the center of a larger bloc of material from Dan 2 through 7. According to the analysis which follows, such does indeed appear to be the case; but the chiasm in Dan 5 differs in some significant ways from the type of chiasm found in Dan 4. These differences will be noted in due course toward the conclusion of our study of Dan 5. To begin that study, we will first look at the beginning and closing blocs of material, and then move to the intervening literary structures.

¹William H. Shea, "Further Literary Structures in Daniel 2-7: An Analysis of Daniel 4," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 193-202.

²A. Lenglet, "La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7," *Bib* 53 (1972): 169-190.

OUTLINE I
THE CHIASTIC LITERARY STRUCTURE OF DANIEL 4



The Tripartite Introduction and Conclusion

The body of the text of Dan 5 is not preceded by a prologue that could be compared with that which appears at the beginning of Dan 4. Rather, Dan 5 commences directly with the description of the first scene in the story which it presents—that of Belshazzar's feast and the handwriting on the wall. Thus, the narrative begins by referring to Belshazzar's toasting with wine in the festival banquet held in the palace.³ An epilogue is attached to this narrative of Dan 5, but it is extremely brief. It consists only of the historical notice found in Dan 5:30-31, telling about the fall of the Babylonian kingdom, the death of Belshazzar, and the reception of the kingdom by Darius the Mede.⁴

In view of this absence of a prologue and in the presence of an epilogue with such minimal dimensions, our study can proceed directly into an examination of the first and last major building blocs from which the chiasm in the narrative is constructed. Three major elements are found linked together in both of these passages: (1) a description of the banquet (and its interpretation), (2) reference to the handwriting on the wall (and its interpretation), and (3) the offer of honors to the interpreter of the handwriting (and the award of these honors to Daniel).

Since these three elements follow the same order of A:B:C::A:B:C when the contents of the beginning and closing sections are compared, it can be seen that the contents of these two passages are related to each other along the lines of synonymous parallelism. In other words, although the blocs themselves are chiastically related in overall content, their three individual parts are not in chiastic order, but in both cases follow the same sequence.

The comparative parallelisms involved in these two blocs of narrative are set out below, in translation.⁵ However, one minor

³On the historical background for those events, see W. H. Shea, "Nabonidus, Belshazzar, and the Book of Daniel: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 133-149.

⁴On the person of Darius the Mede, see W. H. Shea, "Darius the Mede: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 229-247.

⁵All verses mentioned in this article follow the versification of the English Bible. Translations throughout are from the RSV.

imbalance that occurs in the first of these two passages should be noted. It deals with the call and failure of the wise men of Babylon; and given in paired statements, it serves to bracket the threefold offer of honors by the king. In the second passage, a parallel is lacking, inasmuch as Daniel's ability to read the writing on the wall made such a second statement unnecessary.

Bloc I: Dan 5:1-8

A. The Banquet, Vss. 1-4

¹King Belshazzar made a great feast for a thousand of his lords, and drank wine in front of the thousand. ²Belshazzar, when he tasted the wine, commanded that the vessels of gold and of silver which Nebuchadnezzar his father had taken out of the temple in Jerusalem be brought, that the king and his lords, his wives, and his concubines might drink from them. ³Then they brought in the golden and silver vessels which had been taken out of the temple, the house of God in Jerusalem; and the king and his lords, his wives, and his concubines drank from them. ⁴They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone.

B. Handwriting on the Wall, Vs. 5

⁵Immediately the fingers of a man's hand appeared and wrote on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, opposite the lampstand; and the king saw the hand as it wrote.

Bloc V: Dan 5:22-29

A'. Interpretation of the Banquet, Vss. 22-23

²²And you his son, Belshazzar, have not humbled your heart, though you knew all this, ²³but you have lifted up yourself against the Lord of heaven; and the vessels of his house have been brought in before you, and you and your lords, your wives, and your concubines have drunk wine from them; and you have praised the gods of silver and gold, of bronze, iron, wood, and stone, which do not see or hear or know, but the God in whose hand is your breath, and whose are all your ways, you have not honored.

B'. Interpretation of the Handwriting on the Wall, Vss. 24-28

²⁴"Then from his presence the hand was sent, and this writing was inscribed. ²⁵And this is the writing that was inscribed: MENE, MENE, TEKEL, and PARSIN. ²⁶This is the interpretation of the matter: MENE, God has numbered the days of your kingdom and brought it to an end; ²⁷TEKEL, you have been weighed in the balances and found wanting; ²⁸PERES, your kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians."

C. Offer of Honors for Interpreting the Handwriting, Vss. 7-8

⁶Then the king's color changed, and his thoughts alarmed him; his limbs gave way and his knees knocked together. ⁷The king cried aloud to bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the astrologers. The king said to the wise men of Babylon, "Whoever reads this writing, and shows me its interpretation, shall be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom." ⁸Then all the king's wise men came in, but they could not read the writing or make known to the king the interpretation.

C'. Bestowal of Honors for Interpreting the Handwriting, Vs. 29

²⁹Then Belshazzar commanded, and Daniel was clothed with purple, a chain of gold was put about his neck, and proclamation was made concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.

The parallel phraseology between these passages is evident mainly in the first and third instances. Since no interpretation of the handwriting was given in the first passage, direct linguistic parallels between vs. 5 and vss. 24-28 are lacking. The thematic relation between them is, however, quite obvious, as the first poses the problem and the second answers it.

The parallels present here are especially evident between the first pair—those sections which deal with the general setting of the banquet and with its interpretation. The vessels from the temple in Jerusalem are mentioned in both cases. They are described as "brought" to the scene of the banquet in both cases. The same four parties are identified as drinking from them in both cases (namely, the king, his lords, his wives, and his concubines). The drinking of wine is connected with praising the gods in both cases. And the list of substances from which the gods were constructed is also the same in both cases. Thus, there is ample evidence for considering these two passages as parallel and related.

One of the parallel features between these two passages, however, shows an interesting alteration in the second instance. In the lengthy list of substances from which the gods were constructed, the first pair—gold and silver—has been inverted in the second passage. This difference is minor as far as the mere list of elements

themselves is concerned, but it holds a potential significance that transcends this rather mundane function. The lists can be compared as follows:

| <i>List I, Vs. 4</i> | <i>List II, Vs. 23</i> |
|--|---|
| “they drank wine, and praised the gods of | “you . . . have drunk wine from them and praised the gods of |
| 1) gold and silver, | 1) silver and gold, |
| 2) bronze, | 2) bronze, |
| 3) iron, | 3) iron, |
| 4) wood, | 4) wood, |
| 5) and stone.” | 5) and stone, . . .” |

The first aspect about this passage that might be noted here is its historical connections. Excavations at Babylon have amply confirmed the fact that there were in the city an abundance of temples, and thus also of gods resident in them; so there was no shortage of gods for Belshazzar and his friends to praise. At the time when Babylon fell to the Persians, however, such a statement was all the more appropriate, for a considerable number of gods had been added to those normally present in the city. In order to add to the power of the defenses of the city, Nabonidus went throughout Babylonia, gathering up the gods of a number of the other major cities in the land. These he brought to Babylon, so as to enlist them in the theological defenses of the capital. This activity did not endear him, of course, to the residents of the cities from which those gods were taken, for, theologically speaking, this left the cities undefended against the Persian attack. The Nabonidus Chronicle, in its entry for Nabonidus' 17th (and last) year describes the transfer of gods into the city of Babylon, as follows:

[Lugal-Marada and the other gods] of the town Marad, Zababa and the (other) gods of Kish, the goddess Ninlil [and the other gods of] Hursagkalama entered Babylon. Till the end of the month Ululu (all) the gods of Akkad . . . those from above the IM and (those from) below the IM, entered Babylon. The gods from Borsippa, Kutha, . . . and Sippar (however) did not enter.⁶

The same Chronicle also declares that one of the first acts carried out by Cyrus' government in Babylonia was to return these

⁶ANET, p. 306.

gods to their cities of origin: "From the month of Kislimu to the month of Addaru, the gods of Akkad which Nabonidus had made come down to Babylon . . . returned to their sacred cities."⁷

Daniel's listing of gods is comprehensive through its mention of the varied composition materials. It seems likely that he may have given such a comprehensive list of the gods praised during this banquet on the night Babylon fell, not just because there ordinarily were a great number of gods resident in Babylon, but also because their ranks had recently been swollen by the influx of gods transported into the city by Nabonidus.

The other point of interest deriving from this list given by Daniel—that pertaining to the reversal of order for gold and silver—is more literarily structural in nature. In all likelihood, this reversal was an intentional alteration. Ordinarily, in both poetic and prose texts, gold is the A-word and silver is the B-word, as one would naturally expect from their respective values. Since silver does not normally precede gold, there should be some explanation for this variation in the second list. The intentional nature of this difference is emphasized further by the *waw* conjunction connecting the two words in both cases. That conjunction is not written with any of the other elements in the list except with the last one, stone, as would be expected at the termination of a list. This fact sets apart the "gold-and-silver" pair and stresses the unusual nature of the reversal.

The question then is this: What is the significance of this intentional reversal? It could, of course, be part of the chiasmic construction of the narrative. If that were the case, however, emphasis would better have been placed upon this chiasm by reversing all of the elements in the entire list—which obviously has not been done. This alternation, therefore, is more subtle, with only gold and silver having been reversed. Why should this be?

The naming of metals carries us back to Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dan 2, where gold and silver occur in descending order at the top of the metal image. There gold represents Nebuchadnezzar's Neo-Babylonian kingdom, and silver represents the Medo-Persian kingdom which followed it. That narrative in Dan 2 relates to a period at the height of Neo-Babylonian power. Here in Dan 5, however, we have a narrative in the setting of the events occurring

⁷Ibid.

on the night that Babylon fell to the Medes and the Persians. This was the very night when the silver kingdom subjugated and supplanted the golden kingdom of Babylon—a fact altogether appropriate to note in this list of metals in Dan 5. The transposition of metals is mentioned *just before* the interpretation of the handwriting on the wall announcing Babylon's fall, and *just before* the historical reference to the actual occurrence of that historical event.

An important theological point emerging from this passage is its presentation of Daniel's evaluation of the events of the night Babylon fell, as he speaks here for the Most High God. The gods which Belshazzar and his friends praised were actually functionless; they "do not see or hear or know." Beyond the impotence of Belshazzar's gods, however, there was also his own sacrilege and blasphemy against the true God of heaven. He had not honored this God, in whose hands were his ways and his breath; and in addition, he had failed to humble himself. The banquet scene which is described in the opening section of the chapter is, thus, interpreted, towards the end of that chapter, from this theological viewpoint by the prophet of God.

Since no interpretation of the handwriting is given at the beginning of the narrative, because of the failure of the Babylonian wise men, there is a lack of direct linguistic parallels between the second sections in each of these blocs. As has already been noted, however, these sections are, nevertheless, directly related to each other thematically. The initial passage provides the problem, and the latter passage provides the answer. The failure of the wise men in the first instance stands in contrast to the success of Daniel in the second.

The comparison between the third main element in these two blocs is quite direct. The king makes the offer to award the threefold honors in the first case; and Daniel, by virtue of having met the challenge and accomplished the task successfully, receives those honors in the second case. The phraseology for the three honors is quite similar in both instances.

Thus, in summarizing the total contents of the opening and closing main blocs of material in Dan 5, we may reiterate that the same three elements appear in the same order at the beginning and at the end of the chapter. From this conclusion, attention can next

be directed to the blocs which occupy the central location in the literary structure of Dan 5.

The Tripartite Center Section

Three major passages of dialogue appear in that portion of the narrative which is bounded by the two blocs described and delimited above. The first of these is given by the queen (mother). In answer to the distress of Belshazzar over the undeciphered writing on the wall, she proposed that he call Daniel to solve that problem for him (vss. 9-12). She remembered Daniel especially from the days of Nebuchadnezzar, when Daniel had had such remarkable success in interpreting dreams for the king. On the basis of that excellent past (but now-neglected) reputation, she urged Belshazzar to call him to interpret the handwriting. An important theme in the speech by the queen emerges in her reference to the days of Nebuchadnezzar, for this same subject appears also in both of the next two speeches—those by Belshazzar and Daniel.

Following the arrival of Daniel in response to the royal summons, Belshazzar presents to him the problem of interpreting the handwriting on the wall (vss. 13-16). Belshazzar does this, with his own historical introduction that identifies Daniel as “one of the exiles of Judah, whom the king my father [Nebuchadnezzar] brought from Judah” (vs. 13). Next he poses the problem of interpreting the handwriting, doing so from the standpoint of the failure of the other wise men to have accomplished the task. Then he renews the offer of honors, this time directly and personally to Daniel.

The third major section at the center of this literary structure comes from the first half of Daniel’s subsequent speech. (The second half of this speech has already been identified above as belonging to the final bloc of the chapter; being Daniel’s interpretation of Belshazzar’s feast that night, it balances the description of the feast at the beginning of the chapter.) Here, in vss. 18-21, we find Daniel’s preliminary remarks, in which he introduces his interpretation of Belshazzar’s actions with a description of the actions of Nebuchadnezzar. This speech presents more than just the description of the actions of an earlier king, however; it also provides a description of God’s interaction with that king. Indeed,

Nebuchadnezzar had learned his lesson about humility and that he should honor the true God. Belshazzar knew of these developments in Nebuchadnezzar's career, but had chosen not to take the lesson to heart. Hence, the divine sentence now came down upon him, as is described in the next section of the text.

As far as the organization of the narrative is concerned, therefore, Daniel's remarks are divided into two parts. The first portion belongs with the central section of the narrative, since it deals with an experience in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The last portion belongs to the concluding main bloc of text, inasmuch as it deals with the theological interpretation of the significance of the banquet initially described at the beginning of the chapter.

A major recurrent theme which binds these three passages in the central section together is that of experiences from the times of Nebuchadnezzar. First, the queen recalls that Daniel was able to interpret dreams and puzzles in the days of Nebuchadnezzar. Next, Belshazzar refers to Daniel's experience of exile under Nebuchadnezzar. And finally, Daniel recites the experience of Nebuchadnezzar in which Daniel himself had a part.

A related theme that also binds these three sections together is the thought that Daniel's ability to interpret dreams and mysteries in those earlier days argues well for his ability to interpret the handwriting on the wall in this present situation. First, this was the basis of the queen's proposal to call Daniel; next in the narrative comes Belshazzar's own reference to this ability of Daniel; and finally, Daniel's recitation about Nebuchadnezzar implies the presence of that same ability, inasmuch as Daniel played a part, too, in the story he recited.

Thus, there are two common themes which run throughout all three of the passages in the central section of this narrative: There is, first of all, reference to the time of Nebuchadnezzar; and then, connected with that in each instance is the idea that Daniel was a competent interpreter of mysteries during Nebuchadnezzar's reign and should also be able to function in a similar capacity at this present time.

Literary "Joins" Between Sections

In my earlier study on the literary structure of Dan 4, it was noted that literary bridges or cement can be found at the "joins"

between the major blocs of text in that narrative. The same holds true for Dan 5. One such bridge occurs at the juncture between the queen's remarks to Belshazzar and Belshazzar's remarks to Daniel. There it is briefly stated, "Now let Daniel be called and he will show the interpretation" (vs. 12); and in response to this proposal, it is pointed out, "Then Daniel was brought in before the king" (vs. 13). The reciprocal nature of these actions thus involves a summons and the response to that summons.

Another literary link occurs at the juncture between the speech of Belshazzar and the speech of Daniel. Here, the end of Belshazzar's speech and the beginning of Daniel's speech balance, and they are given with their elements arranged in chiasmic order, as can be seen from the following outline:

A, Vs. 16b —[Belshazzar:] "Now if you can read the writing and make known to me its interpretation,

B, Vs. 16c —"You shall be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about your neck, and you shall be the third ruler in the kingdom."

B', Vs. 17a —Then Daniel answered before the king, "Let your gifts be for yourself, and give your rewards to another;

A', Vs. 17b —"Nevertheless I will read the writing to the king and make known to him the interpretation."

The final two statements by the king come after he has described the historical status of Daniel from the past (as an exile from Judah in the days of Nebuchadnezzar) and his description of the present problem (the failure of the wise men to interpret the handwriting). The passage concludes with the "If . . . then" clauses outlined above. These present the problem and the potential rewards to Daniel for solving the problem.

Before Daniel launches into the first major section of his speech—that which deals with the experience of Nebuchadnezzar—he responds to both of the propositions posed to him in this final statement by the king. Taking the king's second clause first, he turns down the offer of honors; and then he addresses the problem in the first clause by stating to the king that he would interpret the handwriting.

There are some direct lexical relations between the statements found at these two junctures. These relations emphasize both the function of these statements and their parallel locations in the literary structure of the narrative. The initial statement in both of

these junctures is introduced with the same word, "Now" (Aramaic, *k^can*). The concluding statement at each of these junctures is introduced with the same word also, and that word this time is "Then" (Aramaic, *bē²dayin*). The relations involved here can be outlined as follows:

I. Literary Join No. 1, Vss. 12-13:

A, Vs. 12 — "Now [*k^can*] let Daniel be called . . ."

B, Vs. 13 — "Then [*bē²dayin*] Daniel was brought in . . ."

II. Literary Join No. 2, Vss. 16-17:

A, Vs. 16 — "Now [*k^can*] if you can read the writing . . ."

B, Vs. 17 — "Then [*bē²dayin*] Daniel answered . . ."

Thus, the same introductory lexical pattern is followed at both of these junctures.

Another aspect of minor interest here involves the number of statements that go to make up these joins. In the first case, only one statement is made, and that is repeated once: "call Daniel," and "Daniel was brought." In the second case, two statements are made and are both repeated in the same terms: "give the interpretation" and "I will give the interpretation," along with "honors shall be given to you" and "keep your honors for yourself." It may be accidental that just one statement was used at the first join while two statements appear in the second join; but accidental or not, the pattern enhances the successive framing function of these linking statements.

With these details from the central section of this narrative elaborated, the passage can now be outlined structurally, in translation, as follows:

B. Belshazzar to Daniel: Regarding Nebuchadnezzar's exiling of Daniel, Daniel's qualifications, Vss. 13b-16a

^{13b}The king said to Daniel, "You are that Daniel, one of the exiles of Judah, whom the king my father brought from Judah. ¹⁴I have heard of you that the spirit of the holy gods is in you, and that light and understanding and excellent wisdom are found in you.

¹⁵Now the wise men, the enchanters, have been brought in before me to read this writing and make known to me its interpretation; but they could not show the interpretation of the matter. ¹⁶But I have heard that you can give interpretations and solve problems.

X. *Literary Join I, Vss. 12b-13a*

^{12b}Now let Daniel be called, and he will show the interpretation." ^{13a}Then Daniel was brought in before the king.

A. *The Queen to Belshazzar: Regarding Nebuchadnezzar's time, qualifications of Daniel, Vss. 9-12a*

⁹Then King Belshazzar was greatly alarmed, and his color changed; and his lords were perplexed. ¹⁰The queen, because of the words of the king and his lords, came into the banqueting hall; and the queen said, "O king, live for ever! Let not your thoughts alarm you or your color change. ¹¹There is in your kingdom a man in whom is the spirit of the holy gods. In the days of your father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, were found in him, and King Nebuchadnezzar, your father, made him chief of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and astrologers, ¹²because an excellent spirit, knowledge, and understanding to interpret dreams, explain riddles, and solve problems were found in this Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar.

Z. *Literary Join II, Vss. 16-17*

¹⁶Now if you can read the writing and make known to me its interpretation, you shall be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about your neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom." ¹⁷Then Daniel answered before the king, "Let your gifts be for yourself, and give your rewards to another; nevertheless I will read the writing to the king and make known to him the interpretation.

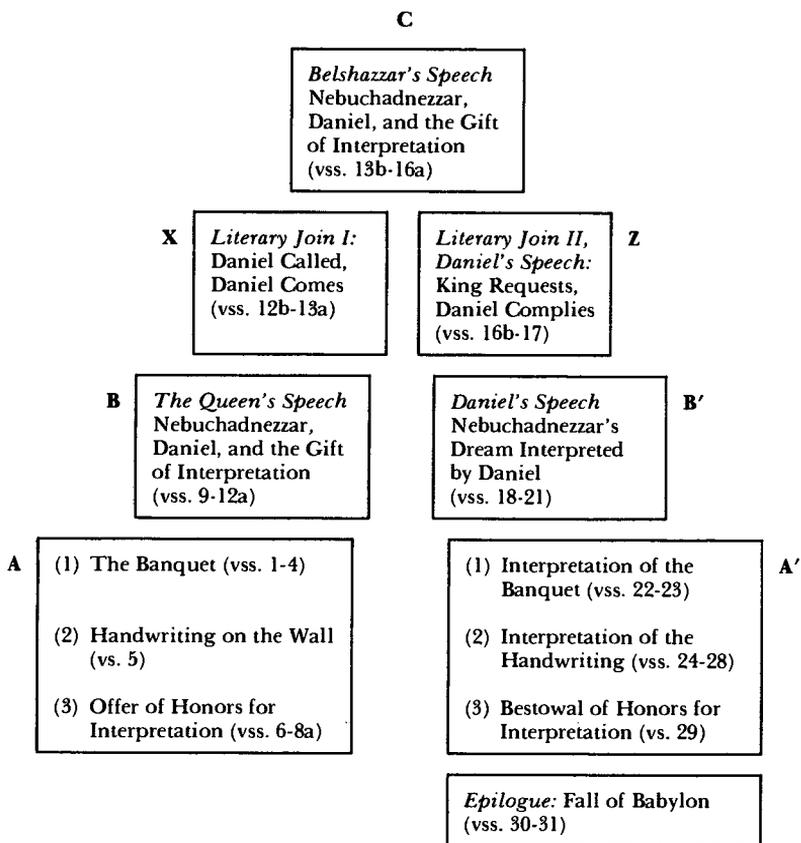
A'. *Daniel to Belshazzar: Regarding Nebuchadnezzar's experience (Daniel's qualifications implied), Vss. 18-21*

¹⁸O king, the Most High God gave Nebuchadnezzar your father kingship and greatness and glory and majesty; ¹⁹and because of the greatness that he gave him, all peoples, nations, and languages trembled and feared before him; whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive; whom he would he raised up, and whom he would he put down. ²⁰But when his heart was lifted up and his spirit was hardened so that he dealt proudly, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and his glory was taken from him; ²¹he was driven from among men, and his mind was made like that of a beast, and his dwelling was with the wild asses; he was fed grass like an ox; and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, until he knew that the Most High God rules the kingdom of men, and sets over it whom he will.

With the foregoing delineation for the central sections of Dan 5 completed, the entire chapter and its chiasm can now be summarized as follows, in Outline 2.

OUTLINE 2

THE CHIASTIC LITERARY STRUCTURE OF DANIEL 5



2. *Daniel 4 and Daniel 5 Compared*

For the purposes of comparing Dan 5 with Dan 4 in regard to literary structure, Outline 2 on p. 290 and Outline 1 on p. 278 may be utilized. From the comparison, it can be seen that there are both similarities and differences between the chiasmic constructions found in these two chapters.

At the outset, it should be emphasized, however, that both of these chapters *do* appear to have been written in a chiasmic literary structure. This has been suggested from internal features, and it has been anticipated, in part, because these two narratives occur within the larger chiasm of Dan 2-7.

Prologue and Epilogue

The first main element for comparison here involves the use or non-use of a prologue and an epilogue. Dan 4 makes use of both, and they comprise rather lengthy passages. Dan 5 differs in this regard. It has no prologue, and its epilogue is very brief.

The Major Blocs of Narrative

Within the limits set by the boundaries just indicated, there is a general similarity between the type of contents found in the next pair of blocs of literary material. Both of these narratives begin with a passage that provides a description of the setting for their respective scenes of action. In Dan 4, that scene is set through Nebuchadnezzar's reception of his dream in his palace, his summoning of the wise men, and their failure to interpret the dream. The opening scene of Dan 5 is set in the palace banquet, and it poses the problem of the handwriting on the wall—also left unresolved by the Babylonian wise men. The main difference is that the latter narrative includes an offer of honors for interpreting the handwriting, while Nebuchadnezzar made no such offer in Dan 4.

The corresponding concluding blocs of text in Dan 4 and 5, however, differ to a considerable extent. In Dan 4, the closing bloc tells of the fulfillment of the dream prophecy when the judgment predicted fell upon Nebuchadnezzar. In Dan 5, the interpretation of the banquet is found in this position in the literary structure, with the fulfillment of that interpretation coming only with the historical notice given in the epilogue.

The more centrally located blocs in Dan 4 recite first the dream and then its interpretation. This is the type of subject already covered in the opening and closing blocs of Dan 5. There is, therefore, a general sense in which one can see an alternation of themes between these two chapters in terms of the way in which their materials are arranged. The dream and its interpretation are given in the second and third major blocs of Dan 4, while the handwriting and its interpretation are given in the first and fourth blocs in Dan 5.

The summons of Daniel and the reference to his competence as determined from the days of Nebuchadnezzar constitute the main topics taken up in the more centrally located passages of Dan 5. The competence references, as we have seen earlier, come first from the Queen, then from the King, and finally from Daniel himself. The part of Daniel's speech that deals with the times of Nebuchadnezzar involves himself and his qualifications only indirectly; these qualifications are not stated explicitly.

A Direct Thematic Link Between Chapters 4 and 5

It should be noted that what Daniel does state in this speech in chap. 5 relates specifically to the events of Dan 4 by content: He speaks of the time when God humbled Nebuchadnezzar, and he does so in terms that repeat much of the phraseology of Dan 4:15b-16, 25, and 33 (cf. Dan 5:20-21). Thus, that which is stated three times in Dan 4 is stated once again in Dan 5, this final repetition constituting a direct thematic link between these two chapters.

The "Joins" in the Two Chapters

Just as there are balancing "joins" between the major blocs of text in Dan 4, so we have found that there are also similar "join" statements in Dan 5. The difference in their distribution relates to the way in which they are related to the major blocs, and how those major blocs are distributed. In Dan 4, they join successively paired passages—and only paired passages. Thus, these statements appear in pairs too—between blocs A and B and between blocs B' and A' (X and Z in Outline 1). The other balancing pair in Dan 4 is interwoven in the dialogue of the king with Daniel that is located between blocs B and B' (Y in Outline 1).

The links in Dan 5 follow the same distribution in the first instance—between blocs B and C and between blocs C and B' (X and Z in Outline 2). In the place where Dan 4 has another literary link between B and B', however, there is no joining statement in the corresponding position in Dan 5. The reason for this is that there is only one bloc of text there (i.e., C alone), and this one bloc (in contrast to the two in Dan 4) has not been broken up to make room for another literary "join."

Methods of "Juncturing" Literary Chiasms

There are two main ways in which a chiasmic literary structure can be written. In both cases, paired literary blocs are utilized until the center of the chiasm is reached. At that juncture, either one of two patterns may exist. The chiasm can be completed with a final pair of textual blocs, or there may be only one bloc in that final position. In the first instance, the pattern follows that of A:B:C::C:B:A. In the second case, the pattern is that of A:B::C::B:A.

An interesting feature is that in Dan 4 and Dan 5, we have two paired narratives, both of which were written in chiasmic form, but in which the chiasms take different routes in their way of constructing the central juncture. Dan 4 follows the first pattern mentioned above, while Dan 5 follows the second. Thus, while both of these narratives were put together along the lines of a chiasmic model, they do not necessarily follow the very same type of chiasmic model.

One might ask the question, especially with respect to Dan 5, as to why its particular model of chiasm—the A:B:C:B':A'—was employed here. Though a final answer to this question may not be possible as yet, at least a tentative suggestion as to its solution can be offered here. Belshazzar is the main figure found in the central bloc which caps the chiasmic literary pyramid of Dan 5—that is, "C: Belshazzar's Speech" (see Outline 2, at the close of the preceding section of this article). This is as it should be, since he is the main figure throughout that chapter, from its beginning (with his opening of the banquet scene) to its finish (with his death).

But also, the literary form in which Belshazzar appears may have been chosen so as to speak to his experience. He is the king of what had previously been the most powerful kingdom of earth, found here exalting himself before a thousand of his nobles and the

royal household. But there was to be a dramatic fall of both him and his kingdom. The placement of his key speech in Dan 5:13b-16a may be a forceful way to portray the pinnacle on which he had placed himself and to emphasize the dramatic manner in which he would fall from that pinnacle.

3. *Daniel 4 and 5 Within the Chiasm of Daniel 2-7*

The final task of this study is to relate the chiasmic narratives of Dan 4 and Dan 5 to the larger chiasmic structure in which they are found—that of Dan 2-7. Here it should be noted that each of these chapters stands as the capstone of its column of narrative in its section of the book—in Dan 2-4 and Dan 5-7, respectively. Thus, they stand together *side-by-side at the center* of this overall chiasm.

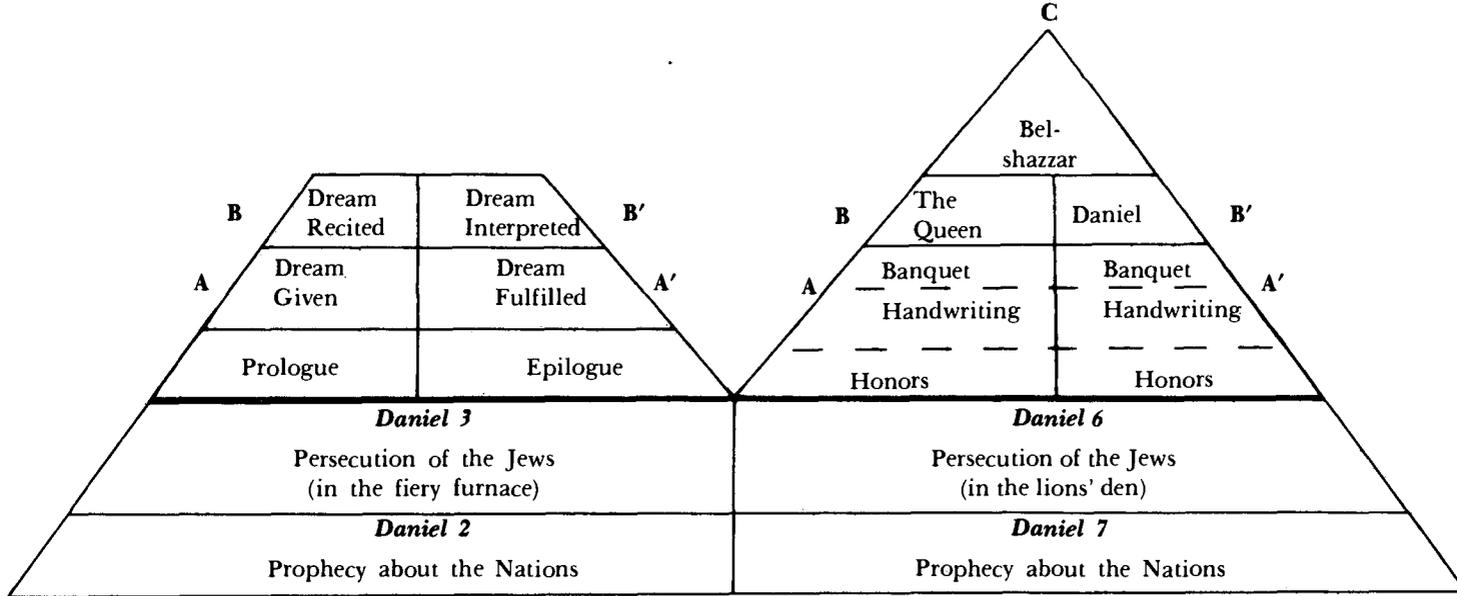
The configuration of the chiasms of Dan 4 and 5 within the broader chiasm of chaps. 2-7 is summarized in Outline 3, on the next page.

As far as literary characteristics of the book of Daniel are concerned, this study simply emphasizes the fact that a number of that book's literary structures are in a chiasmic pattern. The two further examples of this feature of the book that have been elucidated in this article and in my preceding one on Dan 4 give added evidence of the unity of Dan 2-7, since that section of the book can now be seen to consist of chiasms within a chiasm—a very deliberate and intentional structuring of the material in those chapters.

As a concluding observation, we should not neglect the aesthetic side of this feature of chiasmic structure. Various commentators have observed that the type of writing present in Dan 4 and 5 is very repetitious. The dullness of the repetitions to the modern eye recedes in importance, however, when it is realized that these transparently repetitious passages actually form an integral part of the larger literary design of these two chapters. Thus, instead of contributing to boredom, these repetitions should enhance one's appreciation for this work as a carefully crafted piece. The narratives of the two chapters do indeed relate history, but they do so in an aesthetically artistic fashion.

Daniel 4
Prophecy About Nebuchadnezzar

Daniel 5
Prophecy About Belshazzar



OUTLINE 3
AN INTEGRATION OF THE CHIASMS OF DANIEL 4 AND 5
INTO THE OVERALL CHIASM OF DANIEL 2-7

BOOK REVIEWS

Brown, Raymond E., and Meier, John P. *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity*. New York: Paulist Press, 1982. x + 242 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

This volume consists of three sections. In the first one, Brown sets out a typology for understanding early Christianity; in the second, Meier reconstructs the history of Christianity at Antioch; and in the third, Brown reconstructs the history of Christianity at Rome.

Meier understands that Christianity came to Antioch with Barnabas, who was a Jerusalem person with close ties to Peter. When Paul and Peter had their confrontation at Antioch, Peter won the day and Paul had to leave, never to come back. The dispute between Peter and Paul, however, left the Antiochene church facing the possibility of a schism, and a serious identity crisis. Matthew, "the Christian Scribe" of the second generation, stepped into the breach and created a "liberal-conservative" synthesis that established a new moral and institutional authority personified in "the supreme Rabbi" of the church (B. H. Streeter's phrase): Simon Peter (p. 64). As Meier sees it, Peter had been the stabilizing middle point between Barnabas and Paul in the earlier dispute. Matthew gives to Peter general and universal significance as "*the* human authority for the church as a whole" (p. 67; italics his). Peter becomes in the Antiochene tradition "the bridge-figure, the moderate center, to be the norm for the whole church" (*ibid.*).

Meier sees the third generation of the Antiochene church reflected in the Letters of Ignatius, who stands on the Matthean tradition when he combines in the bishop both office and charisma. For Ignatius, the "one bishop" was the solution to the problem of diversity which had its roots in the days of Peter and Paul and which Matthew had not been able to solve.

In the Introduction to the volume, Brown suggests a way of understanding early Christian dynamics which does not use "Jewish" and "Gentile" as basic categories. He offers an alternative to the well-worn Procrustean bed consisting of first, Aramaic-speaking Palestinian Jews; then, Greek-speaking Palestinian Jews; next, Greek-speaking Diaspora Jews and Gentile proselytes; and finally, Gentile converts. According to Brown, what needs to be given weight is a Christian's relation to Judaism and the Temple. On this score, he sees that both Jews and Gentiles may hold any of four basic positions. His typology identifies (1) those who insisted on full compliance with the Mosaic law, including circumcision;

(2) those who held on to some Jewish observances, but did not insist on circumcision; (3) those who did not require observance of any Jewish laws, but who could voluntarily participate in Temple rituals; and finally, (4) those who did not require observance of any Jewish laws and saw no abiding significance in the Temple rituals. The opponents of Paul in Galatians and in Philippians 3 represent the first group. James and Barnabas would represent the second group. Paul would belong to the third group, and the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of John reflect the views of those in the fourth group. Outside these types, holding the middle between the second and third groups, stand the Jerusalem apostles, especially Peter.

In his section on Roman Christianity, Brown argues that Christianity came to Rome in the early 40s, and that Peter had nothing to do with this. When Peter arrived in the late 50s, after his ministry in Antioch (and in northern Asia Minor), Roman Christianity was already constituted as a church with close ties to James and Jerusalem Christianity. In his Letter to the Romans, Paul is trying to make a good impression on Christians who have heard of his derogatory remarks about the Jerusalem apostles in his Letter to the Galatians. Defeats at Antioch and Galatia have forced him to modify his attitude toward the law and the significance of Judaism. In contrast to the Paul of Galatians, who paraded his apocalyptic disdain for all present realities, the more mature Paul of Romans, Brown feels, adopted a more *heilsgeschichtliche* approach to the Jewish past and came closer to the view of the second group mentioned above. But when Paul arrived in Rome, elements of the first group trailed him and established a following in opposition to him at Rome.

In 1 Peter and Hebrews, Brown finds the evidence for his reconstruction of second-generation Roman Christianity. He connects 1 Peter with Paul's Romans on three items: the use of cultic language, the insistence on obedience to civil authorities, and an increasing articulation of church structure. The author of Hebrews, who belongs to Brown's "Group Four," argued against Christians belonging to Brown's "Group Two," but did not carry the day at Rome, even if his letter was not rejected outright. The third generation of the Roman church, Brown proposes, is revealed in the work of Clement, whose respect for authority as embodied in the levitical system and in the Roman Empire still reflects the Jerusalem roots of Roman Christianity. But unlike 1 Peter, where the cultic system is spiritualized, Clement espoused the "more-than-spiritual survival of the levitical ideals," so that vicariously through him the Christianity that had remained loyal to the Temple eventually triumphed (p. 171).

As an exercise in the art of creating hypotheses, *Antioch and Rome* exhibits two well-trained scholars conversant with the literature advocating a general theory more or less held by both. The overall impression is that

Antioch was the place where Peter triumphed over Paul by holding the middle ground between Paul and James, and that Rome was the place where a more mature Paul moved closer to Peter's position and where both of these apostles together became martyrs at the hands of extremists to the right of James. The authors, to their credit, admit all along that they are "surmising," "suspecting," "proposing," and "conjecturing." And, indeed, they are.

In the case of both Brown and Meier, the most hypothetical element in their reconstruction is the second generation. The linking of Matthew to Antioch, and of Hebrews to Rome, is not quite convincing. And Meier's reconstruction of the first generation at Antioch from two verses in Galatians is, to say the least, quite audacious. Even while agreeing with Meier about Paul's defeat, Brown is more cautious on the question of Paul's later ties to Antioch. But Brown, on the other hand, wishing to find in Romans and in 1 Peter antecedents for the prominence given to church structure in 1 Clement, compares Romans and 1 Peter on this motif (pp. 138-139) by bringing in the pastorals as evidence!

In his typology, Brown has made a significant suggestion, worthy of further exploration. If it is well received, the way in which early Christians are to be classified within these coordinates will, I am sure, remain the subject of much debate.

If (a well-used word throughout the book) the objective of the authors is to encourage greater tolerance within modern Christianity by recognizing diversity within primitive Christianity, then the point is well made and valid. If, on the other hand, the objective is to say that in the universalizing of apostolic succession, an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the preservation of the levitical ideals, Clement and Ignatius preserved what is central to the gospel and created a Christianity that could survive—as if survival were the ultimate criterion—, then the point is neither made nor valid.

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Craigie, Peter C. *Psalms 1-50*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 19. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1983. 378 pp. \$19.95.

This commentary on the first third of the Psalter is one of a number of volumes that have already appeared in this new commentary series. The other two commentaries on the Psalter are by other authors, one of them having already appeared.

The present volume begins with a rather brief introduction to the Psalter. This introduction is mainly of interest because eight of the thirty

pages deal with the subject of the use of Ugaritic texts in the translation and study of the Psalms. The position adopted by the author represents largely a rejection of the rather far-reaching work of M. Dahood (recently deceased), in which Ugaritic was incorporated into the study of the Psalms on an extensive scale. This rejection is all the more interesting because Craigie is noted also for his contributions to that field of study.

The format employed in the body of this commentary is quite serviceable. Each psalm is introduced with a brief bibliography, followed by the author's own translation of the text, and then translational notes in fine print. Next, the first of three main sections dealing with each psalm bears the title "Form/Structure/Setting"; it describes the type of psalm and gives an outline of the psalm. The second main section in treating each psalm is labeled "Comment"; it contains what might be called "exegesis," in the broader sense of the term. Finally, the study of each psalm ends with a section called "Explanation," wherein are presented theological observations on the psalm.

The theological stance of the author, and of this commentary series in general, is what might be classified as "middle of the road," with some leanings toward a conservative position. The thought content of the studies on the individual psalms can be strongly recommended for containing a generally rich variety of observations and insights on the text at all levels of investigation. As with any work of this scope, there naturally are many items upon which one could make comment; but just a few of these may here be noted.

The analysis of Ps 2 as a royal psalm is especially good, and it has received one of the longer treatments in the commentary (pp. 62-69). Craigie's messianic connections for this psalm are, however, a little more indirect than this reviewer sees them. It would appear that Craigie has employed the analytical outlines from H. Ridderbos's commentary, more than any other, but these outlines are generally quite good.

A theme which Craigie likes to emphasize, where it crops up, is the self-destruction of the wicked. The anguish of the one suffering from an illness has been captured well in Ps 6 (p. 93), but in the theological comment on this psalm, the author gets carried away with the subject of Sheol, which really only occupies one bicolon in the poem (vs. 6). With respect to Ps 8 (pp. 104-113), I differ with Craigie as to where the poetic units of vs. 2 should be divided, but he has correctly noted—in contrast to other commentators—the chiasmic use of the verbal tenses in vs. 7.

As a general observation on this commentary, I would say that the type of Hebrew characters used in it is not very attractive. Also, Craigie does not always appear to be consistent in the number of stress accents he assigns to construct chains. Furthermore, at times he translates the same Hebrew word with different English words, thus disrupting the connection

which the original poet had in mind. The treatment given in Ps 12, vss. 2 and 6, provides a case of this (pp. 135-136).

In Ps 13, Craigie sees the distress depicted there as being brought on "perhaps by grave illness" (p. 141), but there is no clearcut indication in the text for that sort of connection. Also, the movement from the singular to plural enemies in vs. 5 of this poem could simply be a case of poetic numerical progression, rather than the other explanations that are here provided (pp. 142-143). And with regard to the differences between the duplicate psalms, 14 and 53, whereas Craigie prefers the explanation of a corrupt text (p. 146), I would favor editorial preference as the explanation for these differences.

In regard to Pss 20 and 21, a stronger case than is presented in this commentary could be made for a direct connection, on either historical or thematic grounds, between these two psalms (pp. 184-193). The first of these psalms describes the king going out to battle, and the second describes the king coming in from battle. Even the distribution of the poetic units in the outline of these two poems is quite similar. Craigie hints at this relationship, but he never quite latches onto it.

With respect to Ps 22 (pp. 194-203), I view this psalm as more directly messianic in prophetic character than Craigie does. For Ps 23 (pp. 203-209), he follows D. N. Freedman in seeing the Exodus motif as foremost, whereas I would see it as secondary. A stronger view of Ps 24 (pp. 209-215) than the one expressed in this commentary would propose that this psalm was written directly, in part at least, as a polemic against Canaanite religion. Regarding Ps 25, Craigie rejects the Möller-Ruppert hypothesis that this poem was written according to a chiastic literary structure (see pp. 217-218), whereas a more detailed study of the psalm appears to provide further evidence in support of that hypothesis.

Craigie's treatment of Ps 29 (pp. 241-249) is especially good. This is a psalm on which he has written twice previously. He adopts a minority view that this psalm was not originally written as a Canaanite/Phoenician composition, but that rather it was written as a Yahwistic composition from the outset. This position is soundly argued and seems to me to be correct. In the bibliographical references at the beginning of his treatment of this psalm, he lists Freedman's excellent structural analysis of this poem, but he does not appear to have made much use of this analysis in his own treatment of Ps 29.

The foregoing few passing observations represent only random remarks, of which many more could obviously be made concerning a publication of this scope. These observations, moreover, should not be taken as so negative as to detract from the generally excellent quality of this commentary. Indeed, this volume is, to my way of thinking, the best medium-sized commentary on the Psalms presently on the market. It is

suitable as a textbook for seminary-level classes, a purpose for which I have personally already used it. The high level of treatment also makes this commentary suitable for the more general reader, though this reader may find some of the semi-technical language a bit difficult in spots.

A final criticism that may be of help to the publisher for any future printings takes the form of a comment on the inferior quality of the binding on my personal copy of this book. The binding broke open at the spine after only two weeks of heavy classroom use, and this revealed that but one small spot of glue had been placed there in the binding process. The bindings of my students' books appear to have held up better; but, of course, their copies of the commentary may not have been used to the same extent as mine!

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WILLIAM H. SHEA

Falk, Marcia. *Love Lyrics from the Bible: A Translation and Literary Study of the Song of Songs*. Bible and Literature Series, no. 4. Sheffield, Eng.: Almond Press, 1982 (U.S.A. Distributor: Eisenbrauns, POB 275, Winona Lake, IN 46590). 142 pp. \$19.95/\$9.95.

The substance of this delightful book, now published in revised form by Almond Press, was originally a doctoral dissertation written under Edwin Good and submitted to Stanford University in 1976. As the title indicates, it is divided into a section with the unpointed MT on left-side pages and the author's original translation on right-side pages, followed by a section with six foundational linguistic and literary essays: "Translation as a Journey"; "The Literary Structure of the Song"; "Types of Love Lyric in the Song"; "The *wasf*"; "Contexts, Themes, and Motifs"; and "Notes to Poems." A well-selected 6½-page bibliography closes the study.

The translation in its entirety, but without the Hebrew text or critical study, was published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich in 1977 under the title *The Song of Songs: Love Poems from the Bible*. Falk calls her fresh translation "a kind of journey; a 'carrying across' from one cultural-linguistic context to another" (p. 54). Thus, the aim of her dynamic translation is for fidelity "not to isolated images, but to the meanings of images in their cultural contexts and to the effects they might have had on their earliest audience" (p. 6). In the hands of less-skilled scholars, this sort of more-subjective approach is often disastrous, but Falk achieves her purpose brilliantly. While incorporating—or at least being sensitive to—all the important insights of scholarship, both old and new, her translation has succeeded where most of her predecessors have failed: Hers reads like authentic poetry.

It should also be mentioned that whenever the Hebrew text is referred to, it is in transliteration and in word-for-word translation. Therefore, the reader does not need to know Hebrew in order to profit from a study of this publication.

As Falk notes, the only book of love poetry in the Bible has been the subject of much speculation and controversy. She does not treat it as spiritual allegory or drama, as so many commentators do, but rather as a collection of thirty-one lyric poems, all of them originally oral literature, and each with its own integrity and function. She argues that the search for structural unity necessitates a less sensitive reading of many subtle variations within the text, and alternatively, that the Song opens up most fully when viewed as a collection of several short poems. She has followed the MT with no emendations or alteration of sequence, leaving out only one verse, 6:12, as undecipherable and untranslatable. (Could it be related to Amminadab's lyric poem, also set in a garden, inscribed on an Ammonite bronze bottle, dated to the seventh century B.C.?)

Applying literary and structural analysis, Falk divides the poems on the basis of such considerations as changes in speakers, audience, setting, tones of voice, moods, arguments, etc. She finds three kinds of voices in the original: singular feminine, singular masculine, and a group of speakers. In Hebrew these are usually distinguishable grammatically, but such is not the case, of course, in English translation; hence, Falk effectively uses three different type faces to distinguish them.

Falk distinguishes the following six types of lyrics in the Song: the "love monologue" (17 poems), the "love dialogue" (6), a monologue to audience outside relationship (2), a monologue to unspecified audience (3), a dialogue between speaker and group (2), and a composite poem (1). Certain pieces of poetry have come to be known as *wasf*, an Arabic term meaning "description" and here referring to a kind of poetry that describes through a series of images the parts of the human body. Though the metaphors in the Song are traditionally difficult to interpret, Falk argues that they express a sophisticated poetic sensibility which, though foreign to us today, can be made accessible through critical analysis and by the process of visualization. Her discussions reveal patterns in the text by illuminating settings and ambiance (she calls them "contexts"), underlying attitudes and ideas ("themes"), and repeated images and symbols ("motifs").

The book deserves at least a general index, but none is provided. There is a key relating Falk's poetic divisions of the text to the traditional chapters and verses of the Bible, but the specific chapter and verse designations could have been noted unobtrusively in her own Hebrew text and English translation, and thus would greatly have facilitated comparisons. One mistake was noted on p. 127: Carmel lies *southeast* of present-day Haifa, rather than *north* of it.

The lasting value of Falk's work is that she goes one step further than all other popular English translations of the Song (including the ones that recognize the original is verse): She combines sound scholarship with what she calls "conscious poetic craft and sensibility." Her work is not a commentary, but it will be more widely usable than many of them. It is not idiosyncratic like Marvin Pope's monumental Anchor Bible volume on the Song, which interprets it as a funerary cult liturgy; nor does it have the critical depth of Roland Murphy's "Towards a Commentary on the Song of Songs" (*CBQ* 39 [1977]: 482-496). But it does sensitively portray the Song as a thoroughly non-sexist view of heterosexual love, one which affirms and celebrates mutuality where there is no male domination or female subordination or stereotyping of either sex. The book has something new to teach us about how to redeem sexuality and love in our fallen world, about a bonding which gives the individual courage to stand alone. Some after reading this book may be inspired to rejuvenate the Sephardic tradition of chanting the Song every Sabbath evening!

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LAWRENCE T. GERATY

Gaustad, Edwin S., ed. *A Documentary History of Religion in America: To the Civil War*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1982. xx + 535 pp. Paperback, \$16.95.

Gaustad, Edwin S., ed. *A Documentary History of Religion in America: Since 1865*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1983. xx + 610 pp. Paperback, \$16.95.

Edwin S. Gaustad has sifted through a massive amount of primary material to produce the most comprehensive collection of documents yet published on religion in America. Unlike its two-volume predecessor, *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents*, edited by H. Shelton Smith, Robert T. Handy, and Lefferts A. Loetscher two decades ago, Gaustad's work reaches beyond the confines of the Christian tradition to represent the non-Christian as well as the Christian forces in American religious history.

Gaustad had three purposes in developing his documentary history. First, he wanted to "enable every reader to be his or her own historian" (2:xv). Operating on the assumption that the further a person moves from the documents, the less reliable the historical reconstruction, Gaustad sought to provide the "building blocks" "to enable the 'amateur' to reconstruct the religious history of America" (1:xv). While his assumption

regarding the relationship between the documents and correct generalizations is indubitable, his methodological conclusion is not justified. After all, the "amateur" is at the mercy of Gaustad (or some other biased expert) to collect the "building blocks," abridge them, contextualize them with introductory remarks, supply titles and sub-titles, and put them in some kind of order. After this is done, one is hardly working with raw material. To the contrary, several significant steps have been taken in the development of a particular historical viewpoint. Thus Gaustad's first purpose, as it is stated, is impossible for him or any other editor to achieve. On the other hand, he did collect a remarkable set of documents that puts each of his readers into contact with the "stuff" that goes into the making of history. Because a collection of documents is not completely predigested for its readers, Gaustad's anthology has gone a long way toward helping the historical neophyte become "his or her own historian." Gaustad achieved this more modest goal admirably.

His second aim was "to be faithful to America's religious variety" (1:xv). By not confounding religion and Christianity, Gaustad reached this goal as well as could be expected. The real problem he faced was the immense variety of religion in both historical and contemporary America. One of his greatest challenges was "not so much to be faithful to pluralism as to avoid being drowned in it" (2:xv). The problem centered around giving adequate space to the great traditions of American religion, while still providing satisfactory representation to minority movements. The achievement of this purpose was evident throughout both volumes, beginning with documents relating to primitive Indian religion and moving up through a sampling of the religious variety of the 1960s and 1970s.

Gaustad's third purpose was "to allow, as often as possible, the private and passionate voices to be heard" (1:xi). His selections, therefore, represent a conscious attempt to present materials that express "the cry of the heart" rather than the "impersonal thud of bureaucracy" whenever a choice existed (*ibid.*). The result is a highly readable collection of documents that helps its readers to catch some of the dynamism and excitement of historical events.

In addition to the collected documents, Gaustad's interpretive introductions are insightful and his bibliographic essays provide starting places for the study of almost any topic in the field of American religion. While his indexes are adequate, they would have been more useful if the index for vol. 2 had integrated the material for both volumes. *A Documentary History of Religion in America* will undoubtedly become a standard reference work in its field.

Gonzalez, Justo L. and Catherine G. *Liberation Preaching*. Preacher's Library. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1980. 127 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

This small book is one that challenges the preacher not only professionally, but also intellectually. It is especially designed for preachers who are white, middle (to upper) class and North American. These preachers, the authors contend, really stand more in need of liberation than do their female, minority, or third-world counterparts.

The first chapter itself is, in my opinion, worth the price of the book. In contrast to many publications by and about liberation theologians that can be difficult and confusing for the newcomer to the field, this one gives a good, informative, and easily grasped introduction to the topic. In this chapter, the reader is also introduced to the concept of "ideological suspicion," which concept then serves as a methodology throughout the remainder of the volume. "Ideological suspicion" comes about as we recognize our own historical-cultural captivity, and as we realize that all other interpreters, and even the writers of Scripture, experienced a "captivity" that is at once similar and yet uniquely their own.

Chaps. 2 and 3 offer specific aids for hearing the text of Scripture and for interpreting it. Especially noteworthy is these authors' funeral eulogy for "Lone-Ranger Bible Study"—a private-study style which, according to the authors, is particularly common in the West. This "privateness," they feel, can be individual, cultural, or national, and it can even be historical. The Apostle Paul held that Scripture, and all theology, should be understood together with all of God's people. Moreover, since the church is a "global city" of "fellow-citizens," it becomes imperative for the church to seek to understand Scripture completely and globally, benefiting from the inter-cultural exchange which affords continually increasing insight into the meaning of the Word. And beyond this, there is also the fact that the Scriptures were actually written as a part of a community, and thus are best appreciated when read aloud in community. The authors point out that if the Third World has anything to teach the West, the lesson will relate to the necessity for community, both in our approach to the world and in our approach to the Scriptures. In these same chapters, the authors also attempt to demonstrate how "ideological suspicion" may be directed toward lectionaries, commentaries, etc.; and they introduce the reader, as well, to a number of new and important sources from Christians of the Third World.

The need for a book such as *Liberation Preaching* is augmented by the increasing cultural diversity in many North-American Christian congregations, especially in the urban and educational centers. Preachers who are not aware of this diversity may miss or even offend significant portions

of their audiences. Perhaps even more important is the need for the speaker to become aware of his or her own historical and cultural backgrounds, which serve as a foundation for interpreting Scripture and even for the choice of Scripture for interpretation.

The book ends with a chapter on "The Liberating Process." This attempts to tie together the various elements brought to attention. The authors conclude that there is "only one liberation" and therefore "only one oppression," "only one Victor" and "only one Enemy" (pp. 109-110). The victory, they point out, "is the Lord's" and "the powers of oppression which he has defeated and is defeating are in the final analysis only one" (ibid.).

For those who seek a "how-to" book, *Liberation Preaching* will probably be a disappointment, for it is not a manual on style, method, or technique. Rather, its aim is to provide a broadened perspective—a world-view—which the authors hope will lead white middle-class pastors in North America to recognize their own cultural and economic oppression and commence emancipation from it—and then, in turn, to incorporate this liberation into their preaching perspective and sermonic content. For readers who desire information on the mechanics of liberation preaching, the authors have included a concise, but well selected, bibliography (pp. 119-120) that provides, at least, examples of the style practiced by liberation writers.

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BRUCE CAMPBELL MOYER

Kubo, Sakae, and Specht, Walter F. *So Many Versions?: Twentieth-century English Versions of the Bible*. Revised and enlarged edition. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1983. 401 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

This revised and enlarged edition of *So Many Versions?* by Sakae Kubo and Walter F. Specht is a most welcome publication. Indeed, the first edition is, in my view, the best treatment of the topic that was available when it appeared in 1975, and this enlarged edition manifests the same high quality of analysis and discussion. (For a review of the first edition, by D. Malcolm Maxwell, see *AUSS* 15 [1977]: 80-81.)

In the eight years between the appearance of these two editions (1975-83), there has been a further surge in the production of English Bible translations, as well as completion of OT sections of versions whose NTs had already appeared by 1975. In fact, this second edition of *So Many Versions?* has incorporated so much additional material that it has an increase of more than 60 percent in its number of pages (now 401 compared

to the previous 244)! Thus, this enlarged edition has been necessary to keep pace with the rapid developments. In this eight-year interim, not only were OT sections completed for translations whose NT portions were available in 1975, such as the NIV and TEV, but also a surprisingly large number of new translations of the entire Bible or parts of the Bible (mainly the latter) have also appeared during the period. In fact, the authors have added to their "Annotated List of Twentieth-century English Translations" (pp. 345-375) another twenty-six titles dating from 1975 through 1982 (including the NIV and TEV mentioned above).

In several of its chapters, this volume has been rather extensively revised and expanded in order to provide update information regarding translations that had already appeared in entirety prior to 1975—some of which, like the RSV, is undergoing a somewhat continuous revision process. There is also a valuable expansion of material in the chapter on "The New Jewish Version," so as to evaluate and discuss the sections on the Prophets (published in 1978) and on the Writings (published in 1982).

Entirely new chapters deal with other significant developments in the translation of Scripture: the new KJV (NT, 1979; entire Bible, 1982); the Reader's Digest Bible (a condensation from the RSV, published in 1982); and several "colorful free versions" (including, among others, Jordan's "Cotton Patch Version," Edington's "The Word Made Fresh," and the Williams-and-Shaw "The Gospels in Scouse"). As interesting and important as all of these new chapters are, the one on the Reader's Digest Bible is possibly the most significant, in view of the controversy engendered in some circles by the thought of having a "condensed Bible"—one which, moreover, lacks the familiar chapter and verse divisions. But once the different criteria used for making the condensation are understood (and Kubo and Specht elaborate these, as well as giving illustrations from the biblical text itself), and when the purpose and the intent relating to the target audience are recognized, the urge to criticize the enterprise is much diminished. As the authors point out, this condensation was not "designed for people who are familiar with the complete Bible and have favorite chapters and verses. These students of Scripture should continue to read and study the complete Bible" (p. 325). Moreover, the deletions have been made with care; and, in any event, as Kubo and Specht point out: "But, fortunately, major doctrines of the Christian faith do not hinge on a single verse of Scripture, but rather on the teaching of the Bible as a whole" (*ibid.*).

As for the new KJV, the question is raised by Kubo and Specht as to the value of going back to a Greek text that is generally recognized to be inferior to the one upon which most of the standard present-day translations are based. Concerning the "colorful" versions, excerpts from these Bibles give the reader a "feel" as to their nature, and these well-chosen

glimpses also provide especially interesting reading to those who are unfamiliar with this "popularization" or "colloquialization" approach to the translating of Scripture.

The volume here under review represents the best in biblical scholarship, yet is written in a style that makes for easy and pleasurable reading. The authors do not hesitate to be critical in their evaluations where such negative considerations are warranted and should be called to the attention of the reader, but Kubo and Specht consistently provide all of their information sympathetically and with an irenic tone.

One of the lacks which Maxwell pointed out in his review of the first edition is a failure to explain certain "somewhat technical terms" that occasionally occur (e.g., "autograph," "Western text," and "emendation" [see his review, p. 81]). This new edition has, fortunately, included a glossary of thirty-three such terms (pp. 376-385). The rather extensive bibliography (pp. 386-401) has also been updated, but the volume continues to lack an index—an item that would have certainly been helpful to include.

For any serious reader of the Bible in English translation, *So Many Versions?* is, I feel, an indispensable tool. The short concluding chapter, "Guidelines for Selecting a Version" (pp. 336-344), adds an excellent final touch to the main text of a publication that already overflows with valuable information.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Noll, Mark A., ed. *The Princeton Theology, 1812-1921: Scripture, Science, and Theological Method from Archibald Alexander to Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1983. 344 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

There is no questioning the fact that the Princeton Theology has loomed large in recent discussions of the origins of twentieth-century evangelical thought. On the other hand, there has been considerable difference of opinion over the exact nature of the relationship.

Ernest R. Sandeen sought to demonstrate in *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (1970) that the primary nineteenth-century roots of fundamentalism were dispensational millenarianism and the inerrant view of Scripture set forth by the Old School Presbyterian professors at Princeton Theological Seminary. George M. Marsden modified Sandeen's view in *Fundamentalism in American Culture* (1980) by finding a broader base for fundamentalism. Others, such as John D. Woodbridge and Randall H. Balmer—in their essay in *Scripture and Truth* (1983)—have directly repudiated Sandeen's interpretation of the Princetonians by demonstrating that they were concerned with inerrancy much earlier than Sandeen suggested

and that belief in inerrancy was shared by Christians from diverse communions rather than being a child of the Princeton professors.

It is in the context of this discussion that Mark A. Noll's *Princeton Theology* takes on significance. Noll, a much-published professor of church history at Wheaton College, argues that "the men of Old Princeton can teach us much about nineteenth-century history and the doing of theology, but only if we resist the temptation to treat them as contemporaries" (p. 11). The study of the Princeton Theology, he claims, stands at an impasse. On the one hand, the evangelicals, who have a concern for a "selective list of Princeton convictions," have neglected both the historical context in which those convictions were held and questions of theological method that were of utmost concern to the Princetonians. As a result, they have adopted the Princeton doctrine of Scripture, while not generally paying attention to what the Princetonians felt the Scriptures actually taught (pp. 12, 45). On the other hand are "those nonevangelicals who are best situated to study the history and theological methods of Old Princeton" but "pay them no more than a passing interest" (p. 12).

It is Noll's hope that his anthology will demonstrate what may be gained by studying the Princeton theologians "more historically and dispassionately" (ibid.). He is certainly correct in his assessment that knowledge about Old Princeton is of the utmost importance for anyone interested in the theological, intellectual, or ecclesiastical history of nineteenth-century America.

Noll takes two approaches to accomplishing his goal of presenting the Princeton Theology to modern readers. The first is his lengthy and informative general introduction to his topic. Included are biographical sketches of the foremost Princeton theologians from 1812 through 1921, discussions of the "institutions" that disseminated their theology, an exposition of the themes of the Princeton Theology, and a survey of the modern controversy over its substance and influence. This general introduction adequately sets the stage for understanding and evaluating the actual contribution of the Princetonians.

Noll's second approach to enlightening his readers on Princeton Theology is to present the most representative documents of its most prominent theologians from 1812, when the Seminary was founded, to the decade of the 1920s, when it was reorganized as a result of the modernist-fundamentalist controversy. During this period, the Chair of Didactic and Polemic Theology (the institution's foremost theological professorship) was held by four men: Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, Archibald Alexander Hodge, and Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield. From their writings, Noll selected thirty-one representative pieces across four topics of interest: their theological method, their view of Scripture, their developing position on the relation of science to theology, and their polemical discussions with contemporaries.

No anthology is above criticism for what it "should have included," but Noll's selections have captured the essence of Princetonian thought in his four areas of focus. He has made a genuine contribution, since most of this material has been long out-of-print and, more importantly, the topics treated are the center of a great deal of contemporary controversy.

Andrews University

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Reid, W. Stanford, ed. *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World*. Festschrift in Honor of Paul Woolley. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1982. 415 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

Reid's volume on Calvin will become an indispensable tool for anyone who is interested in Calvinism, not because the material is totally new, but because it provides an excellent bird's-eye view of the vast landscape of Calvinism. It covers the development of Calvinism in France, the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, England, Scotland, and Puritan New England; and of Scotch-Irish and Dutch Calvinism in America, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Each chapter is by a specialist, and is usually full of valuable insights and written in language that is easy to understand.

In a book that has such a broad scope, the material must be covered very concisely, and therefore at times the reader feels somewhat frustrated by bare allusions, where a clear explanation was hoped for. One might wish, for instance, for a fuller discussion of the significance of the Heidelberg Catechism than is given on pp. 131-134, 157-159, and in random other places. Few readers who have wondered about Theodore Beza's faithfulness to Calvin will be satisfied with the one-paragraph assertion by R. C. Gamble that Beza did not vary from his own master (p. 66), especially when the thesis of a whole chapter later is that Beza indeed did so!

The volume's title is very broad, and can be understood in different ways. Some authors emphasize the historical development, others discuss theology. In a chapter entitled "The Golden Age of Calvinism in France, 1533-1633" (pp. 75-92), Pierre Courthial defines this in its widest meaning and paints Calvinism not only as a theological or ecclesiastical movement but also as a cultural force. He sketches beautifully the Huguenot contribution to art, literature, science, and music. J. D. Douglas is equally successful in his treatment of Calvinist Scotland and the Calvinist Scots ("Calvinism's Contribution to Scotland," pp. 217-237). On the other hand, it seems somewhat of a pity that R. D. Knudsen, the author of the first chapter, "Calvinism as a Cultural Force" (pp. 13-29), devotes such a considerable amount of his attention to the theological roots of Calvin's impact on culture, while not making a greater effort to define Calvinist culture itself. After all, many have looked at Calvinism as a counter-cultural influence, because of its stern attitude toward the theater, games,

and entertainments in general. As Janine Garrisson-Estebe shows so well in her book *L'homme protestant*, Calvinism is a set of values, a type of persons, and a way of life that has had a pervasive influence on French schools, politics, and society.

The second chapter in Reid's volume, by the editor himself, on "The Transmission of Calvinism in the Sixteenth Century" (pp. 33-52), is excellent in showing Calvin's ways of thought, and the use of his writings and sermons in order to communicate his ideas. It would have been interesting to find a little more discussion of the impact of the great theological ideas of Calvin—especially the sovereignty of God—on the spread of the Calvinist faith. As R. T. Kendall shows in his chapter, "The Puritan Modification of Calvin's Theology" (pp. 199-214), the very flexibility of the Calvinistic church organization, the transformation of life that took place in Geneva, and the use of the Bible in the home greatly facilitated the expansion of Calvinism. Above all, one should stress the influence of the Geneva Reformer's charisma upon those who came in contact with him.

Space here does not permit the thorough comments that each chapter would warrant, but it should be pointed out that those who have not had the opportunity of reading R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford, Eng., 1979), will find in his chapter in the present volume an excellent and thought-provoking summary of his conclusions. Also, one should not miss reading the chapter contributed by George M. Marsden, "America's 'Christian' Origins: Puritan New England as a Case Study" (pp. 241-260). In fact, the reading of every chapter of this book is a rewarding experience. The entire publication is quite free from mistakes, the most glaring one being the misspelling of *Saumer* for *Saumur*, repeated four times on p. 69.

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DANIEL AUGSBURGER

Sattler, Gary. *God's Glory, Neighbor's Good: A Brief Introduction to the Life and Writings of August Hermann Francke*. Chicago; Covenant Press, 1982. 262 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

The way in which the adjective "pietistic" is commonly used reveals how deplorably poor the knowledge of pietism is today. For the average person, "pietistic" describes a person or a way of life that is narrowly centered around one's own salvation and which has little contact with, or concern for, society. Whoever holds this view should read Gary Sattler's biography of Hermann Francke, *God's Glory, Neighbor's Good*. In that

great pietist's life, the concern for salvation was bound with an intense activity in behalf of his fellowmen.

The book's value is enhanced by the inclusion of sermons and selections of Francke's writings that are not otherwise available in English. Francke's sermon on rebirth shows his Lutheran roots, in its emphasis on rebirth as being exclusively the result of God's work; but this sermon diverges from the teachings of the great Saxon reformer by its insistence on the complete newness of life and being of the person who has experienced rebirth. The sermon on the duty to the poor (1697), which calls for Christian concern for *all* the poor, whether deserving or not (since God sheds blessings on both the good and the wicked), reveals Francke's deep social consciousness. He does not demand radical poverty, but he asks the rich to share with others all that they have in excess, and he calls for a love for the poor that will deeply affect one's style of living.

In Francke's *Scriptural Rules for Life*, one often finds themes that were dear to the English Puritans, such as the many rules on how to use one's tongue, the condemnation of leisure time, etc. Moreover, at a time when English sabbatarianism was the object of many discussions, Francke's call for a very austere sabbatarian Sunday-keeping reveals another point of contact with the Puritans.

The biography is also extremely interesting from other perspectives. Students of the psychology of religion will read with interest the careful account of Francke's conversion. Pastors interested in illustrations of the power of faith will discover a mine of striking material in the story of his many charitable foundations, which depended exclusively on faith. Students of modern history will be struck by the wide influence of Francke in England, especially on the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His influence on the Danish missions to India is worth noting, too. Above all, the reader will be impressed by the extraordinary capacity for work and the remarkable charismatic personality of this Pietist pioneer.

Andrews University

DANIEL AUGSBURGER

Smith, Ralph L. *Micah-Malachi*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 32. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1984. xviii + 358 pp. \$18.95.

The "Word Biblical Commentary" series offers the contributions of an international team of evangelical scholars representing a variety of denominations. The volume here examined is a commentary on the minor prophets Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and

Malachi. The editorial decision to divide the *Dodekapropheton* into two volumes, one covering the books from Hosea through Jonah and the other commenting on Micah through Malachi, is as puzzling as are the principles by which the twelve prophets were arranged in the Hebrew canon. Presumably, the division was dictated by convenience, for neither chronology nor theme favors such a break.

The author, who is a professor of OT at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, begins this commentary with a general bibliography covering all seven books. Further bibliographical details are given for each book individually, followed by another short and specific list of articles and books introducing each pericope.

A brief but comprehensive introduction to each of the Bible books is followed by (1) the author's own translation of the Hebrew text (and where applicable, a meter count); (2) comments on the various textual witnesses, and discussion of specific grammatical and etymological issues; (3) analysis of the form, structure, and setting of a passage; and (4) comment and/or explanation of the pericope. This format was designed to produce a commentary useful to a variety of readers. Those who are merely interested in the comments may skip the technical and critical matters dealing with the state of modern scholarship and turn to the explanations. The volume concludes with indices listing authors, subjects, and biblical references (including some references from the Apocrypha).

Only a select number of matters of scholarly interest can be mentioned in this review. While Smith believes that the life and teachings of the prophet Micah provide the basis of the entire book, and so dates the book to about 700 B.C., he suggests that it was edited and supplemented in the time of Jeremiah and then again in the exilic or early post-exilic period by the prophetic disciples of Isaiah and Micah. He endorses the conclusion, largely based on the positive use of the word "remnant" in Mic 4:6-8, that this datum indicates the origin of this pericope in the time of the exile, and he also suggests that Mic 7:7-20 was probably put together shortly after 586 B.C. by the disciples of Micah. Theologically, the most prominent theme in Micah is that of judgment, which, however, must not be separated from hope.

With respect to Nahum, Smith argues for a broken acrostic in 1:2-8 and suggests that chap. 1 is a theological introduction which makes the remainder of the book of Nahum adaptable for use in a cultic celebration of the fall of Nineveh. In Zephaniah, it is not the Scythians, but Assyria, that is the foreign enemy expected to destroy Jerusalem. Haggai's zeal is explained on the theory that the prophet returned from Babylon (rather than having remained in Jerusalem during the exile), where he had become familiar with Ezekiel's thought of a restored temple. Due to Ezekiel's inspiration, Haggai returned to Jerusalem to accomplish his task.

Nearly half of this commentary is devoted to Zechariah, which is both the longest and most obscure book among the minor prophets. Like Brevard Childs, Smith recognizes a congruity between Zech 1-8 and 9-14. However, this compatibility Smith attributes to redactors, and he further argues that chaps. 9-14 were probably produced in Palestine by a disciple of Zechariah towards the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B.C.

Two of the most debated questions in Zechariah are (1) the life-setting of Zech 9-14, and (2) the genre of the book, particularly of chaps. 9-14. As for the first question, Smith claims that though the materials in the last chapters of Zechariah originally had a specific historical setting, any attempt to find this setting will end in failure. The question of genre is not unrelated to the issue of the life-setting, and Smith rightly recognizes that the material as it now stands refers to the end-time. Smith believes that a variety of literary types are found in the book of Zechariah; and after canvassing several definitions of apocalyptic (however, unfortunately, omitting the one proposed by J. J. Collins in *Semeia* 14 [1979]: 9), he concludes that Zech 9-14 represents the forerunner to apocalyptic literature. Nevertheless, with Zech 14, we reach "full-blown" apocalyptic.

Smith writes that it is not important as to whether "Malachi" is the name of a person or a title. What is important is whether or not the prophet or editor conceived himself to be the messenger sent to prepare for the imminent coming of Yahweh. The puzzling words "love" and "hate" in Mal 1:2-3 are interpreted in the context of covenant language as "I 'chose' Jacob but 'rejected' Esau," without denying the touch of bitterness conveyed by the words regarding Esau.

Smith is clearly well acquainted with critical literature and does not hesitate to reflect it in his remarks. While his acceptance of "Deutero-Isaiah" and "Trito-Isaiah," as well as his free references to redactors, may appear somewhat strange to conservative evangelical readers, Smith is irenic and offers much to readers with widely varying presuppositions.

Though this commentary is generous with bibliographical lists, the publications do not, in the main, extend beyond literature printed in 1978. The informative discussion of "apocalyptic" could have been enriched by reference to the work of Collins referred to above. Similarly, the dissertation by A. J. Everson, "The Day of Yahweh as Historical Event" (Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 1969), would have enhanced Smith's analysis of "The-Day-of-Yahweh" motif.

The author tends to gravitate overly towards the celebration of the new-year festival as suggested settings for individual pericopes within the seven last minor prophets. An example is his discussion of Zech 10:1-2, a passage that hardly provides sufficient information to postulate its setting during the new-year festival about 500 B.C.

A number of typographical errors escaped the proof-readers (e.g., on pp. 65, 100, 166, 174, 178, 209, 215, 234, 296, 300, 306, 336).

Smith has put us in his debt with a most readable, informed, and authoritative work. Word Books is to be congratulated for devising a format helpful to a wide variety of readers. Neither scholars, seminarians, pastors, nor informed lay persons will be disappointed.

Wahroonga, N.S.W. 2076
Australia

ARTHUR J. FERCH

BOOK NOTICES

KENNETH A. STRAND

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.

Bacchiocchi, Samuele. *The Time of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection*. Biblical Perspectives, no. 4. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Biblical Perspectives, 1985. 119 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

Certain contemporary Christian groups teach that Christ's crucifixion was on a Wednesday afternoon and that his resurrection took place seventy-two hours later, on the following Saturday afternoon. Unaware of such a view at the time he prepared his earlier books relating to the Sabbath and Sunday, Bacchiocchi has now been prompted to treat this subject because of questions raised by readers of those earlier publications (pp. 8-9). Four chapters are devoted specifically to this topic, responding to the arguments set forth by the "Wednesday-Saturday" proponents and defending the traditional "Sunday-Resurrection" view. Two additional chapters are "not directly related to the main objective of this study" (p. 9), but have arisen from somewhat corollary concerns: "The Reckoning of the Day in Bible Times" and "The Reckoning of the Sabbath Today."

Cameron, Euan. *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480-1580*. Oxford Historical Monographs. Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1984. xvii + 291 pp. \$45.00.

This volume, a revised form of the author's doctoral dissertation at Oxford University, carefully analyzes primary source materials pertaining to the "Waldenses of the Alps" during the century from 1480-1580, and in the process

challenges various long-held opinions. The author breaks new ground in research on three matters of long-standing interest: Waldensian beliefs and practices; persecution of the Waldenses by church authorities; and the mid-sixteenth-century merging of these "Waldenses of the Alps" into Swiss Protestantism.

Chapman, Colin. *The Case for Christianity*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 313 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

A new paperback edition of a significant Christian apologetical work published in 1981. This book is a sort of "manual" on the subject, and includes more than one thousand quotations from individuals who have dealt with aspects of the topic and/or various issues involved.

Earle, Ralph. *Word Meanings in the New Testament*. Vol. 6: *Hebrews-Revelation*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1984. 174 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

The final volume in the six-volume set of *Word Meanings* begun in 1974. The purpose of the series, according to the author, is "to help all students of the Word to discover the rich mine of truth to be found in a study of the original languages of the biblical text."

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984. 297 pp., 52 plates. \$34.50/\$9.95.

This publication represents an abridgment of Eisenstein's monumental two-volume *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979). It explores the general implications of the advent of the use of movable type and assesses the impact of printing on Renaissance, Reformation, and the rise of modern science.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV*. Anchor Bible, vol. 28A. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1985. Pp. [i]-xxxvi and 841-1642. \$18.00.

This commentary volume continues where the previous one (also by Fitzmyer) concludes. The usual Anchor-Bible format is used. There is translation of sections of the biblical text, followed by "comment," "notes," and "bibliography." The in-depth treatment characteristic of the AB series prevails, as does the wide reference to source materials. The present volume is "updated" in the sense that it utilizes tools and commentaries not available when the commentary on Luke 1-9 was prepared—e.g., the 26th ed. of Nestle-Aland, commentaries by I. H. Marshall and E. Schweizer, and Joachim Jeremias's study of the Lucan language. Also, substantial addenda to the bibliographies in vol. 28 have been supplied.

Fretheim, Terence E. *The Suffering of God: An Old Testament Perspective*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1984. 224 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

A volume that treats a generally neglected aspect of OT thought, utilizing three main themes regarding the "suffering of God": "God suffers because of us"; "God suffers with us"; and "God suffers for us." Examines related matters (e.g., OT rulership metaphors, the "God-world connection," etc.), as well as

surveying discussions of God as represented in present-day OT scholarship.

Grayston, Kenneth. *The Johannine Epistles*. New Century Bible Commentary. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 180 pp. Paperback, \$5.95.

A further volume in a standard Bible-commentary series that utilizes the RSV English text. "The aim of the commentary is to involve the reader in the effort of trying to understand these New Testament writings in their appropriate cultural situation."

Gura, Philip F. *A Glimpse of St. Ignace's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620-1660*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1984. xv + 398 pp. \$25.95.

One might assume from the title of this volume that the content is basically a study of radicalism of the sort manifested by England's "Fifth-Monarchy Men" and James Nayler, who staged "triumphal entries" in London and in Bristol, respectively, and who belong to the same time period between 1620 and 1660 covered in Gura's study. But the Puritan "radicalism" in New England did not, apparently, involve such elements of "radical" behavior; and Gura's volume treats rather a "radicalism" of "Puritanism" (somewhat broadly defined) that he can describe under ideological categories (such as, millenarians, Baptists, and Quakers, among others) and that he can illustrate by in-depth studies of Anne Hutchinson, Samuel Gorton, and William Pynchon.

Hildebrandt, Franz, and Beckerlegge, Oliver A., eds. *The Works of John Wesley*. Vol. 7: *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*.

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984. xv + 848 pp. \$86.00.

The text of this volume is the Methodist hymnbook of 1780, and includes numerous hymns by John Wesley's brother Charles, the chief hymn-writer in the family. Wesleyan theology and piety ring out in the words of the hymns; and in addition, there are numerous annotations. The occurrence in the hymns of an abundance of "poetic twists" and other felicitous expressions—especially characteristic of Charles Wesley—provides another dimension for study and enjoyment in reading this book.

Hsia, R. Po-Chia. *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535–1618*. Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 131. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984. xiv + 306 pp. \$25.00.

This book details a complex period in the history of the Westphalian city of Münster, during which time the political, religious, social, and economic structures had to be re-established, subsequent to the radical-Anabaptist regime of Jan Matthys and Jan of Leiden in 1534–35. The volume traces major developments in the city from the initial re-entry of Catholics and Lutherans into Münster, onward to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War in 1618. Notice is taken of the successes of the Counter-Reformation in Münster during this period.

Kaiser, Walter C., Jr. *Malachi: God's Unchanging Love*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1984. 171 pp. Paperback, \$6.95.

A commentary on the book of Malachi that is both exegetical and homiletical, and stresses the theme of God's constancy of love and care in difficult times. The introduction treats the questions of author, date, and nature of this concluding OT book.

Krahn, Cornelius. *Menno Simons. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten*. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1984. 192 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

A new edition of an older standard biography (published in 1936) of Menno Simons, famous Dutch Anabaptist leader of the sixteenth century. The new edition adds illustrations and photographs to the text of the original edition.

Leonard, Harry, ed. *J. N. Andrews: The Man and His Mission*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1985. xi + 355 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

This volume consists of seventeen papers on John Nevins Andrews (1829–83), from whom Andrews University has drawn its name and who served as the first overseas missionary for the Seventh-day Adventist church—to Switzerland in 1874. Most of these papers were originally delivered at a symposium held from August 30 to September 1, 1983, in Collonges-sous-Salève, France, though several had been given earlier, at Andrews University in September, 1979. The international flavor of Andrews's work is stressed, giving attention to his missionary activity in Switzerland and noting, as well, the outreach of his influence to Great Britain, Germany, and Italy. Several chapters are devoted to his scholarly pursuits, and there is also treatment of him as "family man" and "churchman." The authors of these papers, interestingly and pertinently, represent a wide array of scholarship—from England, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, and the U.S.A.

Marty, Martin E. *Being Good and Doing Good*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1984. 128 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

A succinct treatment of essential concerns in contemporary Christian ethics,

with a "practical-application" type of orientation. Marty sees "doing good" as a result of "being good," and he views Christians as people through whom God's goodness can make a genuine impact on society. The book is designed for group study and/or discussion.

Moore, John Allen. *Anabaptist Portraits*. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1984. 256 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

Provides biographical sketches of Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, George Blaurock, Michael Sattler, Hans Denck, and Balthasar Hubmaier.

Pater, Calvin Augustine. *Karlstadt as the Father of the Baptist Movements: The Emergence of Lay Protestantism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. xiv + 350 pp. \$37.50.

Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt is most frequently treated in connection with the Lutheran Reformation, but Pater finds him even more important as a forerunner of, and background for, the theological/ideological stance of the Anabaptism that emerged in Switzerland, South Germany, and the Low Countries (distinct, however, from the Central-German variety of Anabaptism that came more under the influence of Thomas Müntzer). The three main parts of the volume treat Karlstadt's theology (including, e.g., his views on Scripture, ecclesiology, and the sacrament of baptism), the Reformation in Zurich, and Karlstadt and Melchior Hoffmann.

Patte, Daniel. *Preaching Paul*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1984. 96 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

The author of *Paul's Faith and the Power of the Gospel: A Structural Introduction to the Pauline Letters* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1983) has here provided a brief workbook for preachers

on Paul's teachings and faith. Treating certain central passages in Paul's epistles and their relevance in Paul's own context, Patte moves on to suggest ways in which the examples from Paul can help preachers today to discover manifestations of God's power.

Potter, G. R. *Zwingli*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984. xvii + 432 pp. Paperback, \$18.95 (cloth ed., \$64.50).

This 1984 publication is a paperback edition of one of the standard biographies of Zwingli (published originally in hard cover in 1976). This new edition is timely (as well as useful), appearing during the 500th anniversary year of the Swiss Reformer's birth.

Rasi, Humberto M., and Guy, Fritz, eds. *Meeting the Secular Mind: Some Adventist Perspectives*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1985. 195 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

Described on the title-page as "Selected Working Papers of the Committee on Secularism of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists 1981-1985." The authors and editors represent specialties in theology, Christian ethics, the sciences, anthropology, linguistics, church administration, and church outreach ministries. Aside from the "Introduction" and an "Epilogue," the volume contains fourteen papers, divided into the following four categories: (1) "Exploring the Secular Mind," (2) "Preparing to Meet the Secular Mind," (3) "A Message for the Secular Mind," and (4) "Case Studies in Meeting the Secular Mind." (In Part 4, the case studies are: "Reaching the General Television Audience," "Urban Ministry in New York City," and "Campus Ministry in Orange County.")

Rawlins, Clive. *William Barclay: The Authorized Biography*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 704 pp. \$29.95.

A detailed biography of the famous Scottish theologian whose seventeen-volume *Daily Study Bible* has become a standard reference set, and many of whose sixty or more other published books are widely cherished by clergy and laity alike. The present comprehensive biography "is a bold witness to Barclay's belief that the story of Jesus, plainly told and anchored to a simple acceptance of biblical narrative, has an extraordinary power over people in all walks of life."

Riesen, Richard Allan. *Criticism and Faith in Late Victorian Scotland: A. B. Davidson, William Robertson Smith and George Adam Smith*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1985. xxiv + 466 pp. \$27.50/\$18.75.

A slightly modified version of the author's doctoral dissertation presented to the Faculty of Ecclesiastical History of New College, the University of Edinburgh. The study focuses on the three individuals mentioned in the subtitle. The "only modification of interpretive significance" in this volume as compared to the dissertation itself relates to "William Robertson Smith's view of the death of Christ" (p. v). Some other "Victorians" besides Davidson and the two Smiths receive at least brief attention, as well: e.g., James Bannerman, Alexander Black, and Robert S. Candlish.

Samuel, Vinay, and Sugden, Chris, eds. *Sharing Jesus in the Two Thirds World*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 432 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

This publication contains fourteen papers that were presented at the First Conference of Evangelical Mission

Theologians, held in Bangkok, Thailand, in March, 1982. The conference, with representation from some twenty-two countries, met to discuss understandings of Christ and christology as represented "in the two-thirds of the world whose people live in situations of poverty, powerlessness, and oppression." (First published in India, in 1983.)

Skinner, Craig. *Lamplighter and Son: the Forgotten Story of Thomas Spurgeon and His Famous Father, Charles Had-don Spurgeon*. Nashville, Tenn.: Broad-man Press, 1984. 269 pp. \$11.95.

A popular (and very sympathetic) treatment of C. H. Spurgeon and his son Thomas Spurgeon. The emphasis is on the latter, who achieved fame as an evangelist in Australia and New Zealand, and who returned to England to become the elder Spurgeon's successor at London's Metropolitan Tabernacle in 1894.

Torrance, Thomas F. *The Mediation of Christ*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 112 pp. Paperback, \$6.95.

This book is the American edition of a work originally published in 1983 by the Paternoster Press in England. Renowned Scottish theologian T. F. Torrance, who retired in 1979 from his headship of the Department of Christian Dogmatics at the University of Edinburgh, provides in this compact volume four essays on the mediation of Christ: "The Mediation of Revelation," "The Mediation of Reconciliation," "The Person of the Mediator," and "The Mediation of Christ in Our Human Response." (These chapters are expanded from Torrance's Didsbury Lectures presented at the British Isles Nazarene College in Manchester in October, 1982.) The book is not annotated, and there is no bibliography;

the author's purpose is "to help students, ministers and pastors, and other Church leaders and workers, to think theologically about the Gospel, so that they may get a firmer grip upon its content for their various ministries" (p. 9).

Verhey, Allen. *The Great Reversal: Ethics and the New Testament*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 288 pp. Paperback, \$13.95.

A study that examines the ethic of Jesus as the basis of NT ethics and as the reconciling center for what may seem to be differing ethical messages in the NT. The author considers the Apostle Paul to have made legitimate adaptation of Jesus' message to the widespread areas Paul evangelized. The concept of "great reversal" (in the title of this book) relates to Jesus' ethic emerging as a striking contrast to that of ancient Judaism.

Zundel, Veronica, comp. *Eerdmans' Book of Famous Prayers*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 126 pp. \$12.95.

In the tradition of *Eerdmans Book of Christian Poetry and Stories of Our Favorite Hymns*, this volume provides a selection of more than one hundred of the best-loved prayers of Christians throughout the centuries, beginning with prayers in the Bible itself. The arrangement is chronological, with brief biographical and other background information provided. The anthology contains prayers ranging from those of famous personalities to those that are anonymous. It represents virtually every part of the world, and includes various types of prayer (e.g., folk prayer, missionary entreaty, doxology, and benediction, plus others). Among modern Christians represented are Dietrich Bonhoeffer; Martin Luther King, Jr.; Corrie Ten Boom; and Mother Teresa.

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|-------------|
| ◌ = a | ◌◌, ◌◌ (vocal shewa) = e | ◌◌◌ = o |
| ◌◌ = ā | ◌◌◌, ◌◌◌ = ē | ◌◌◌◌ = o |
| ◌◌◌ = ā | ◌◌◌◌ = i | ◌◌◌◌◌ = o |
| ◌◌◌◌ = e | ◌◌◌◌◌ = i | ◌◌◌◌◌◌ = u |
| ◌◌◌◌◌ = ē | ◌◌◌◌◌◌ = o | ◌◌◌◌◌◌◌ = u |

(Dāgēs Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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