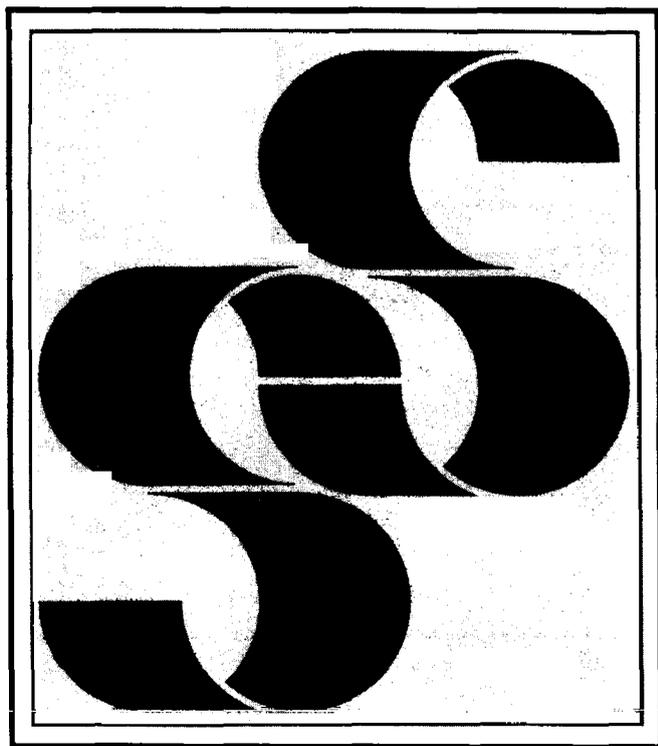


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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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REVELATION AND INSPIRATION: METHOD FOR A NEW APPROACH

FERNANDO L. CANALE
Andrews University

My first article¹ explored the ground on which a new approach to the doctrine of revelation and inspiration could be eventually developed. In this second article I consider the method by which a new approach to revelation-inspiration as theological problem may be developed.

The thesis of this article is that the method to be followed in clarifying the epistemological² origin of Scripture is the methodology utilized by systematic theology. However, this methodology must be adjusted to the historical nature of the ground uncovered in the first article.

1. *Beyond Biblical Scholarship*

A consistent commitment to the *sola Scriptura* principle³ led us, in the first article, to uncover a ground Christian theology has forgotten and neglected, namely, the historical conception of both God and human nature. On the basis of such a ground not only the

¹Fernando L. Canale, "Revelation and Inspiration: The Ground for a New Approach," *AUSS* 31 (1993): 91-104.

²Epistemology is the area of philosophical study that deals with the understanding and interpretation of human knowledge and its scientific enterprise. Thus, "epistemological origin of biblical writings" makes direct reference to the cognitive nature of the origin of biblical writings, to the exclusion of other historical considerations.

³Wolfgang Pannenberg considers that the attempt to develop Christian theology on the basis of *sola Scriptura* was an "illusion" ("The Crisis of the Scripture-Principle in Protestant Theology," *Dialogue* 2 [1963]: 308). He explains that "the development of historical research led to the dissolution of the Scripture-principle, at least as seventeenth century orthodoxy held it" (*ibid.*, 310). Pannenberg may be right as long as he is describing an accomplished historical fact. Yet, from a theological view point there is no reason why biblical scholarship should uncritically accept a method that looks for realities and meaning "behind" the text (*ibid.*, 311, 313).

doctrine of revelation, but also the whole range of Christian teachings, should be examined anew. The exploration of such a possibility, however, requires the possession not only of untrodden ground, but also of an appropriate and working methodology that would lend itself to the processing of pertinent data in search of ever-growing knowledge about the subject matter under scrutiny, namely, the origin of Scripture.

The question before us is, then: How should Christian theology proceed to define a theological position about the origin of Scripture which is able to integrate all the pertinent data provided by Scripture itself? I am aware that such a question may seem superfluous to Christians who adhere to the *sola Scriptura* principle. For them the mere asking of such a question may suggest a suspicious lack of confidence in the Bible as ground and norm of all doctrine and practice, or even a lack of genuine conversion. Christians who uphold what they call a "high view" of Scriptures seem to have no doubt about the methodology to be followed: a technical interpretation of the origin of Scripture can only be obtained by going to the Bible itself. In other words, exegesis and biblical theology should deal with the issue of revelation and inspiration on the sure foundation of biblical revelation.

The obvious limitation of the exegetical-biblical methodology in relation to the exploration of the doctrine of revelation and inspiration is that the Bible does not provide a technical explanation of its epistemological origin. Scripture merely states that it was produced by God without specifically addressing the issue of the process through which it came into being.⁴ Even though biblical teachings about Scripture clearly state its divine origin, no theory about revelation and inspiration is found in either Old or New Testament. Consequently, the exegetical-biblical approach that conservative Protestant theology usually follows in developing its doctrines may not suffice for rendering a satisfactory interpretation

⁴Benjamin B. Warfield's attempt at deriving the theory of verbal plenary inspiration from the biblical doctrine of Scripture has been criticized, according to Peter M. van Bemmelen, because it "is an unwarranted deduction negated by testing that doctrine by the biblical phenomena" (*Issues in Biblical Inspiration: Sunday and Warfield* [Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1988], 306). Van Bemmelen concludes that this criticism "does not necessarily mean that the doctrine of inerrancy is unbiblical, but it certainly does raise the question whether a Biblical doctrine of inspiration in regard to its mode, extent, and especially in regards to its effects can be derived by means of a purely inductive method" (ibid.).

of revelation-inspiration.⁵ Persistence in addressing the issues involved in the doctrine of revelation and inspiration only from a biblical-exegetical perspective will confirm its essential limitation.

It is likewise possible to affirm that since the biblical doctrine of Scripture does not include a theoretical clarification of its epistemological origin, the discipline of biblical scholarship and its proper methodology seem to be of little help when the interpretation of the doctrine of revelation and inspiration is attempted exclusively from a biblical perspective.⁶ One must move, then, beyond the exegetical-biblical methodology, as currently defined by scholarship, into a biblical redefinition of the systematic approach.⁷

2. *Beyond Apologetics*

When the mindset of the Enlightenment and its critical approach to history became influential within liberal Christian circles, the supernatural role of God became almost obliterated from the epistemological explanation of the origin of Scripture. The conservative wing of evangelical theology, however, did not welcome the new conception of Scripture, because it was considered to be a serious programmatic departure from orthodox Christian teachings.⁸ In order to defend their traditional theological

⁵The epistemological origin of Scriptures is not the only issue that cannot be satisfactorily addressed by means of an exegetical-biblical approach. The full range of doctrines also appears as theological subject matter which, clearly beyond the natural range of exegesis and biblical theology, properly belongs to the field of systematic theology.

⁶For instance, within the Adventist tradition recent discussion on revelation-inspiration has moved mainly within the limits of biblical scholarship, historical research, and apologetics. Alden Thompson's proposal seems to stem from the limitations required by biblical scholarship (see his *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* [Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1991]). The theological discussion that Thompson's proposal generated seems to work within the same general parameters (see Frank Holbrook and Leo Van Dolson, ed., *Issues in Revelation and Inspiration* [Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Theological Society, 1992]). An exception to this general trend appears in Raoul Dederen, "The Revelation-Inspiration Phenomenon According to the Bible Writers" (*ibid.*, 9-29), where the systematic approach is also present.

⁷By going beyond biblical scholarship into systematics, I am referring to the methodology that is required for appropriately dealing with theological issues and not to the replacement or complementation of Scriptures by other sources of theological data.

⁸See Norman L. Geisler, "Philosophical Presuppositions of Biblical Errancy," in *Inerrancy*, ed. Norman L. Geisler (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1979), 307-334.

conceptions, evangelicals reaffirmed the classical understanding of the origin of Scripture, turning it into an apologetical approach. The traditional doctrine of the supernatural origin of Scripture was reaffirmed as an apologetical tool against modern and postmodern interpretations of Scripture.⁹ According to conservative evangelicalism, God is the author of Scripture, and consequently no error is to be found in it. Scripture is infallible and true because of its supernatural, divine origin. Not only is the Bible without error, but its truth is grounded a priori by reason of its origin. It logically follows that no a posteriori verification of its contents is necessary.

Just as modern philosophy developed out of the epistemological problem of the origin of knowledge, modern theology appears to have begun in a similar way, by questioning the supernatural origin of Scripture. The apologetical context, within which conservative evangelical reflection on the epistemological origin of Scripture has been pursued, has brought a veritable stagnation in the search for a theory about revelation-inspiration which may account for both the phenomena of Scripture and the biblical doctrine of Scripture.

In this respect James Barr may be right when he considers the theological creativity of conservative evangelical theology as "stodgy, apologetic, uncreative," and monumentally dull.¹⁰ Yet, in relation to the specific interpretation of the epistemological origin of Scripture, he himself seems to fall into the same theological stagnation. Modern and postmodern schools of Christian theology seem not to have advanced much beyond Schleiermacher's interpretation.¹¹ In regard to the origin of Scripture, contemporary theology seems to be caught between two alternatives: the classical interpretation that overemphasizes the role of the divine agency and the modern-postmodern trend, which since Schleiermacher has

⁹See René Pache, *The Inspiration and Authority of Scripture*, trans. Helen I. Needham [Chicago: Moody, 1969], 304-305).

¹⁰James Barr, *The Scope and Authority of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), 72, 73.

¹¹*The Christian Faith*, English translation from the 2d German ed., ed. by H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1948), § 3, § 4, § 5 and the postscript to § 10. James Barr, who properly criticizes fundamentalism for its lack of creativity, exhibits the same deficiency as he deals with the authority and function of the Bible in Christian theology. Barr only defends the Schleiermacherian conception of the origin of Scripture, and particularly the historical-critical methodology that corresponds to it (*Scope and Authority of the Bible*, 30-58).

almost obliterated the divine agency from the constitution of biblical writings. Neither of the two, however, is able to satisfactorily integrate all the pertinent data. These positions and their limitations will be discussed later.

The bracketing out of the apologetical approach from the area in which the doctrine of revelation and inspiration is to be discussed becomes, therefore, a necessary methodological step to uncover the subject matter to be interpreted, namely, the epistemological origin of the Bible. It follows that an investigation into the way in which the Bible was originated should be carried on within the epistemological realm of investigation rather than within the realm of apologetics, as traditionally done.¹² Moreover, as the issue of revelation and inspiration is explored, apologetical concerns should not be entertained. Finally, the doctrine of revelation and inspiration should not be utilized as the a priori verification of the content of Christian revelation,¹³ but rather as the explanation of the way Sacred Scripture came into existence.

3. *Systematic Theology and Philosophy*

Beyond the exegetical-biblical and apologetical methodologies there is another way, that of systematic theology. The systematic way, however, presents challenges and difficulties of its own, which, unless recognized and adequately solved, lead to theories about revelation and inspiration at odds with both the biblical doctrine of Scripture and Scripture itself.¹⁴ These difficulties derive

¹²Carl Henry's massive enterprise, *God, Revelation, and Authority* (6 vols. [Waco, TX: Word Books, 1976-1983]), is a clear example of a reflection on revelation and inspiration undertaken within the area of apologetics.

¹³For most Protestants and evangelicals the authority and truthfulness of Scriptures is decided a priori in the affirmation of its divine inspiration (see Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Systematic Theology*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991], 1: 26-35, 48). Pannenberg suggests that the truth of dogmatics is a question that cannot be decided in advance of systematic reflection, but as a result of it (1:50). Without denying the connection between divine origin and authority, we should not, for that reason, eliminate the need for a posteriori theological verification of biblical teachings as a whole as the proper task of apologetics. Prior to that, however, the tasks of epistemological foundation, exegetical-biblical research, and systematic reflection should be performed; otherwise there would be nothing to verify or defend.

¹⁴For instance, Klaas Runia has pointed out that Karl Barth, recognizing the essential limitation of the biblical-exegetical method, went on to impose a dogmatic criterion upon the biblical texts, so "that the texts themselves are not allowed to

from the way in which the relation between theology and philosophy is conceived.¹⁵ Because systematic theology as a scholarly discipline of Christian theology has been openly dependent on philosophical methods, contents, and traditions,¹⁶ it is necessary to deal, albeit briefly, with the way systematic theology and philosophy relate to each other. At least since the time of Justin's *Apologies*,¹⁷ philosophical concepts have been called to assist the constitution of Christian theology, particularly within

speak first" (*Karl Barth's Doctrine of Holy Scripture* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962], 137). In other words, Runia is convinced that "the concept of inspiration is not derived [by Barth] from Scripture itself, but Scripture is read in the light of a preconceived criterion" (*ibid.*).

¹⁵In his "The Idea of Systematic Theology," B. B. Warfield does not address this foundational issue (*The Necessity of Systematic Theology*, ed. John Jefferson Davis [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1978], 131-165). Perhaps this is the kind of approach Winfried Corduan had in mind when he pointed out that evangelical theologians too frequently carry out the theological task "without taking the proper philosophical roots into account" (*Handmaid to Theology: An Essay in Philosophical Prolegomena* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1981], 11).

¹⁶See, for instance, Gerhard Ebeling, *The Study of Theology*, trans. Duane A. Priebe (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 53-58; John Macquarrie, *Principles of Christian Theology*, 2d ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), 21-25; and Bernard Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (New York: Seabury, 1972), 335-340.

¹⁷While Justin did not "mean to bring Christians and philosophers more closely together" (Adolf Harnack, *History of Dogma*, [New York: Dover, 1961], 2: 188), his conception of an essential continuity between Plato's ideas and those of the Old Testament (*Hortatory Address to the Greeks* 29) and his idea that Christ was the fullness of the same reason used by Socrates (*Apology* 2.10) seem to represent a clear movement away from Paul's warning against "deceptive philosophy" (Col 2:8). Sharing the same apologetical role, Aristides did not hesitate to present himself as a philosopher to the Athenians (Harnack, 2: 177). The apologists of the second century A.D., however, represent only the initial stage (see Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought*, [Nashville: Abingdon, 1970], 1: 109-110) of what would become a substantial and systematic role in the School of Alexandria, notably in the writings of Clement (*Stromata*, 6.5; see also Gonzalez, 1: 197) and Origen (see G. W. Butterworth, "Introduction" to Origen's *On First Principles* [Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1973], lvii). The role of philosophy as constitutive of the theological task has also its antecedent in the Judaism of Alexandria, in which Philo became the most notable exponent of a thoroughgoing attempt "to interpret Jewish theology in terms of Hellenistic philosophy" (J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 4th ed. [London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968], 18-19). Richard Kroner expresses the rather debatable idea that specific contents of Greek philosophical speculation are already present in the Gospel of John (*Speculation and Revelation in the Age of Christian Philosophy* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959], 23-24; cf. Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971], 19-36).

its systematic field.¹⁸ In the writing of influential theologians, such as Origen of Alexandria or Augustine of Hippo, philosophy was already playing an important role in the shaping of Christian theology¹⁹. Philosophy has been called to provide the intellectual framework or system required for the task of doing theology, particularly systematic theology.²⁰ Even today most of Christian theology is built on this unchallenged working assumption. The specific school of philosophy that theology may choose to employ may change, yet the general consensus among theologians seems to indicate that philosophy is still considered to be the provider of the "system" of systematic theology. The Roman Catholic tradition has always recognized openly the need to use human philosophical concepts in the task of doing theology and determining the dogmas of the church.²¹

From the times of Luther, Protestantism has been known for its rather explicit denunciation of philosophy as a contributor to the task of theology,²² which must be grounded solely on Scripture.²³

¹⁸For a brief synthesis of the progressive way in which philosophy was utilized by Christian theology, see Johannes Hirschberger, *The History of Philosophy*, trans. from German by Anthony N. Fuerst (Milwaukee, WI: Bruce, 1958), 1: 290-292).

¹⁹The history of the way philosophy has been permanently related to the development of Christian theology has been analyzed and evaluated by Kroner, among others.

²⁰Avery Dulles explains that "it is impossible to carry through the project of systematic theology without explicit commitment to particular philosophical options" (*The Craft of Theology: From Symbol to System* [New York: Crossroad, 1992], 119).

²¹Conservative Roman Catholicism has developed on the basis of Aristotle's philosophy as interpreted by Thomas Aquinas and scholasticism (Dulles, 119-133; Hans Küng, *Theology for the Third Millennium: An Ecumenical View*, trans. Peter Heinegg [New York: Doubleday, 1988], 104-106, 182-186). Contemporary Roman Catholicism is challenging the traditional incorporation of the Aristotelic-Thomistic philosophy by exploring other philosophical schools, for instance, process philosophy (see David Tracy, *Blessed Rage for Order: The New Pluralism in Theology* [New York: Harper & Row, 1988], 172-203).

²²Early in his career Martin Luther strongly denounced philosophy, especially that of Aristotle as interpreted by Thomas Aquinas (Sigbert W. Becker, *The Foolishness of God: The Place of Reason in the Theology of Martin Luther* [Milwaukee: Northwestern, 1982], 4-7). However, Becker points out that Luther did not dismiss the function of human philosophy per se within the realms of theology but rather its Aristotelic-Thomistic interpretation as adopted by scholasticism (*ibid.*, 7-8). For a contemporary example of rejecting philosophy as source of theology, see Pache, 19-20. In his well-balanced evaluation of Calvin's relation to philosophy, Charles B. Partee reports that "Calvin accepts some of their [classical philosophers'] views and

However, a certain sector of Protestantism has understood that Scriptures are not to be conceived as "the only guide," but rather the "ultimate guide" for the church.²⁴ As a cursory look at Protestant orthodoxy at its best reveals, the denunciation of philosophy did not imply, even for this sector, an absolute rejection of its traditional role.²⁵ On the contrary, philosophy still appears as the main provider of "system" or intellectual framework for the development of Protestant theology.²⁶ On the other hand, some

rejects others" (*Calvin and Classical Philosophy* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977], 15). Calvin's use of philosophy as an aid to the theological exposition of Scriptures (*ibid.*, 21), then, appears selective rather than comprehensive (*ibid.*, 18). Calvin, concludes Pardee, selects philosophical ideas for theological purposes "when he feels they serve the truth of Scripture" (*ibid.*, 22).

²³In 1576 the Formula of Concord stated that "we believe, teach, and confess that the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments are the only rule and norm according to which all doctrines and teachers alike must be appraised and judged" (*The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959], 464). Even though the Formula of Concord uplifts the theological role of Scripture as the source of theology, it seems to lean more towards a *prima Scriptura* rather than *sola Scriptura* qualification of its theological role since it clearly remarks that "other writings of ancient and modern teachers, whatever their names, should not be put on a par with Holy Scripture. Every single one of them should be subordinated to the Scriptures and should be received in no other way and no further than as witness to the fashion in which the doctrine of the prophets and apostles was reserved in post-apostolic times" (*ibid.*, 464-465); see also Clark H. Pinnock, *Biblical Revelation: The Foundation of Christian Theology* [Chicago: Moody, 1971], 156.

²⁴Kern Robert Trembath, *Evangelical Theories of Biblical Inspiration: A Review and Proposal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 4.

²⁵As tradition, in which philosophical concepts played a constitutive role, was not rejected but rather accepted by Christian theology (e.g., Formula of Concord, [*ibid.*, 465, 503-506]), the actual possibility of a theological usage of human philosophical concepts is neither condemned nor eliminated. Bruce Vawter is of the opinion that "most of the early Protestant theologians had been trained as a matter of course in the scholastic system and accepted its dialectical principles virtually without question. However much, and however often with great justice, Martin Luther ridiculed the language and conclusions of scholasticism, there was always far more that connected him with its method and presuppositions than separated him from them" (*Biblical Inspiration* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972], 76). Vawter further explains that the Reformers "did not substitute another system of thought for the scholastic. That they did not is amply demonstrated by the quite rapid transition of the Reformation into a Protestant orthodoxy of rigid scholasticism" (*ibid.*).

²⁶This is not the place for a detailed comparison of the ways in which the system is provided in classical and Protestant theologies. Suffice it to say that a

sectors within the broad spectrum of Protestant theology, inspired by the *sola Scriptura* principle, try to minimize the influence of human philosophy on theology by reducing the latter to the disciplines of biblical exegesis and biblical theology, to the almost total neglect of systematic theology as an independent discipline within Christian theology.²⁷ Even this more biblically oriented sector, however, sooner or later employs nonbiblical philosophical concepts as it ventures into the scholarly world of theological reflection.²⁸

foundational component of the Protestant theological system is drawn not from philosophy but from divine revelation. Justification by faith, the doctrine on which the Church stands or falls, is called to play a central systematic role together with other components that the classical system of theology derived from philosophy. Thus, Arminius is able to develop an intellectualistic version of Protestantism very close to Thomism, and Norman Geisler is able to call Aquinas "a mature evangelical" (*Thomas Aquinas: An Evangelical Appraisal* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1991], 21-23).

²⁷Evangelical theologian Millard J. Erickson represents this sector. He considers the goal of systematics as "pure biblical theology contemporized" (*Christian Theology* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1990], 25), whereby "unchanging biblical teachings which are valid for all times" (*ibid.*, 24) are put into an analogical "model that makes the doctrine intelligible in a contemporary context" (*ibid.*, 74-75). Erickson also says that contemporizing is a "major part of the work of systematic theology" (*ibid.*, 75). Another role assigned to systematic theology is to "formulate a central motif" (*ibid.*, 77) to unify each theologian's system. According to Erickson, the central motif, however, only "enables us to perceive a landscape more accurately" and "must never determine our interpretations of passages where it is not relevant" (*ibid.*). Moreover, the task of systematics also includes the arrangement of theological "topics on the basis of their relative importance" (*ibid.*, 78). Systematic theology, thus, is conceived as not being essentially involved in the discovery of truth but rather in the process of its communication. According to Erickson's view, Christian theology should not engage in constructive intellectual activities, but rather should concentrate on the mimesis (exegetical and biblical theologies) and translation (systematics) of biblical texts. The rules for the discovery of truth are, consequently, the rules of exegesis and biblical theology which render a descriptive summary of the theological ideas and positions presented by exegetical theology. This view does not allow systematics to develop ideas other than those produced by exegetical and biblical theologies.

²⁸Erickson clearly states that "in making the Bible our primary or supreme source of understanding we are not completely excluding all other sources" (*ibid.*, 37). He goes on to clarify that such additional sources "will be secondary to the Bible" (*ibid.*). The weakness of Erickson's position is to be found only when it is implemented. In other words, Erickson sets biblical primacy together with the input from other sciences. How we are supposed to work out the primacy of the Bible in the practice of doing theology is not sufficiently explained. It is likely that, sooner or later, the avowed primacy of biblical data will be surrendered to ideas coming from other sources. Erickson clarifies that philosophy may be used but no single system is to be followed (*ibid.*, 53). Philosophy's role in theology is conceived as

It would appear that, by and large, the Protestant tradition of Christian theology has denounced human philosophical ideas selectively and used them pragmatically. Thus, philosophy is not used when it contradicts the basic doctrine of justification by faith, but it is accepted as long as it supports it. Protestant denunciation of philosophy, then, has not involved a total rejection of humanly originated philosophy. On the contrary, Protestant theology²⁹ stands on the basis of principles derived from classical philosophy.

Generally speaking, it seems that mainstream Protestant theology has rejected philosophy as a source while at the same time accepting it as a tool for theology.³⁰ Within this sector of Protestantism, systematic theology is considered possible and works, as did classical theology, on a system provided by humanly originated philosophy. Precisely in this way philosophy becomes a "tool."

In the more biblically oriented sector of Protestantism, however, emphasis on the *sola Scriptura* principle, according to which theology, mission, and life are grounded in the Bible,³¹

sharpening our understanding of concepts, finding and evaluating presuppositions, tracing implications of ideas, and as a tool in apologetics (ibid., 56-57). What Erickson seems to forget is that there is no "neutral" philosophy. Each philosophy and its methodology involve interpretations of foundational principles. Additionally, Erickson still understands presuppositions as if they related only to communication of truth rather than to content. This situation opens a vacuum that sooner or later is filled by a humanly originated philosophical content. For instance, Greek philosophical ideas seem to be ultimately behind Erickson's understanding of the immortality of the soul (ibid., 1183-1184), God's eternity (ibid., 274-275), predestination (ibid., 356-620), and providence (ibid., 394-401).

²⁹We are referring here to the technical level of theological reflection and not to the way in which the believer experiences theological teachings. At the level of the local church the influence of human philosophy on doctrinal content often seems to be nonexistent or even totally absent. To ascertain the degree in which humanly originated philosophy conditions the constitution of doctrines at the level of individual local churches would require a major statistical study.

³⁰According to Robert Preus, Lutheran dogmaticians of the 17th century considered Scripture to be the only source of Christian theology (*The Inspiration of Scripture: A Study of the Theology of the Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Dogmaticians* [Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957], 1-4). However, they found no overlap between the realm of theology (supernatural) and the realm of philosophy (natural) (ibid., 10-11). Thus "reason used passively is necessary for gaining and understanding information. In this sense it is a mean (*principium quo*), for only through his reason, or intellect, does man understand" (ibid., 9).

³¹Clark H. Pinnock, "How I Use the Bible in Doing Theology," in *The Use of the Bible in Theology: Evangelical Options*, ed. by Robert K. Johnston (Atlanta: John Knox, 1985), 18-19.

seems to militate against the very existence of systematic theology as a necessary theological discipline.³² Two basic reasons seem to recommend the dismissal of systematic theology as an independent theological discipline. First, it seems obvious to this sector of Protestantism that if the Bible is the source of theology, exegesis and biblical theology constitute the only required methodology to reach Christian truth. Moreover, since systematic theology has always derived its "system" from some form of human philosophy, the strong suspicion that systematic theology of necessity violates the *sola Scriptura* principle cannot be avoided.

4. *Toward a Biblical Philosophy*

The working and unexpressed presupposition behind the view that sees an unavoidable contradiction between the *sola Scriptura* principle and the existence of a systematic approach to theology is the axiom that systematic theology cannot be produced without the essential contribution of some form of humanly originated philosophy.³³ If such an assumption were true, I agree, no

³²Grant R. Osborne may be taken as example of such a trend when he assigns to systematic theology only the task of contextualizing and organizing biblical theology in current thought patterns for the contemporary situation (*The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1991], 267, 309). The proper task of theology is thereby reduced to communicating biblical truth to the contemporary mind. Osborne allows systematics to have a say in what the Bible means in the contemporary setting (*ibid.*, 268-269), but systematics has no role in the constitution of truth. Truth is simply and directly found in the Bible and retrieved by exegetical and biblical theologies. In Osborne's understanding "dogmatic theology collects the material generated by biblical theology and restates or reshapes it into a modern logical pattern, integrating these aspects into a confessional statement for the church today" (*ibid.*, 268). Osborne seems to believe that the retrieval of biblical truth does not require the adoption of a system and, therefore, does not need the role of systematics as theological discipline. To Osborne's credit I must say that he is aware of the problem. The theological tradition from which he derives his preunderstanding, however, does not allow him to go further into a better or more complete conception of the tasks involved in doing theology (*ibid.*, 269).

³³This "unthought" presupposition is explicitly reflected upon and expressed by Winfried Corduan, who introduces his rehabilitation of philosophy as handmaid to theology by remarking that "philosophy permeates systematic theology. The theologian cannot ever get away from the fact that philosophical thinking is an integral part of the way that we understand and disseminate revealed truth. Certain philosophical points need to be made prior to beginning actual theology. But that does not mean that once they are made we are done with philosophy. On the contrary, wherever we turn in theology, we are confronted with the need for clear

systematic theology or systematic approach to Christian theology would be possible while holding, at the same time, the *sola Scriptura* principle.³⁴ In this context my proposal for a systematic approach to the study of revelation and inspiration could be understood as a subreptitious attempt to utilize humanly originated philosophy at the detriment or plain rejection of the *sola Scriptura* principle following the classical, modern, and postmodern trends in Christian theology. My proposal, however, does not attempt such a thing.

Evangelical theologian Donald Bloesch has correctly identified the relation between theology and philosophy as "probably the single most important issue in a theological prolegomenon."³⁵ However, it is far from accurate to say that only human philosophy can provide a system for systematic theology,³⁶ that human

philosophical categories. Thus even when we enter the arena of soteriology we have not outgrown the need for philosophy" (10). I agree with Corduan's description of the systematic function of philosophical presuppositions. I disagree with the seemingly universally accepted idea that the philosophy to be used in Christian theology cannot be grounded in and derived from biblical thought. Corduan follows the generally accepted procedure of selecting the human philosophy that theology will adopt from the starting point of biblical pointers (see, e.g., *ibid.*, 41-59). Thus, the creative philosophical reflection that the discovery of a biblical philosophy requires is methodologically avoided.

³⁴For instance, authors who allow human philosophy to play a "minimal" yet important role in the task of doing theology are forced to reinterpret the *sola Scriptura* principle as involving only the idea of a "superiority of the Bible to other authorities, including ecclesiastical officers, church councils and previous doctrinal formulas" (Richard Rice, *Reason and the Contours of Faith* [Riverside, CA: La Sierra University Press], 93). Thus the *sola Scriptura* principle is abandoned (*ibid.*). In practice, tradition and the experience of the church are added to the Bible as sources of theology. Rice concludes that "the essential task of Christian theology is that of biblical interpretation, in view of the authoritative status of the Bible in the church. But it also involves careful attention to interpretations that have developed in the course of the church's history and to the dynamic experience of the concrete Christian community" (*ibid.*, 98). Rice seems to be correct in claiming that the Reformers' practical usage of theological sources amounted to the *prima* rather than *sola Scriptura* principle (*ibid.*).

³⁵Donald G. Bloesch, *A Theology of Word and Spirit: Authority and Method in Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), 1:35.

³⁶This is the position of classical theology, of which Thomas Aquinas is a widely recognized representative. Within the neoclassical tradition, Pannenberg recognizes that philosophy cannot prove the existence of God, "but it still retains the critical function of the natural theology of antiquity relative to every form of religious tradition, i.e., that of imposing minimal conditions for talk about God that

philosophy provides the tools for conceptual analysis and schemes that lead to a deeper understanding of Christian truths,³⁷ or that human philosophy supplements theology by helping to produce a rational reformulation of biblical truths in order to address the current situation.³⁸ Yet, even the suggestion that an a priori and grounding faith encounter of grace "purifies" our natural reason from sin and allows us to use it for theological purposes³⁹ is not

wants to be taken seriously as such" (*Systematic Theology*, 1:107). Within the classical and neo-classical system of theology, biblical language is considered to be symbolic and metaphoric, but may, nonetheless, contain some conceptual contents. Due to the hidden conceptual element in the metaphorical language of the Bible, this language must be subjected to a "conceptual analysis" which may allow theologians to identify the concepts hidden in the metaphorical language. It is easy to see that within this kind of theological project philosophy is called to determine what concept and metaphor mean. Philosophy also determines what concept and conceptual analysis of metaphoric language are. The minimal results of applying reason to the contents of faith entail a major reinterpretation of the literal meanings of the Bible. Norman L. Geisler, who agrees with the basic philosophical view of classical theologian Thomas Aquinas (*Thomas Aquinas: An Evangelical Appraisal*), and David Tracy, who, agreeing with the classical function of philosophy, replaces the Aristotelian metaphysics of Aquinas with his own understanding of process philosophy (*Blessed Rage for Order*, 146-203), can be considered as belonging, respectively, to the classical and neo-classical theological traditions.

³⁷See, e.g., Vincent Brummer, *Theology and Philosophical Inquiry: An Introduction* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982], ix). Kevin J. Vanhoozer, correctly recognizing that both philosophy and theology "are in the business of constructing worldviews," goes so far as to state that "ultimately, we are led to view philosophy and theology themselves as competing research programs working on the problem of life's meaning" ("Christ and Concept Doing Theology and the 'Ministry' of Philosophy," in *Doing Theology in Today's World*, ed. J. D. Woodbridge and T. E. McComiskey [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1991], 135). But competing does not mean conflicting. According to Vanhoozer, "the philosopher plays the role of Aaron next to theology's Moses, providing the language with which to communicate the Word of God to a wondering people" (*ibid.*). At the end, however, philosophy is given at least the traditional minimal role of "conceptual analysis" and "the pedagogical function of leading unbelievers and believers alike to a deeper understanding of Christ and the implications of a Christian worldview" (140).

³⁸Osborne, 296-297. Through the mediation of theological tradition, "deductive reasoning utilizes logic to establish theological models that can be verified on the basis of evidence" (*ibid.*, 298). According to Osborne, in doing theology the philosophical deductive models interact with the inductive data produced by biblical exegesis. This constitutes what Osborne calls a "spiral" through which concepts are refined and brought under the norm of Scripture.

³⁹Bloesch, 58.

enough to prevent philosophical ideas from distorting biblical revelation.

While it should be recognized that neither systematic nor biblical theologies are independent from philosophical issues, they may be developed in independence from human philosophical interpretations. Therefore, a momentous methodological distinction needs to be decisively drawn between philosophical issues and their interpretation. The human discipline we designate as philosophy involves both issues and interpretations. Issues are the problems to be addressed, for instance, God, man, reality as a whole, reason. Interpretations are the way in which these issues have been understood by various philosophical schools throughout the history of philosophy.⁴⁰ Human philosophy provides solutions to the issues on the basis of natural information and the use of human reason and imagination.⁴¹

Both biblical and systematic theologies need to interpret⁴² the same issues as philosophy interprets (God, human nature, reality, reason, etc.).⁴³ Thus, the issues cannot be dismissed. However,

⁴⁰Thus I agree with Paul Tillich when he states that "philosophy and theology ask the question of being" (*Systematic Theology* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951], 1: 22), thus implying that both share the same subject matter. I disagree with Tillich, however, when he goes on to say that "philosophy deals with the structure of being in itself; theology deals with the meaning of being for us" (*ibid.*), thus implying that philosophy and theology do not share the same subject matter after all, but rather have very different, though mutually complementary, objects of study.

⁴¹David Tracy has suggested the replacement of the Thomistic understanding of reason as agent intellect by a less ambitious "analogical imagination" as the appropriate tool for the constitution of systematic theology (*The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism* [New York, NY: Crossroad, 1981], 421, 429-438). This replacement of reason by imagination reveals the extent of Kant's influence on modern and post-modern theological epistemology. The role of imagination in theology and its relation to the Schleiermacherian feeling of absolute dependence stems from Kant's third critique (see *The Critique of Judgement*, trans. James Creed Meredith [Oxford: Clarendon, 1928], 1: 1-3; 2: 49).

⁴²Tracy summarizes the contemporary view of knowledge by remarking that "to understand at all is to interpret" (*Plurality and Ambiguity: Hermeneutics, Religion, Hope* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987], 9). The idea that biblical revelation involves both historical fact and interpretation has been recognized by Oscar Cullmann (*Salvation in History* [London: SCM Press, 1967], 88-97). Hans Küng, basically agreeing on this point with Cullmann, goes even further and affirms that "every experience already brings elements of interpretation with it" (*Theology for the Third Millennium*, 109).

⁴³See, e.g., Kroner, 13.

theology does not need to follow any humanly conceived interpretation. On the contrary, if biblical thinking is taken seriously, theology should develop an understanding of these issues on the basis of—and in full harmony with—the interpretation they receive in Scripture.⁴⁴ In order to avoid theological distortion, humanly originated ideas should be dismissed in the definition of the system adopted by Christian theology.

The historical way in which the Bible interprets the issues of God and human nature, which play a foundational presuppositional role in the formulation of any theological discourse, has been fatefully forgotten for nearly two millenia. The philosophical formulations on which Christian theology has been cast since then often depart from the biblical interpretation of the issues. When these formulations are discarded, a new and exciting system, not only for approaching the origin of Scripture but also for the constitution of the whole theological enterprise comes into view.⁴⁵

⁴⁴The importance of this point cannot be overemphasized. I am not referring to the kind of study which, for instance, Claude Tresmontant has developed regarding biblical metaphysics. Tresmontant is right about some general issues, such as that the "absence de certains termes métaphysiques n'implique pas une carence métaphysique" (*Études de métaphysique biblique* [Paris: J. Gabalda, 1955], 32-33); that irreconcilable opposition exists between biblical and Greek metaphysics (*ibid.*, 34-35); and that the created world is temporal in nature (*ibid.*, 122). However, he does not follow biblical thinking in the interpretation of reality. On the contrary, Tresmontant follows a methodology which, starting from the identification of some biblical concepts, uses them in a second step as justification for adopting a previously existent metaphysical position presented as the metaphysics of Scripture. The identification of the temporal nature of the phenomenal world of creation allows him to identify Teilhard de Chardin's evolutionary cosmology as the inner metaphysical structure of created beings (*ibid.*, 95, 164). While I agree with Tresmontant on his general idea that the Bible speaks to philosophical issues in a way that radically departs from traditional philosophical interpretations, I go beyond him in suggesting that the grounding philosophical problems have received specific solutions in the Bible. Thus, for instance, Tresmontant does not go to the Bible for the interpretation of issues such as 'Being', man, knowledge, and, history. Such an interpretation, as argued in my first article, provides the ground for the interpretation of the doctrine of revelation and inspiration as well as the understanding of the entire range of Christian doctrines. Unfortunately, even evangelicals like Carl Henry, who claims that "divine revelation rationally interprets an objective revelational history" (3:255, 260), believe in cognitive propositional revelation (3:248, 259), hold a verbal plenary doctrine of inspiration (4:160), and do not explore the philosophical conceptuality of Scriptures in order to interpret the philosophical issues and systematic presuppositions necessary for doing theology.

⁴⁵This point is not yet clearly perceived by many within the Protestant evangelical tradition who still think that Calvin's picking and choosing philosophical ideas in service of biblical theology (see fn. 22) is the proper solution to the philosophy-theology relationship (see Bloesch, 264-265).

Scientific faithfulness to the *sola Scriptura* principle should replace any humanly originated interpretation of philosophical issues by one of biblical origin. Thus, it should be possible to envision a systematic theology which, while fully integrating the necessary philosophical issues required for its disciplinary development, may, at the same time, work independently from any human philosophical principles and in total faithfulness to biblical ones.

5. *The Systematic Method: Identifying the Subject Matter*

The systematic methodology I am suggesting here involves three major components: data, subject matter, and system. When applied, this methodology processes the data from the perspective provided by the system, in search of a better understanding of the proposed subject matter. From a scientific viewpoint, the data best qualified to shed light on the exploration of the origin of Scripture come from Scripture itself. And, since such a fact agrees with the *sola Scriptura* principle that provided the ground for a new approach to the doctrine of revelation and inspiration, it now seems necessary to clarify the subject matter to be investigated and the main components of the system as they relate to the subject matter itself.

The systematic approach differs from the exegetical one in that the latter is text-oriented while the former is issue-oriented. In other words, the subject matter that the biblical approach tries to clarify is the text of the Bible and its message, while the systematic approach tries to clarify an issue that belongs to reality itself.

Consequently, when the study of the doctrine of revelation and inspiration is approached exegetically and biblically, the biblical teachings that have been produced in relation to the doctrine of Scripture come into view. The result of such an enterprise is an organized exposition of the biblical doctrine of Scripture.⁴⁶ On the other hand, when the doctrine of revelation and

⁴⁶For an introduction to the biblical doctrine on Scripture, see Alan M. Stibbs, "The Witness of Scripture to Its Inspiration," in *Revelation and the Bible: Contemporary Evangelical Thought*, ed. Carl F. H. Henry (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1958), 107-118; Pierre Ch. Marcel, "Our Lord's Use of Scripture," in *Revelation and the Bible*, 121-134; Wayne A. Grudem, "Scripture's Self-Attestation and the Problem of Formulating a Doctrine of Scripture," in *Scripture and Truth*, ed. D. A. Carson and J. D. Woodbridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1983), 19-59; John W. Wenham, "Christ's View of Scripture," in *Inerrancy*, 3-36; and Edwin A. Blum, "The Apostles' View of Scripture," in *Inerrancy*, 39-53.

inspiration is approached systematically, the problem regarding the epistemological origin of Scripture comes under scrutiny. It seems, then, that in order for a systematic methodology to be applied to the doctrine of revelation and inspiration, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the problem, issue, and subject matter to be clarified.

The subject matter in question appears to include the two interrelated, mutually complementary components we call revelation and inspiration. When the word "revelation" is utilized as a technical term,⁴⁷ it refers to the cognitive process⁴⁸ through which the Bible and its manifold contents were originated. When "inspiration" is utilized as a technical term, it refers to the linguistic process through which the content originated through the revelation process as expressed in oral or written forms.⁴⁹ In short, the subject matter of the revelation-inspiration doctrine appears as the twofold, complementary process by which, first, the contents, ideas,⁵⁰ information, and data of Scripture were originated; and

⁴⁷The technical usage of the terms "revelation" and "inspiration" does not derive from biblical exegesis. Their meanings are, however, not unrelated to biblical concepts. Thus, revelation is connected with the idea of contents that are communicated from God to men, while the biblical idea of inspiration is related to the production of Scripture.

⁴⁸Thomas Aquinas considers revelation (prophecy) to be cognitive (*ST Ia. IIa. 171. 1*). However, he did not make a technical distinction between revelation and inspiration. Cf. Claude Tresmontant, *Le problème de la révélation* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1969), 79-98. I use the word "cognitive" in its broadest sense. Liberal Schleiermacherian approaches to revelation, even when recognizing the existence of an original "event" or divine-human "contact" at the root of revelation, do not consider such an "event" in itself to be cognitive. Yet, because it is precisely the revelatory "event" that prompts the writing of Scriptures, it can be loosely described as "cognitive." According to the liberal view, then, revelation, in spite of its non-cognitive nature, may be included in our general definition of revelation as cognitive because of its prompting the writing of the Bible.

⁴⁹The definition of inspiration as the process of "inscripturization" is systematic rather than exegetical. A study of the biblical words *theopneustos* and *pheromenoi* (2 Tim 3:16 and 2 Pet 1:21) reveals that these words, which following their Latin translation have been traditionally rendered as "inspiration," do not convey the technical meaning that we are suggesting. They rather include both: what we technically define as "revelation" and what we technically define as "inspiration."

⁵⁰In this article I am not using the word "idea" in its Platonic sense, to refer only to the "general, universal, and necessary features" of reality and language. I use the term to indicate the cognitive status of the information. "Idea" refers to and includes any and all possible contents that, once produced in the mind of the writer, may later on be inscripturized in the Bible.

second, the process through which they are transmitted either orally or in a written form.⁵¹ In other words, revelation appears as the issue or problem to be concretely interpreted by any theory of revelation. Thus, it is possible to say that the formal subject matter of revelation appears as the divine-human encounter which may be epistemologically interpreted by any possible doctrine of revelation.⁵²

The creation of the Bible as a written work required a process complementary to revelation, one by which ideas and information originated through revelation were put into writing. The process of putting revealed ideas and information into writing is by nature a linguistic enterprise and is designated as the process of inspiration. As is the case in the process of revelation, the process of inspiration also involves both divine and human dimensions. It seems clear that, except in very specific cases, Scripture was actually written by a human agent. Since I am still describing the formal subject matter that is to be interpreted by any possible theoretical account of the origin of Scripture, no doctrine of inspiration is assumed. To say that inspiration is the process by which revealed ideas and information are put into writing means that the process by which the writing occurs is different from the process by which the meaning and content of Scripture first came into existence in the mind of the prophet or holy writer.

⁵¹Taking their lead from the biblical claim of God's being the author of Scripture, the fathers understood such an authorship in rather literalistic terms under the broad category of inspiration (Vawter, *Biblical Inspiration*, 25-28). Obviously, this broad conception of inspiration included also the idea of origination of contents, and therefore, of revelation per se. Evangelical theologian Carl Henry distinguishes between revelation (3:248) and inspiration (4:129) in the technical sense suggested here (see also Donald Nash, *The Word of God and the Mind of Man* [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1982], 50). On the other hand, Norman L. Geisler and William E. Nix conceptualize the origin of Scriptures by way of a general understanding of inspiration which includes revelation (*A General Introduction to the Bible* [Chicago: Moody Press, 1986], 38-42). When the technical distinction between revelation and inspiration is not utilized as a tool for analysis, the tendency seems to be to conceive the origination of the Bible with God as principal agent and the human author as instrument.

⁵²Divine-human encounters may include a variety of forms. For instance, salvation is to be understood in the context of a divine-human encounter or relationship. In other words, God encounters men and women with different purposes; one of them is to originate Scriptures. In this article I refer to encounter only in the latter sense.

The act of revelation, as a cognitive process in which both God and human agencies are involved, appears as an a priori condition to the act of inspiration (in which also divine and human agencies are involved). In other words, without the cognitive revelation process, the linguistic process of inspiration is empty: it has nothing to transmit in either written or oral form. Without inspiration, on the other hand, the cognitive process of revelation would be fruitless; producing nothing to be communicated in writing or spoken words, it would, therefore, wither away, along with the prophet. Revelation and inspiration, then, are complementary processes always necessarily involved in the theological explanation of the origin of Scripture.⁵³ Furthermore, any interpretation of the revelation-inspiration process finds its ground in the understanding of revelation, rather than of inspiration. This formal "subordination" of the process of inspiration to the process of revelation is due to the inner articulation of the subject matter itself: revelation originates the contents that inspiration puts into writing. The production of the Bible, then, assumes and requires both processes. In this sense, it is possible to say that the whole Bible is revealed and the whole Bible is inspired.

Usually a technical distinction between revelation and inspiration has not been considered as a necessary methodological step to be followed in the investigation of the origin of Scripture.⁵⁴

⁵³Consequently, there is no such a thing as portions of Scripture that are only inspired and not revealed. The origin of all ideas and information as they relate to God must be accounted for before the process of writing (inspiration) is addressed. Thus, the distinction made by Roman Catholic Leonard Lessius (1554-1662) between "textos proféticos o de revelación y textos no-proféticos o de simple inspiración hagiográfica" is insufficient because it reduces the idea of revelation to a prophetic model. It is clear, however, that God has revealed Himself in various ways (Heb 1:1), which certainly include more than the prophetic model (Antonio M. Artola, *De la revelación a la inspiración*. [Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, 1983], 119).

⁵⁴Scripture does not draw a technical distinction between revelation and inspiration, as I am suggesting. Scripture tends to speak generally rather than analytically regarding its own origin. Thus, in 2 Tim 3:16 and 2 Pet 1:21 there is no explicit technical distinction between revelation and inspiration as subject matter of an epistemological search. Nonetheless, the cognitive process by which knowledge and information were originated in the mind of the prophet and the linguistic process by which the revealed knowledge and information were put into written form are assumed. Since each process is different, and includes different kinds of activities in which both God and man are involved, it is of paramount importance to approach the analysis of each separately. Unfortunately, theologians have often dealt with the issue of the origin of Scripture without clearly defining the terms or the systematic issues involved (see I. Howard Marshall, *Biblical Inspiration* [Grand

Consideration of both processes under the general designation of inspiration has produced interpretations which, building on the general concepts of divine authorship and human instrumentality, are unable to account properly for the variety of biblical phenomena uncovered by exegetical studies. It follows that complexity and variety in the effect suggest complexity and variety in the cause. Establishing a distinction between the process of revelation and inspiration, therefore, may prove useful in the task of probing the way in which Scripture was produced.

A third related stage may be added to the revelation and inspiration processes, namely, illumination. As a technical term, illumination refers to the process through which God communicates to the individual believer on the basis of already-existent oral or written revelation.⁵⁵ Since illumination is a process that assumes the existence of oral or written revelation and, consequently, does not contribute to its production, it will not be considered in this article.

6. The Systematic Method: Identifying the Presuppositional Structure

In order for the methodology to formulate a new interpretation of the revelation-inspiration doctrine to be complete, the philosophical issues involved in the "system" need to be identified. As the philosophical issues necessarily involved in the understanding of the doctrine of revelation and inspiration are identified, the systematic structure on which any interpretation of the doctrine stands will become apparent. The task before us, then, consists in identifying the philosophical issues to be systematically presupposed in any possible interpretation of the origin of Scripture.

Consideration, therefore, needs to be given not only to the issue of the subject matter to be clarified, but also to the inner

Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982], 31-47; and Trembath, 3-7). Artola points out that within the Roman Catholic tradition, prior to Vatican I the terms revelation and inspiration were not satisfactorily defined (120). The same lack of precision seems to appear in Preus's evaluation of Lutheran dogmatists in the 17th century (29-30). The systematic distinction I am suggesting is drawn, within a Thomistic tradition, by Paul Synave and Pierre Benoit (*Prophecy and Inspiration: A Commentary on the Summa Theologica II-II, Questions 171-178*, trans. Avery R. Dulles and Thomas L. Sheridan [New York: Desclée, 1961], 110).

⁵⁵For a recent interpretation of inspiration as illumination, see Trembath, 5-6, and 72-118.

systematic structure that the revelation-inspiration phenomenon itself presupposes. By "systematic structure" I am referring to the presuppositions that are necessarily involved in understanding the way in which the Bible was epistemologically originated.

The systematic structure assumed by the revelation process is rather simple, as suggested in the preceding section. If revelation is the process by which God communicates himself to the holy writer, the systematic structure that revelation involves appears to include the interpretation of God and human nature. Thus, whether the revelation process is to be understood as existential, cognitive, mystical, or otherwise is an issue that depends on the way in which the system presupposed by the revelation process is concretely interpreted. Any doctrine about the way Scripture was originated includes a specific, concrete interpretation of the system, namely, an interpretation of the two agents involved in the revelation process: God⁵⁶ and man. Since the inspiration process also involves the same two agents who are involved in the revelation process, it follows that any possible interpretation of the inspiration process involves the same systematic presuppositions that are required by the revelation process, namely, a specific interpretation of God and human nature.⁵⁷

Furthermore, the systematic structure assumed by the revelation-inspiration process includes a complex ensemble of related concepts, which necessarily play a constitutive role in the understanding of the revelation-inspiration process. Some of these concepts are, for instance, the interpretation of human cognition and language as well as the understanding of divine activity.

Briefly put, the presuppositional structure that is uncovered by the phenomenological analysis of the formal subject-matter of the doctrine of revelation and inspiration includes: first, an interpretation of God and his acts; and second, an interpretation of human

⁵⁶The presuppositional systematic function of the theological-philosophical interpretation of God is widely accepted in theological circles. For instance, we find Gordon D. Kaufman underlining the methodological function of the doctrine of God in Christian theology; he remarks that "the word 'God' appears to designate the last or ultimate point of reference to which all action, consciousness and reflection can lead" (*An Essay on Theological Method* [Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1975], 11).

⁵⁷The involvement of "two minds in the process of inspiration, a divine *Auctor*, and a human *Scriptor*" in the inspiration of Scripture has been pointed out by John Henry Newman ("Inspiration in its Relation to Revelation," in *On the Inspiration of Scripture*, ed. J. Derek Holmes and Robert Murray [Washington, DC: Corpus, 1967], 115).

nature along with its cognitive and linguistic functions.⁵⁸ Once these ideas are given actual content by way of interpretation, they become the "system" that is required by the systematic methodology to process the biblical data in search for a clarification of the subject matter itself, that is, of the revelation-inspiration process that originated Scripture.

Different theological schools, sharing different interpretations of the systematic structure employed by the systematic method, are bound to render diverse theories about the revelation-inspiration process, some of which are mutually incompatible. Hence the vast differences that may be found in the various doctrines of revelation and inspiration that have been developed so far by Christian theology.

The systematic method, then, proceeds by clarifying its subject matter from the point of view of a "system" of ideas that play the role of organizing presuppositions. In classical, modern, and postmodern schools of Christian theology the "system" of ideas that serve as organizing presuppositions is taken from various traditions of human philosophy.

Finally, it is important to notice that the uncovering of the systematic structure assumed by the revelation-inspiration process shows that the interpretation of the doctrine of revelation and inspiration is not the ultimate ground for theological discourse. The ultimate ground for theological discourse is provided by the biblical interpretation of the systematic structure itself, as was suggested in the first article.

7. Toward a New Model for the Doctrine of Revelation and Inspiration

In the first article of this series the ground on which a new approach to the revelation-inspiration doctrine should be explored and formulated was uncovered. The ground consisted of the biblical interpretation of both God and human nature, which in this second article were identified as the very components of the formal systematic structure. This structure, presupposed in the systematic methodology, must be utilized in the investigation of the subject matter: the epistemological origin of Scripture.

⁵⁸The systematic function of God and man in theology is universal. As components of the systematic structure of theology, their interpretation becomes a condition for the understanding of most theological ideas and doctrines. The systematic extent of the idea of God as a presupposition of theological thinking is, however, broader than the systematic extent of the idea of man.

As argued in the first article, the biblical interpretation of the systematic structure radically differs from the philosophical interpretation assumed by classical and liberal theologies. Therefore, a systematic methodology which could—beyond the limitations of biblical theology and apologetics—be useful in exploring the origin of Scripture, in search of a new model of revelation-inspiration, seems to be possible.

On the basis of the discussion of the ground (first article) and methodology (present article) required in the interpretation of the epistemological origin of Scripture, the possibility for and way in which a new interpretation could be formulated has come into view. In the process some important specific points are evident.

First of all, it has been shown that any interpretation of the revelation-inspiration process by which Scripture was originated necessarily presupposes a previous understanding about God and man. Since these presuppositions cannot be avoided, they appear as components of a systematic structure within which interpretations of the epistemological origin of Scripture are generated. Second, the main components of the systematic structure required in the conception of theories regarding revelation-inspiration have been understood in various ways by Christian theological traditions, thus producing a variety of explanatory models. Third, in spite of their divergences, the already-existent doctrinal models of revelation and inspiration (thought, verbal-dictation, and encounter-existential theories) work on the methodological assumption that the components of the systematic structure should be interpreted by humanly originated philosophy, and that on such a basis the being and activities of God and man should be conceived as timeless. Fourth, the critical clarification of the various possible models in which the origin of Scripture have been and could be interpreted requires the methodological disassociation of the epistemological and apologetical levels of theological analysis. The traditional lack of proper distinction between these two levels has led to an overemphasis of the apologetical approach. The origin of Scripture should be approached first from an epistemological perspective; and only then, when a proper understanding of it has been achieved, should theology move into the apologetical realm. Fifth, the *sola Scriptura* principle, on which a sector of Protestant theology is built, requires that the interpretation of the systematic structure in question be produced from within biblical conceptuality without resorting to extrabiblical philosophies. Sixth, when the *sola Scriptura* principle is consistently applied to the interpretation of the systematic structure of revelation and inspiration, the biblical conception about God and human nature

as temporal-historical realities capable of direct interrelation replaces the classical and liberal traditions, which do not have room for such a dynamic understanding of God's being and actions.

8. *Conclusion*

From the perspective gained through the preceding analysis, the methodology for a new approach to revelation and inspiration, to be developed in faithfulness to biblical conceptuality, has been uncovered. Moreover, the presuppositional systematic structure that conditions the formulation of any revelation-inspiration model has been exposed. The possibility that such a systematic structure could be interpreted otherwise than Christian theology has chosen to do so far has also become apparent.

The possible new interpretation of the revelation-inspiration doctrine, made feasible by the ground and methodology pointed out so far, is not to be generated by the creative imagination of daring theologians, but rather by the patient and scientific hearing of the available data, namely, by hearing what Scripture says about itself and considering what Scripture shows us to be. In a time when Christian theology is searching for new paradigms that may better help to understand and express the Christian identity to the world, a critical examination of the ideas that have preconditioned Christian theology for centuries and a search for yet-undiscovered treasures of biblical truth seem to provide a way full of theological promise, not only for the specific doctrine of revelation-inspiration, but for the entire system of Christian theology as well.

A practical question remains. Is it really necessary for Christian theology to involve itself in the area of presuppositions and system so far studied by philosophy in order to produce another interpretation of revelation and inspiration? Moreover, does the way one interprets the origin of Scripture make a real difference in one's theology? Is it not acceptable to adopt any theory as long as one is able to maintain the full authority of the Bible? The possibility that Christian theology could approach the study of revelation and inspiration in search of a model yet to be theologially and technically formulated seems to follow from our analysis of both the ground and the methodology involved in thinking and clarifying the many issues in the epistemological inquiry about the origin of Scripture. The question of the practical necessity for undertaking such a task will be considered in the third and final article of this series.

THE BIRTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE GOSPEL TO THE GENTILES

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It is commonly accepted that the birth narratives in Luke supply an "Old Testament" prologue to the life and sayings of Jesus.¹ Zechariah, Elizabeth, Simeon, and Anna act as prophets of the coming Messiah and of the transformations he would make in salvation history. John appears in the role of a priest who would anoint the new Messiah and king.²

Although the narrative of John's miraculous birth has been recognized as a forerunner of the miracle story of Jesus' birth,³ another function of the story bears investigation. John's birth narrative sets the stage for Luke's larger narrative goal, realized in Acts: the emergence of the gospel from the Jewish community to the Gentile world. In Luke's narrative, baptism becomes the new sign of the Christian church once the Jewish hegemony of blood lines is broken. The contribution of the story of John's birth to this larger narrative is the subject of this note.

In Acts 10 and 11 the issue is whether the uncircumcised may receive baptism and become part of the Christian community without first becoming proper Jews. The answer is presented in 10:45-48 by a heavenly sign; the uncircumcised may indeed be baptized and received into the community. The decision is confirmed by the church authorities in Jerusalem in 11:17-18. Key terms in these chapters are the words Gentiles, circumcision and

¹Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 242-243. It should be noted that some NT scholars consider the birth narratives in Luke to have been written by Luke, but not to have been included in the original Gospel. See Brown, 241; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, vol. 1, AB 28 (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1981), 310-311.

²See Brown, 267.

³Fitzmyer, 313-315.

uncircumcision, baptism, and the Holy Spirit. Whereas baptism had been the only dividing element between the early church and the circumcised outside the church, it now became the only dividing line between the church and uncircumcised Gentiles outside the church and Judaism. Baptism was the only rite of passage into the church for Gentiles as well as Jews.

The entrance of Gentiles into the church without passing through Judaism is hinted throughout Luke's Gospel. For example, Luke 8:19-21 disparages reliance on genetic ties, placing true family connections within the sphere of discipleship. In his sermon at Nazareth, Jesus raises the ire of his listeners by suggesting salvation for the Gentiles, even in preference to the Jews (4:25-30).⁴

The first of these statements that prepare the way for the Gentile mission in Acts is made by John, who affirms that descent from Abraham is of itself worthless (3:8). Descendants might even come from stones, meaning that God might produce children of Abraham who were not his biological descendants.⁵ Thus, it is no accident that Peter invokes the baptism of John as the beginning of the gospel's spread to the Gentiles (Acts 10:37). This theme is rooted in Luke's narration of the birth of John.

Luke's narrative of the birth of John borrows heavily from the Old Testament. The first and most important parallel is between John's parents and Abraham and Sarah.⁶ Like Abraham, Elizabeth and Zechariah are righteous (Luke 1:6). They are also old and childless, with no hope of descendants. Both Sarah and Elizabeth are introduced as barren (Gen 11:29-30; Luke 1:5-7). Abraham, however, receives repeated promises of numerous descendants (Gen 12:2; 13:16; 15:5; 17:15-17). This promise of many descendants is suggested likewise for Zechariah and Elizabeth by the parallel Lucan narrative.

Elizabeth and Zechariah were both of priestly family (Luke 1:5). They belonged to an exclusive lineage which no one could join. Elizabeth carried the double shame of not producing descendants for Israel or for the priestly line. Her double load of shame is removed when she conceives (1:24-25, 57-58; cf. Gen 21:1-7). In their old age, Elizabeth and Zechariah have a son who will now

⁴See Jeffrey S. Siker, "First to the Gentiles": A Literary Analysis of Luke 4:16-30," *JBL* 111 (1992): 73-90.

⁵Fitzmyer, 468; François Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, vol. 1, *Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament* (Zurich: Berzinger, 1989), 172.

⁶Brown, 269.

carry on their line. They will not die childless, but, like Abraham and Sarah, can expect that God will raise up a multitude of descendants through the son of their old age.

John, however, has no children. In fact, he appears to have never married. Within one generation the hopes of the aged priestly couple are withered. They might as well have died childless, since their son has no heirs; the end of the line was merely delayed by one generation. Here the parallel with the Abraham and Sarah story seems frustrated if not ignored in the Lucan narrative. Yet the break in the family chain is foreshadowed in the naming of John. The neighbors and kin wish to name the child after his forefathers; Elizabeth and Zechariah insist on giving him a name with no family connections (Luke 1:59-63).⁷

In Luke, John the Baptist fulfills two roles: he is the forerunner of the Messiah and the first to proclaim the baptism of repentance (3:3). This is the same baptism that will become the sole rite of passage into the church for Jew and Gentile alike. At the core of his message is the point that God is not held to blood lines. Not only can God reject genetic descendants of Abraham; he can also raise up descendants out of stones (3:8). Repentance and baptism are necessary for salvation. Descent is not sufficient, and indeed, not strictly necessary.

Isaac and John were both sons of promise. Both were to carry on the family line. Isaac did so literally. John did so spiritually, through his proclamation of repentance and baptism as the new way to produce true offspring for Abraham. The promise of numberless descendants was fulfilled literally to Abraham and Sarah. For Elizabeth and Zechariah the promise of descendants, implied in the birth of John in their old age, was also fulfilled, although not biologically.

John was not only the forerunner of Jesus, he was also the harbinger of the church, both Jewish and Gentile. His birth was bound up in Luke's narrative with the baptism he preached, which later undergirded the theological reflections of Acts 10-11. John was the miracle child through whom Abraham's seed was carried on spiritually. His birth prefigured the entry of the Gentiles into the Christian church.

⁷Bovon, 102-103.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN 2 TIMOTHY AND THE BOOK OF ACTS

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In 2 Tim 4:9-21 there is a cascade of names and places, many of which occur also in the book of Acts. The writer lists persons who have left him and names places to which they have gone. He says that Luke alone is with him, that he sent Tychicus to Ephesus, that he left a cloak at Troas, that Erastus has remained at Corinth, and that Trophimus was left ill at Miletus. And Timothy is asked to come quickly before winter. The names are not given as a chronologically sequential list, but there is indication of what is past, present, and intended for the future.

This material has provided difficulties, both for those who assert that the Pastorals were written after Paul's death and for those who hold that Paul wrote them. A later writer drawing on Acts and on Paul's generally recognized letters for names and places to give verisimilitude to his account in 2 Timothy would have had no difficulty in making his references fit the situation described in Acts; but the cluster of place names and personal names in 2 Timothy does not accomplish such a purpose. The situation seems no better, however, for the person claiming that Paul wrote the Pastorals. As P. N. Harrison has pointed out:

It is now agreed by the overwhelming majority of conservative scholars that these epistles cannot by any means be fitted into the known life of Paul as recorded in Acts; and that if Paul wrote them, he must have done so during a period of release from that imprisonment in which the Lucan history leaves him.¹

But, as Harrison has further indicated, "for every personal reference in the paragraphs with which we have just been dealing,

¹P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 6.

there is at least one moment in Paul's life as known to us from Acts and the other Paulines, which fits it like a glove."² Harrison has suggested that Paul would have had to duplicate much of his former experience, a concept which led Harrison to the imbedded-genuine-fragments theory.³

The divergent theories as to the authorship and chronological placement of 2 Timothy are problematical because mere assumption is too often mingled indiscriminately with real evidence. In this essay I endeavor to separate the two and to see how the genuine evidence accords with different proposals.

1. *The Later-Writer Theory*

A casual reading of 2 Timothy gives the impression that Paul started from Corinth, leaving Erastus there (4:20); crossed to Miletus during good summer weather and left Trophimus ill there (4:20); sent Tychicus to Ephesus (4:12); went to Troas, where he left his cloak (4:13); and then continued on to the destination from which he wrote to Timothy, requesting Timothy to come before winter and to bring along Mark (4:11), the cloak, books, and parchments (4:13). Once Paul had arrived at this destination, and before he wrote his epistle, his missionary group broke up. Demas had gone to Thessalonica, Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia (4:10), leaving only Luke with Paul (4:11). Other Christians were there, however: Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, Claudia, and "all the brethren" (4:21).

This reading is not one which could have been drawn from the book of Acts by a later writer. The names and places mentioned in 2 Timothy are common to Acts, but the order in which they are given is not the same. The sequence of events in 2 Timothy is, in fact, so different from the sequence in Acts that no later writer drawing on Acts for verisimilitude would have produced it.

2. *The Paul-as-Writer Theory*

Harrison's arguments against Paul's having written the Pastorals during a second imprisonment are cogent.⁴ But the case for Paul as their author does not need to hinge on a second-

²Ibid., 110.

³See *ibid.*, 111-115.

⁴See *ibid.*

imprisonment theory. If we ask simply whether the references in 2 Timothy can in any way be reconciled with Acts 19-20, we are not bound by preconceived theories. The events casually mentioned in 2 Timothy can, in fact, be understood in such a way as to be compatible with the sequence described in Acts.

The Sequence in Acts

Acts 19-20 shows Paul going from Asia to Macedonia to Achaia and then making a return trip from Achaia to Macedonia to Asia. The material in 2 Timothy would fit into this pattern if Paul wrote 2 Timothy from Corinth. Using the Acts framework, the sequence would be:

- 19:1 Paul in Asia
- 19:22 He sends Timothy and Erastus ahead of him to Macedonia
- 20:1 He goes to Macedonia, leaving Trophimus ill at Miletus (2 Tim 4:20) and leaving his own cloak at Troas (2 Tim 4:1)
- 20:2 He then goes to Greece for three months
- 20:3 There is a plot against him
- He is imprisoned
- He writes to Timothy, who is in Troas and tells him that Erastus has stayed in Corinth (2 Tim 4:20) and that he has sent Tychicus to Ephesus (2 Tim 4:12); others of his team have left him, but Luke remains (2 Tim 4:10-11); Timothy is to bring Mark, the cloak, books, and parchments
- Timothy, Trophimus, Tychicus, and others join Paul in Greece
- 20:4 Paul goes from Greece to Macedonia
- 20:5 He sends Timothy, Tychicus, and others on to Troas ahead of him
- 20:6 He leaves Philippi and goes to Troas for seven days
- 20:15 He then goes to Miletus by way of Assos (20:13), Mitylene (20:14), Chios, and Samos (20:15)
- 21 He leaves Asia

Paul's own actions are clear enough in Acts, but his friends' movements are only sketched in. When Paul went to Macedonia the first time (20:1), he must have met up with Erastus again, but missed Timothy, who had gone back to Troas. Then Timothy must have gathered together Trophimus, Tychicus, and Mark. This

would have been at a time between the details set forth in 20:2 and 20:3. The whole group then joined Paul in Greece.

Given the occasional nature of 2 Timothy and the logbook appearance of Acts, the two have an acceptable correspondence that is in accord with other elements of the Pastorals. Timothy is young (2 Tim 2:22; 1 Tim 4:12), and the journey to Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra (2 Tim 3:11; Acts 16:1-4) is not a distant memory but a recent event.

Were Both Onesimus and Paul in Rome?

Thus far, the sequence in Acts fits well the allusions in 2 Timothy. But there is one statement in 2 Timothy that seems to make a correspondence impossible. In 2 Tim 1:16-18 the writer says,

May the Lord grant mercy to the household of Onesiphorus, because he often refreshed me and was not ashamed of my chain; when he arrived in Rome, he eagerly searched for me and found me. . . . And you know very well how much service he rendered in Ephesus (NRSV).

This statement has been understood as indicating that the letter was written from Rome. Since it comes early in the letter, all subsequent references are usually read as being events which occurred late in Paul's life. If such were the case, 2 Timothy could not have been written on the journey referred to in Acts 19-20. But this interpretation of verses 16-20, which for centuries has been the generally accepted one, is not a necessary interpretation.

The entire case for the Pastorals having been written in Rome is based on a single phrase, *γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ*, and especially on its being translated to mean that Onesiphorus visited Paul in Rome—that is, "when he [Onesiphorus] arrived in Rome." But this phrase neither asserts nor implies that Paul is in Rome. At the most, it may permit the assumption that Paul is there, an assumption that has led to a whole labyrinth of suppositions.

The phrase simply says, "being in Rome." The usual interpretation is that Onesiphorus happened to be in Rome, where he heard about Paul's trouble and helped him there. But Paul's statement may equally well be interpreted as meaning, "Although he [Onesiphorus] was in Rome, he eagerly sought me out and found me." In other words, Onesiphorus in Rome heard of Paul's difficulties and came to where Paul was, to help him out there.

That place, according to the reconstruction I have given above, would have been Corinth. The phrase γενόμενος ἐν occurs also in Matt 26:6, Mark 9:33, Acts 7:38, and Acts 13:5; and in every case, it means "being in" a place.

Such a reading of 2 Tim 1:17 fits the tone and substance of the rest of the letter even better than does the Paul-in-Rome interpretation. For example, it gives new depths of significance to the warmth of Paul's blessing on the household of Onesiphorus and to Paul's praise of Onesiphorus in 1:18.⁵

Erastus, Luke, and Paul's Other Friends

The statement that Erastus has remained in Corinth would not conflict with the statement about Luke in 2 Tim 4:11. That verse does not say that Paul is all alone except for Luke. The extensive greetings at the end of the epistle preclude that interpretation by indicating that other Christian friends known to Timothy are in touch with the writer. What 4:9-11 does do is to mention four persons and say that of those four, only Luke is with him. (It may be significant that three of the four are elsewhere referred to as Paul's co-workers.)

The reference to Erastus, like those to Trophimus and Tychicus, was intended to bring Timothy up-to-date as to the places where those persons were at that particular time.

3. Conclusion

In this essay I have not addressed the linguistic or theological issues involved with the Pastorals. I have concentrated on answering the question of whether or not the references common to 2 Timothy and Acts can be fitted into the sequence of events depicted in Acts. I conclude that they can.

⁵Another interpretation which does not place Paul in Rome is to translate the phrase as "when he had regained his strength." See M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 106. Since other NT uses of the phrase indicate a place rather than a condition, I prefer the rendition "being in Rome."

**THE JOINT MADABA PLAINS PROJECT:
A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 1992 SEASON,
INCLUDING THE REGIONAL SURVEY AND
EXCAVATIONS AT TELL JALUL AND TELL EL-'UMEIRI
(June 16 to July 31, 1992)**

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During the summer of 1992, Andrews University conducted a fourth season of archaeological research in the Madaba Plains region of Jordan (see **Plate 1**). This season the Madaba Plains Project was cosponsored by Atlantic Union College (South Lancaster, MA), Canadian Union College (College Heights, near Lacombe, Alberta, Canada), and Walla Walla College (Walla Walla, WA).¹ An international team of about 80 archaeologists, students,

¹Once again, the authors of this report would like to express their indebtedness to each member of the staff who made these results possible. In addition to the continued financial and staff support of the consortium institutions—Andrews University (principal sponsor), Atlantic Union College, Canadian Union College, and Walla College—other funds were raised from private donations and volunteer participation fees. Individuals who contributed generously to the general dig fund included Elizabeth Platt, Leif and Grete Bakland, Wilfred Geschke, Landon and Nancy Kite, Mike Maxwell, Elmer and Darilee Sakala, Mitchell and Patsy Tyner, Gary and Carolyn Waldron, and especially Ron and Sheila Geraty. In-kind contributions to the project came from the Environmental Systems Research Institute of Redlands, CA, which provided GIS software support; Magellan Systems Corporation of San Dimas, CA, which provided a GPS receiver unit; and Worthington Foods of Worthington, OH, which provided vegetarian canned foods.

Special recognition is due to the new Director-General of Antiquities, Dr. Safwan Tell, who has continued the excellent tradition of support which that Department has provided for our project, and to Department-of-Antiquities representatives, Hanan Azar, Rula Qussous, and Adeb Abuh Shmais. Work at our

and laypersons joined approximately 40 Jordanians in producing the results summarized in this report.²

For a detailed review of the project's specific research objectives and previous results, the reader is referred to the preliminary and final reports of the first three seasons.³ However, the overall goals continue to be the illumination of the nature and causes of settlement oscillations in the Madaba Plains region and

major excavation sites would be impossible without the gracious support of the land owners: businessman/scholar Dr. Raouf Abujaber, landowner of Tell el-'Umeiri; Gen. Acash, es-Zeben, landowner of Jalul.

The officers and staff of the American Schools of Oriental Research and its local affiliate, the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman, provided the usual invaluable assistance through the good offices of the new director Dr. Pierre Bikai and his wife, Dr. Patricia Bakai. Also, special thanks are due to Dr. Kamal Fakmawi, principal of the UNRWA-sponsored Amman Training Center, and his staff who graciously turned their excellent facilities over to us during the summer to use as our base camp.

The scientific goals and procedures of the project were approved by the Committee on Archaeological Policy of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Permission to excavate and survey in the project area was obtained from the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. ACOR provided logistical support, and provided a home away from home for staff members.

²The directors for the project this season once again included the following: Lawrence T. Geraty, Senior Project Director; Larry G. Herr, Director of the Tell el-'Umeiri Excavations; Øystein S. LaBianca, Director of the Regional Survey; and Randall W. Younker, Director of the Tell Jalul Excavations. Douglas R. Clark was the Director of the Consortium.

LaBianca, Jim Fisher, and Trudy Stokes served as dig administrators at the Institute of Archaeology during the early planning stages of this season's expedition; Bill Cash, Joseph Ghosn and Trudy Stokes served as camp administrators in Jordan. Lloyd Willis served as camp chaplain and Keith Stokes was camp handyman. Leila Mashini served as head cook, assisted by Stokes and others. Pottery registrar was Stephanie Merling, assisted by David Merling. Processing of small finds was supervised by the Objects Registrar, Elizabeth Platt, assisted by Richard Brenecke. Objects were photographed by Brenecke and Jennifer Groves. Objects were drawn by Brenecke, Stephanie Elkins, and Rhonda Root. Brenecke also served as draftsman for Tell el-'Umeiri and Jalul. The surveyor was Abbas Khammash.

³See Lawrence T. Geraty, "A Preliminary Report on the First Season at Tell el-'Umeiri (June 18 to August 8, 1984)," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 85-110; Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report on the Second Season at Tell El-'Umeiri and Vicinity (June 18 to August 6, 1987)," *AUSS* 26 (1988): 217-252; Randall W. Younker, Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1989 Season, Including the Regional Survey and Excavations at El-Dreijat, Tell Jawa, and Tell el-'Umeiri (June 19 to August 8, 1989)," *AUSS* 28 (1990): 5-52.

how these relate to other factors which contribute to sociocultural change in the area. Understanding the causes of change will, in turn, provide additional insights into the region's historical and political development.

1. *The Regional Survey*⁴

Investigations of the hinterland within a 5-km radius of Tell el-'Umeiri—which were begun in 1984 and continued during the 1987, 1989, and 1991 field seasons—culminated during the 1992 season. To a large degree, these investigations had been inspired by many unanswered questions resulting from our previous research at Tell Hesban and vicinity. While the Hesban project had brought into focus the question of how people in this region went about providing for their food, water, and security needs during successive historical periods, the fact that this question had come into focus after the fieldwork had been completed meant that there were many gaps in the information on hand. Reports on efforts during previous field seasons to fill these gaps have been published in the seasonal reports of the Madaba Plains Project.⁵

As in previous seasons, the 1992 field season carried on several concurrent lines of investigation, most of which had begun during previous seasons of fieldwork, from 1984 through 1989. These included an environment survey, an archaeological site survey, an ethnoarchaeological survey focusing on habitation caves and water provisioning, excavation of a habitation cave containing pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions, excavation of a Bronze Age cemetery, and a subsurface mapping project. All these surveys were carried out in the region inside a 5-km radius of Tell el-'Umeiri (see Plate 1).

*The Environment Survey*⁶

The principal objective of the environment survey remained the same as during previous seasons: to gather data and insights that would enable reconstruction of environmental correlates of food system changes in the past. The specific objective of the 1992

⁴As in previous seasons, the director responsible for planning and execution of hinterland surveys was Øystein S. LaBianca from Andrews University.

⁵See Note 3.

⁶Doug Schnurrenberger (University of Maryland) was responsible for the environmental survey.

season was to complete a bedrock geology map and a soil map of the project area as it appears today. The data needed to produce these maps was successfully obtained from maps of the geology and soils of Transjordan, aerial photographs of the project area, and field observations. These maps will be used to help reconstruct changes taking place over time in land forms and distribution of agricultural soils throughout the project area.

The Site Survey⁷

As in previous seasons, the major objective of the site survey has been to document in as much detail as possible changes over time in settlement and landuse patterns within the project area. Completion of the site survey, which over four field seasons has recorded a total of 134 sites, involved five specific tasks:

1. To revisit and rerecord sites from the 1984 and 1989 seasons which had not been documented according to the standardized recording system perfected during the 1989 field season. This was done to provide in the final report on the survey a uniform presentation of all sites surveyed and to facilitate GIS (geographical information system)-assisted spatial analysis of all sites and site features, so as to ascertain their relationship to agricultural soils, water sources, and roads.

2. To complete a tour of all sites with predominantly Iron Age pottery, followed by a tour of all sites with predominantly Byzantine pottery. This was done to get an even better feel for the locational and archaeological features which distinguish these two periods of settlement. An observation yielded by these tours was that whereas sites with predominantly Iron Age pottery tended to be located primarily in gently rolling hills and level areas, the sites with Byzantine pottery were found in all types of terrain.

3. To improve further the recording of hinterland sites through utilization of a survey artist. A total of 175 drawings were completed, including detailed drawings of installations related to production of olive oil—such as olive crushers, olive presses, and olive oil separation vats—and drawings of farmstead layouts,

⁷Gary Christopherson (University of Arizona) headed the site survey. He was assisted by David Hopkins (Wesley Theological Seminary)—team leader, Gerald Mattingly (Johnson Bible College)—team leader, Rhonda Root (Andrews University)—artist, Mailen Kootsey (Andrews University)—GPS testing, Mazin Razmy (University of Jordan)—translator, Tischa Ives—photographer, and Phillip Slaughter—student assistant. Hinterland probes were carried out by David Hopkins with the assistance of Mazen Razmy.

herding stations, entrances to habitation caves, and wine presses (see **Plate 2**).

4. To test GPS (global positioning system) technology for use in recording the precise geographic location of archaeological sites. The equipment tested were two Magellan GPS NAV 1000 PRO receivers made by Magellan Systems Corporation of San Dimas, California. An exterior antenna kit arrived too late to be used in the field. It was found that the precision with which locations could be pinpointed varied, depending on how many satellites were within communication range. Greatest precision (3 m accuracy) was obtained by use of two receivers during times when signals from four satellites could be picked up simultaneously.

5. To experiment with the use of limited archaeological probes to ascertain more precisely the date of construction of selected "rectilinear structures" located by the site survey. To this end, four probes were carried out at three different sites containing such structures. Three of these probes—at sites 52, 69, and 85—succeeded in establishing the most probable date for construction of the structures in question. Whereas the date of construction of the structures 52:1 and 69:2 could be fixed to the Iron 2 period, a Byzantine construction date was fixed for the structure at 85:1.

*The Ethnoarchaeological Survey*⁸

Our studies of recent changes in settlement and landuse patterns have been an important source of insight into the process of food-system intensification and abatement within the project area. In past seasons these studies have focused on delineating various archaeological correlates of how individual households and villages have converted over the past several decades from primarily subsistence production of cereals, sheep, and goats to market production of fruits and vegetables.

During the 1992 season two important correlates of this process were investigated. The first had to do with the manner in which the use of habitation caves and whole cave villages were abandoned in favor of village housing. A major goal, in this regard, was to locate and document abandoned habitation caves and cave villages, and to find out about the factors which contributed to their abandonment. The 1992 season added four such abandoned cave villages to those already discovered and studied during previous seasons (see **Plate 3**).

⁸The ethnoarchaeological survey was carried out primarily by Dorothy Irvin (Durham, North Carolina) and Azar. They were assisted part-time by LaBianca, Qussous, and Neife Issa (University of Jordan).

The second correlate had to do with the process of abandonment of cistern-use in favor of reliance on the integrated water network. To this end "water interviews" were carried out to learn more about what the project area's present-day residents could tell us about how they used to provide for their water needs before the integrated water network came into use. Interviews included questions about the different kinds of cisterns that had previously been maintained, and which in some cases continue to be maintained. Who owned them and who had the right to use these cisterns? How were they cleaned and filled? Why had the majority of cisterns been abandoned? What did it cost to repair abandoned cisterns? What were the pros and cons of relying on cisterns vs. relying on the integrated water system?

Perhaps the most significant insight gained from these interviews was that connecting to the integrated system led villagers to gradually cease maintaining their cisterns; thus, increasingly they gave up personal responsibility for collecting and storing rainwater. This situation has led to increased pressure on the underground aquifers on which the integrated system depends for its supplies, while rainfall and surface runoff is going to waste to a greater extent than was the case when individual households used to collect and store rainwater. Consequently, in some villages, when the integrated water system is shut off due to shortages, the poor are worse off today than they used to be when they had access to cistern water, because they cannot afford to buy water as often and are, therefore, forced to make do with less.⁹

*Khirbet Rufeisah Inscription Cave (Site 22:6, Field A)*¹⁰

During the second week of July—in the course of a routine search for habitation caves—Dorothy Irvin and Hanan Azar came upon what may be the largest assemblage discovered to date in Jordan of pre-Islamic Arab alphabet characters, tribal signs, and

⁹These "water interviews" were spurred in part by efforts underway to obtain funding for "Project Rainkeep." This project entails a plan for development of incentives for local residents to clean, repair, and bring back into use their abandoned cisterns as a way to improve water security and socioeconomic conditions in the project area. Funding for the project is being sought from USAID, NORAD, and other potential sources of support.

¹⁰Excavation of the inscription cave at Khirbet Rufeisah was carried out by LaBianca, assisted by Zayyadin and Qussous, both of the Department of Antiquities. Two students assisted: Sameh Foud Khamis (University of Jordan) and Ibrahim Feyome (University of Jordan). The Department of Antiquities supplied wheelbarrows, picks, and other equipment, along with assistance in dealing with press inquiries about the discovery.

pictographs. Inscribed on a 25 m long and 1.5 m high black-painted plastered panel located inside an otherwise unremarkable habitation cave at Khirbet Rufeisah, near Jadoudeh, were well over 1000 engraved characters and pictographs (see Plate 4).

Preliminary reading of the inscription by Fawzi Zayyadin of the Department of Antiquities and David Graf of the University of Miami indicated that it contains characters belonging to a succession of pre-Islamic Arabic alphabets. The panel with engravings appears to be a palimpsest which, in addition to the most recent set of inscriptions, contains the partially erased remains of earlier ones. Thus, the panel appears to have been used by Arab tribesmen as a sort of "tribal bulletin board" throughout most of the Classical Era.

Because of the obvious significance of the inscription, the entire cave complex was cleaned of all debris, and excavations were undertaken in order to establish a chronological framework for the site and to ascertain more precisely by whom and for what the cave had been used. To this end excavations were undertaken immediately inside the walled-off entrance to the cave (Squares 1 and 2) and immediately outside the opening (Square 5). Square 1 covered approximately 10 square m; squares 2 and 5 covered approximately 4 square m each.

Eleven loci were isolated in Squares 1 and 2 primarily on the basis of soil composition and texture changes. On the same basis, Square 5 was subdivided into eight loci. Due to the short time between the finding of the cave and the expedition's closing date, excavations ceased in all three squares before bedrock could be reached.

Square 1 yielded a total of 345 sherds, of which only 95 were judged diagnostic; Square 2 yielded 181 sherds of which only 30 were diagnostic; and Square 5 produced 411 sherds, of which 165 were diagnostic. The periods represented by these sherds include Roman, Byzantine, Umayyad, Late Islamic, and Modern. Two sherds were judged to be possibly Iron Age. More analysis will be needed before any successional patterning can be said to exist on the basis of the sherds recovered to date.

The most interesting objects recovered in the excavations were one tent pin, one needle fragment, and one earring. These objects are consistent with the interpretation of the site as having been used primarily by tent- and cave-dwelling bedouin. Further archaeological investigations are planned in order to try to learn more about past users of this cave complex.

*Bronze Age Cemetery Excavations*¹¹

In 1987, a survey team working south of Khirbet Bisharat, Site 73, observed several shaft openings in the ground, made visible by recent robbings. Preliminary observations led us to believe that a few of these shafts were examples of Early Bronze shaft tombs. The tombs' locations and type, along with the sites, were recorded and noted for future work.

We went back to this site in 1992 because of new encroaching construction near the cemetery and because of the possibility of documenting Bronze Age tombs there. Since no tombs from this period had been documented yet within the project area, and since the nature of the area's Bronze Age occupation has remained elusive, it was deemed all the more worthwhile to devote some time to careful excavation of this site.

Of more than a dozen tombs in the cemetery, three were excavated. The first excavated was Tomb 1. Even though it had been robbed, it was cleared to gain a fuller understanding of its architectural type and to document the history of its use. The rock-cut chamber (3.25 x 2.30 x 1.60 m), which exhibited tool marks and a small ledge around three of its sides, was semicircular with a sloping ceiling. Most of the pottery in the chamber was Iron age, although older sherds were found. The chamber also had a plaster-like substance on the wall, thus supporting a theory of reuse.

In an area marked by a slight depression in the bedrock a probe revealed a shaft designated as Tomb 11. The bottom of the shaft opened into two chambers, on the north and south sides. The entrance to the north chamber was blocked by nari stones, which crumbled quite easily. The north chamber (3.20 x 2.81 x 1.8 m), square with rounded corners, was filled with soil that almost reached the ceiling. Tool marks were evident where the stone had been cut. The fill contained fragmentary skeletal remains. The grave goods consisted of two globular, strap-handled vessels; one rounded-base four-spouted lamp; and one small hemispherical cup (see Plate 5a). This kind of globular jug is well attested in Jordan. The lamps with the rounded bottom have parallels in Dhar Mirzbaneh, El Husn, and Amman. All the pottery, including the

¹¹Excavation of the Bronze Age cemetery was carried out by Howard Krug (Rochester, NY), Doug Waterhouse (Andrews University), Jalal Abu Hamdan (University of Jordan), and Stacy Knapp (Dubuque, IA).

little cup, are common and characteristic of the EB IV tomb repertoire.

The second chamber, on the south side of the shaft, was somewhat larger than the north chamber. While it was similar in design, only a few sherds dated the construction of the tomb to the EB IV period. The grave assemblage, indicative of a later Bronze Age period, consisted of four ovoid jars, a burnished juglet, a small juglet, a carinated bowl, and a toggle pin (see Plate 5b). The chamber contained a secondary and a tertiary commingled burial of at least seven adults.

Due to significant roof collapse in the area around and involving the shaft, the last tomb, Tomb 12 (4.10 x 2.60 x 1.16 m), was accessed through a hole in the west wall of the north chamber of Tomb 11. The chamber contained only disturbed fragmented skeletal remains and a typical EB IV assemblage, which included three four-spouted lamps, a cup, one globular strap-handled jug, and one bronze dagger. The dagger is in very good condition, with rivets still evident on each side of the blade above the tang, although the handle is missing.

While the analysis is preliminary, Tomb 11's north chamber and Tomb 12 seem to date to the EB IV period, while Tomb 11's south chamber was probably reused in a later period. More detailed analysis of the tombs's contents, including its skeletal remains, will be forthcoming.¹²

*Subsurface Mapping Project*¹³

Using a variety of technologies—including seismic refraction (SR), ground-penetrating radar (GPR) and electromagnetic induction (EMI)—the subsurface mapping team collected data for eight different projects during the summer of 1992.

On Tell el-'Umeiri, the extent of the western defense system was investigated, using GPR transects. This investigation was a continuation of a 1989 season project in which GPR was used along the southern balk of the Field B excavations for correlation of radar

¹²A preliminary study of the human skeletal remains from Tombs 11 and 12 has been supplied by Knapp. Her report indicates that Tomb 11 contained at least seven individuals, one of which appears to be a secondary burial, and the rest of which appear to be tertiary burials. Tomb 12 contained the remains of only one person in a primary burial arrangement.

¹³The subsurface mapping project was done by Jon Cole (Walla Walla College) and Gerald and Scott Sandness (Richland, WA).

signals with observed structural features. GPR was also used during the 1992 season to extend the measurement area in the region south of Field A to a total of approximately 350 square m on a 0.6-m grid layout. The location of a possible gate and approach on the upper south slope of the tell was investigated by a 1.0-m GPR grid pattern over a 30 by 45-m section. Electromagnetic induction was used along a 150-m transect on the south hillside of the wadi south of the tell to locate possible tombs in an area of rock outcropping.

At Site 73 (Khirbet Bisharat), a variety of data was collected in order to be able to evaluate the efficacy of various techniques for locating tombs. Electromagnetic induction data were obtained on a 900-square-m area in a 1 x 1-m grid using Geonics model EM31. GPR data were collected on the same grid by use of 300- and 500-megahertz antennae. As a part of the tomb-finding-technique development, four parallel 40-m EMI transects explored an area of bedrock outcropping immediately north of the fertile bottom lands of Wadi el Bisharat.

The radar antennae also provided profiles along eight transects in Madaba in an attempt to locate a possible cistern. Unfortunately, surface clutter limited the effectiveness of the GPR units.

Seismic refraction was used on Tell Jalul to obtain additional data along the transect line used in 1989 for collecting seismic refraction and GPR data. This line passes through a depression which is considered a possible water-collection feature.

The data obtained in July will be analyzed in the Battelle Pacific Northwest Laboratories and Walla Walla College laboratories during the forthcoming months and made available in planning for the next season's excavations.

2. Tell Jalul¹⁴

This summer marked the first season of excavations at a new major site in the Madaba Plains region (Plate 6a).¹⁵ Located about

¹⁴The excavations at Tell Jalul were directed by Randall W. Younker (Andrews University). Associate Director was David Merling (Andrews University). Field Supervisors included David Merling, Jim Fisher (Andrews University), and Penny Clifford (University of Arizona). Square Supervisors included Michael Hasel, Zeljko Gregor, Richard Dorsett, Jennifer Groves, and Jalal Abu Hamdan (University of Jordan). Volunteers included Richard Aguillero, Artur Stele, Stephanie Elkins, Walter Lazenby, Paul Oakely, Richard Perkins, and Claoma Fearing. The Department of Antiquities representative was Adeeb Ahu Shmais.

¹⁵Readers of our previous reports in *AUSS* (for references, see n. 3, above) may recall that excavations were initiated by R. W. Younker and P.M.M. Daviau at Tell

5 kilometers east of the modern town of Madaba, Tell Jalul is the largest tell in the Madaba Plains, covering an area of about 18 acres. Although a number of well-known scholars have visited the site (e.g., W. F. Albright in 1933 and Nelson Glueck in 1934),¹⁶ the first intensive and comprehensive survey was undertaken by a team from the Andrews University expedition to Tell Hesbân.¹⁷

When Siegfried Horn failed to find at Tell Hesbân any remains from earlier than ca. 1200 B.C., he suggested that the Heshbon of Sihon (described in Num 21, etc.) might be located at nearby Tell Jalul. This suggestion has been taken up by a number of other scholars as well.¹⁸ Most recently, however, Andrew Dearman has suggested that Jalul should be identified with biblical Bezer, one of the cities of refuge mentioned in Josh 20:8.¹⁹ Future excavations should shed light on this question.

Because the focus on the social, cultural, and political development of the inhabitants of this region is necessarily diachronic, one of the first objectives for the new excavations at Tell Jalul was to establish a chronological framework for the site. Therefore, it was decided to open a trench at the northeast corner of the tell (Field A), where it was obvious that a considerable amount of occupational debris had accumulated and where the incline of the slope was great enough that an excavation trench could quickly expose a vertical section through the occupational

Jawa, a major Iron Age city just west of Tell el-⁴Umeiri. We are pleased to announce that Daviau has been able to obtain independent funding to carry on research at Jawa for Wilfred Laurier University, and the Madaba Plains Project has, therefore, turned the investigation of that site over to Daviau and her capable team. This new arrangement has freed Younker to commence excavations at Tell Jalul, a site for which a permit had been impossible to obtain until this season. The permit was procured, thanks to the good offices of Safwan Tell. Daviau's Tell Jawa Project will cooperate closely with the Madaba Plains Project so that both can continue to pursue regional research objectives.

¹⁶William F. Albright, "Archaeological and Topological Explorations in Palestine and Syria," *BASOR* 49 (1933): 23-31; Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I," *AASOR* 14 (1934): 5.

¹⁷Robert D. Ibach, *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region*, Hesban 5 (Berrien Springs, MI: Institute of Archaeology, 1987).

¹⁸Robert Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan* (Sheffield: Almond, 1988), 47.

¹⁹Andrew Dearman, "Levitical Cities of Reuben and Moabite Toponymy," *BASOR* 276 (1989): 55-66.

levels (see **Plate 6b**). A second field was opened on the eastern side of the tell (Field B), where surface remains pointed to the possible presence of a monumental gateway.

Late Bronze Age

Although no architectural remains from the Late Bronze Age were exposed during this season, fills below Iron II pavements and walls in both Fields A and B contained some typical Late Bronze Age pottery, including biconical vessels.

Iron I

As with the Late Bronze Age, no Iron I occupational levels were uncovered during this season. However, a series of what appeared to be wind-blown ash layers, totaling 1 m of accumulation, contained virtually nothing but Iron I pottery sherds, including collared-rim storejars, carinated bowls, etc. Since these ash layers appeared in all the lower levels in both Fields A and B, it would appear that a major destruction occurred on the tell sometime during the Iron I period.

Early Iron II

The earliest architectural remains came from the early Iron II period (9th century B.C.) and were found in both Fields A and B. These included a city(?) wall in Field A and what appears to be an approach ramp to a city gate in Field B. The wall (of which a 5-m stretch was exposed) runs in an east-west direction on the northern edge of the tell, where one might suspect that a city wall would be located (see **Plate 7a**). However, the stones with which the wall is built seem small for a major city wall. The total width of the wall is still uncertain, although this season's excavation shows that it is at least 1 m wide. This wall could be the exterior one of a large public building that stood just inside the actual city wall. If this is the case, the city wall itself has not yet been discovered.

The approach ramp in Field B (of which approx. 10 m were exposed in two squares) was paved with flagstones, in a fashion similar to those found at Tel Dan and Tel Beersheba in Israel (see **Plate 7b**). The upslope/western side of the rampway was bordered by a retaining wall (c. 50 cm thick). The downslope/eastern edge of the approach ramp was not excavated this season.

Above this approach ramp, but separated by approximately a meter of accumulated soil debris, was a *later* approach ramp (see **Plates 7b** and **8a**). The fill under this later ramp indicated that it,

too, had been constructed sometime during the early Iron II period, perhaps later in the 9th or early 8th century B.C. Like its predecessor, this later approach ramp was paved with flagstones and was bordered on the upslope/western side by a wall. This ramp was exposed across the entire length of at least three adjacent squares. Again, the downslope/eastern edge of the later ramp was not exposed this season.

Contemporary with this ramp in Field A was a later phase of the city wall (see **Plate 7a**). Pottery from the foundation trench of this later wall phase dated it to the 9th/8th centuries B.C.

Late Iron II

The only remains from the late Iron II period were some pits excavated in Field A. The most interesting of these pits was fairly large (nearly 2.5 m across) and contained late Iron II pottery, including burnished bowls, several bone spatulae, a bone pendant shaped like a hammer, and a ceramic figurine head of a horse (see **Plate 8b**). A smaller pit had been dug into this larger pit at a slightly later time. Both pits were then sealed by a plastered threshing(?) floor of uncertain date.

19th Century A.D.

By the 19th century A.D., after a considerable period when activity was ephemeral or nonexistent, parts of the lower city were utilized as a burial ground for local Beni Sakr slaves. Eighteen such burials were excavated in Field A, and six additional burials were uncovered in Field B. The persons buried were mostly adults, but there were also several children and a teenager. The only artifacts in the graves were some plain copper bracelets found on the arms of some of the females. The paucity of grave goods confirms the lower social status of the people buried here. All of the skeletons were facing south (toward Mecca), thus indicating that the people were Muslims. Local workers reinterred the skeletal remains in the modern cemetery, which is on the acropolis.

3. *Tell el-'Umeiri*²⁰

The previous seasons at 'Umeiri focused on expanding horizontal exposure to obtain a coherent picture of the remains. This season, the focus changed to that of deepening the excavation

²⁰The director of excavations at Tell el-'Umeiri was Larry G. Herr (Canadian Union College). Supervisors included Doug Clark (Walla Walla College), John Lawlor (Baptist Theological Seminary), Tim Harrison (University of Chicago), and Rusty Low (University of Maryland).

units already begun (see **Plates 9 and 10**). Although this procedure was successful in most places, in a few locations (especially Field A) it was thwarted due to the confinements of previously standing architecture.

Early Bronze Age

Previous seasons uncovered a complex of domestic structures from the Early Bronze Age III (mid-3d millennium B.C.) on the southern shelf in Field D.²¹ The objective this season was to excavate beneath the houses to expose possible EB II and earlier remains (early 3d-millennium B.C.). Bedrock was reached in all four excavation units, but two new phases of domestic architecture were uncovered before bedrock was reached. (The most coherent remains are illustrated in **Plate 11**.) Three sides of a large room are visible in the center of the excavation, separated from the corner of another house by a narrow street to the west. The houses and street lay on a broad terrace below a bedrock shelf that is visible on the northern side of the excavation. Above this terrace, and only partially seen in **Plate 11**, was another terrace that supported domestic remains excavated in 1987.²²

Fragments of earlier remains were uncovered below the stratum shown in **Plate 11**, but more detailed analysis is necessary to suggest a coherent plan. However, dating the earlier remains brought a surprise. Although diagnostic EB II pottery appeared in higher quantities in these lower levels, small numbers of clearly EB III pottery continued to be found, including two fragments of Khirbet Kerak ware. A few EB I sherds were also found, but were not connected with *in situ* remains.

Taking the results of all four seasons into account, we have, therefore, a total of six EB III phases in Field D. The first four reused the walls of the first phase, but always with new alignments. They were not simply rebuilds of the same structure. These phases included a small storage cave dug out of bedrock (in **Plate 11**, the two small holes near the bedrock).

Middle Bronze Age

On the western slope, Field B, where the fortification system is being examined (see **Plate 12**), the MB IIC rampart or *glacis* (see **Plate 13**, no. 9) was excavated to bedrock (no. 10). The rampart was constructed of a series of thin, wedge-shaped layers of dark

²¹Yunker and others, 40-41.

²²Geraty and others, 241.

earth, gradually steepening to 30 degrees about 3 m above bedrock. The top of the rampart was coated with a thin layer of crushed limestone and is visible in **Plate 12**, immediately west of the Iron I outer casemate wall. At the base of the slope was a flat-bottomed dry moat (no. 12) dug out of the bedrock ridge which adjoined the site to the west (no. 15). The bottom of the moat was at least 5 m wide, but the eastern edge of the Middle Bronze Age moat has not yet been found.

Late Bronze Age

The only place that produced Late Bronze Age remains was the very bottom of our excavation in one Square in Field A on the western edge of the site. The fill debris was below the three large boulders at the bottom right in **Plate 14**.

Iron I Period

The most extensive remains excavated during this season were from the early Iron I period, the 12th century B.C. They included one of the most complete and extensive Iron I fortification systems found thus far in Palestine (see **Plates 12, 13, and 15**). Immediately above the MB IIC rampart (no. 9 in **Plate 12**), another rampart (no. 8), 1.5 m thick, was constructed against the outer of two parallel walls (a casemate wall system—nos. 5 and 7). At the bottom of the rampart, ca. 16 m to the west of, and below, the outer casemate wall, the MB II moat (no. 13) was reused, with a thin layer of MB II debris remaining at the bottom (no. 14). The moat was separated from the rampart above by a sloping retaining wall ca. 5 m high (no. 11). The western side of the moat was not sheer, but stepped (no. 15). It seems that the moat was intended, not to restrict entrance, but rather to make climbing the slope to the city more difficult.

Inside the casemate wall and buried beneath almost 2.5 m of destruction debris (made up of mudbricks and wooden beams), were portions of two domestic houses (see **Plates 12, 13 nos. 1 to 5; and 15**). In the southern house, a row of pillar bases (no. 3, running perpendicular to the sketch) separated a cobbled floor lying against the inner casemate wall (no. 5) from an earth surface (courtyard?) that included a stone bin and a hearth (see **Plate 15**). In the cobbled room, leaning against the inner casemate wall was a carefully made standing stone (see no. 4 in **Plate 12, and Plate 15**). No inscription or artistic scene was visible. Lying flat on the cobbles in front of the standing stone was another flat, but thicker, stone.

To the north, across a wall that still stood almost 2.5 m high, was the second house, of which only one room has so far been uncovered (see Plate 12). The room was paved with flagstones, and the mudbrick destruction debris from the upper floors contained over 20 crates of pottery, mostly from large, collared-rim storejars.

Evidence of the violent destruction of this town was also found at the eastern edge of the site in Field F where another thick destruction layer contained fallen mudbricks over a single wall (see Plate 15, in the shaded portion of the upper left corner; the Iron I wall is immediately to the left of the shading). It covered a floor with mortar embedded in the surface. A frit seal with stick figures and a bronze axe head were found here.

Fragments of six Iron I walls emerged in Field A, but since they were exposed in only three small patches, coherent remains could not be planned. One of the walls was made of boulders over 1.5 m long (see Plate 13, lower right corner). The violent destruction of Fields B and F was lacking in Field A. There are enough remains, however, to tell us that this Iron I city was one of the most significant at the site. The well-organized remains suggest a strong central government. This was a surprise for this region at the time, given our present understanding of the contemporary political situation there.

Iron II Interlude

The site was only slightly reoccupied in the 9th century for a short span in what may be called an Iron II interlude. Additional fragments of this settlement were found this season in Field A.

Late Iron II/Early Persian

A much more substantial town was constructed in the 7th century, probably to serve the administrative needs of the Ammonite central government. Three large public buildings were discovered on the western edge of the site in previous seasons. This year two rooms from another large building (possibly a "four-room house") with cobbled floors were found on the eastern side in Field F, near the probable gateway to the site (see Plate 16, at extreme left of the excavations). This 7th-century occupation continued into the Persian period, perhaps as late as the end of the 5th century, as suggested by the presence of two Attic potsherds.

Two Aramaic seal impressions of the Persian provincial government from ca. 500 B.C. were found in 1989. They contained the name of an official (Shuba) and the name of the province of

"Ammon."²³ This find provides the first solid evidence for the existence of a Persian province of Ammon. During the 1992 season a faience seal was found in Field F with the following reading: *lnsr 'l bn 'lmsl*, "belonging to Nasar'il son of 'Ilmashal" (see Plate 17a and b). Both Nasar'il and 'Ilmashal are known from the Ammonite onomasticon.²⁴

²³Larry G. Herr, "Epigraphic Finds from Tell el-'Umeiri During the 1989 Season," *AUSS* 30 (Autumn 1992):187-200.

²⁴W. E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1989), 65, 303, 473, 507.

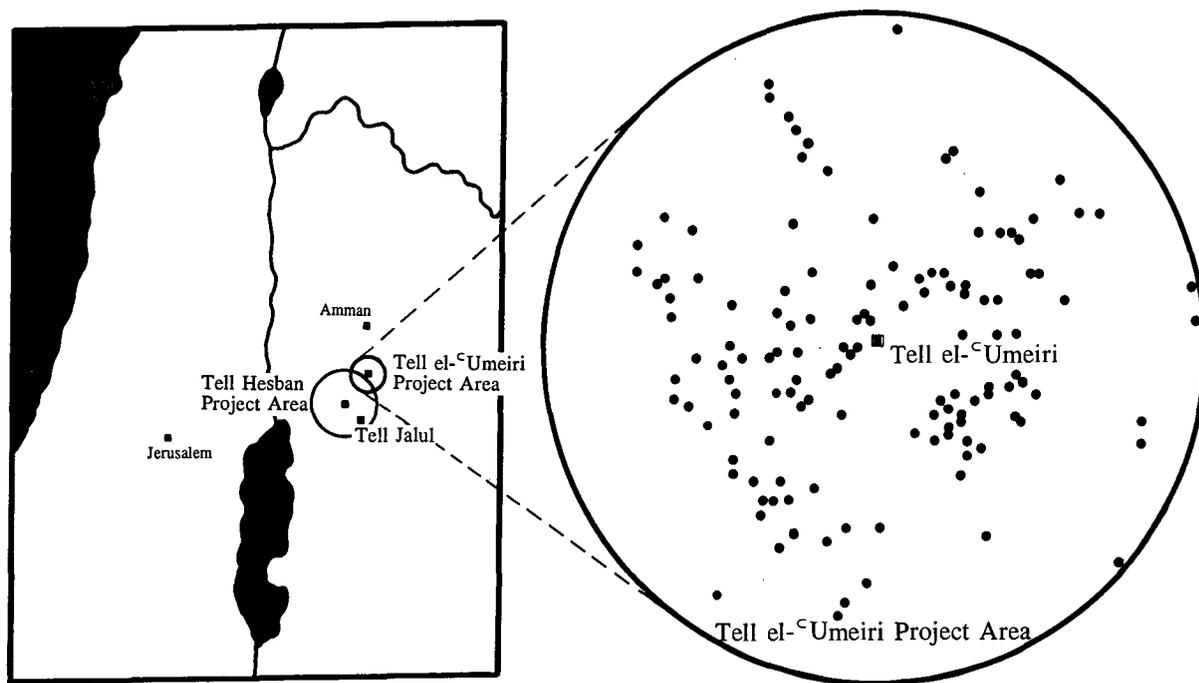


Plate 1. Map of Tell el-Umeiri Project and Survey Area

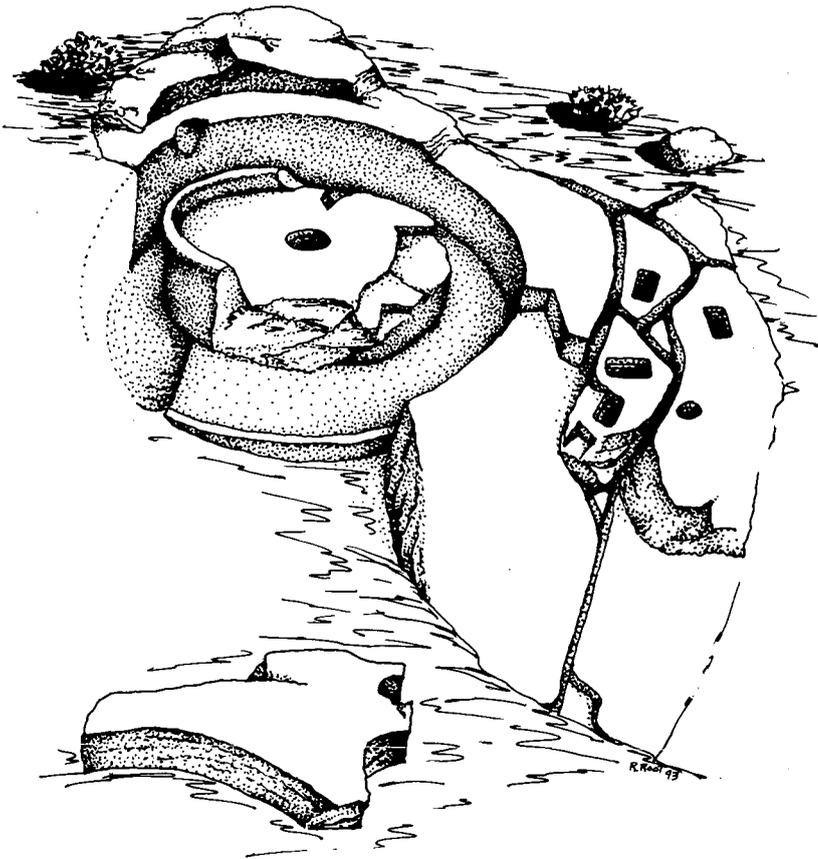


Plate 2. Drawing of olive-pressing installation. (Rhonda Root, artist)

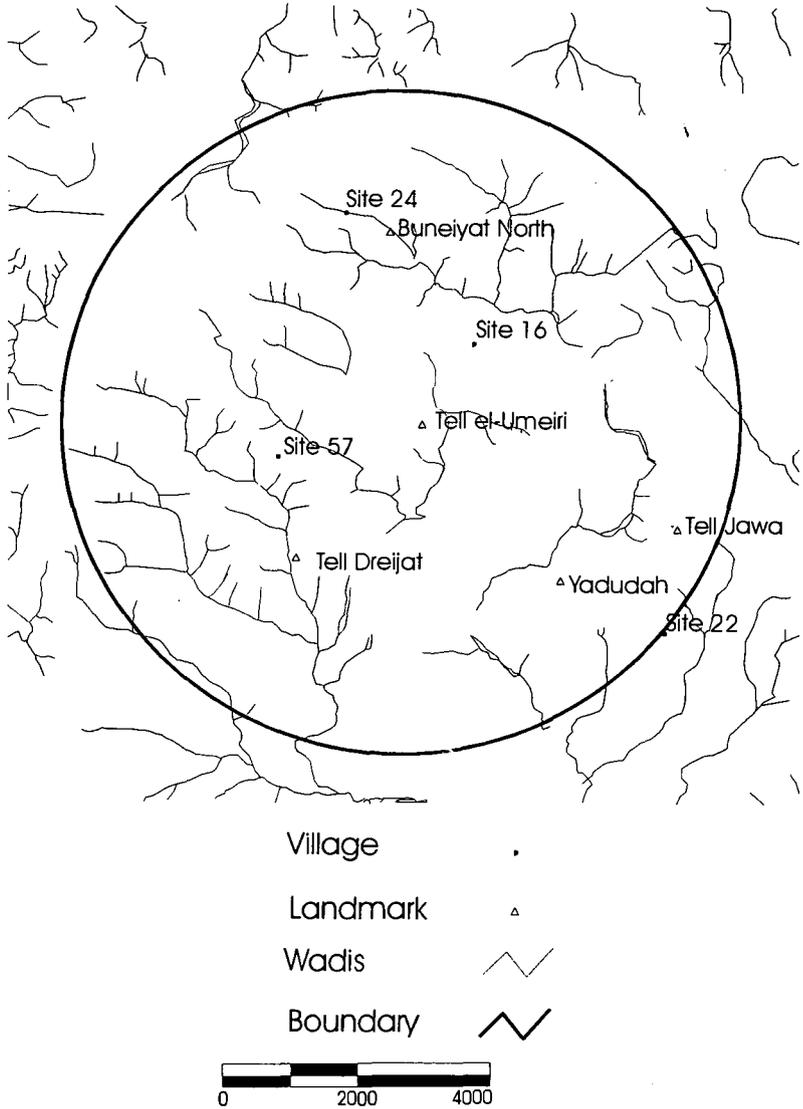


Plate 3. Map showing location of seasonal villages and sites with cisterns.



Plate 4. Khirbet Rufeisah cave inscription.

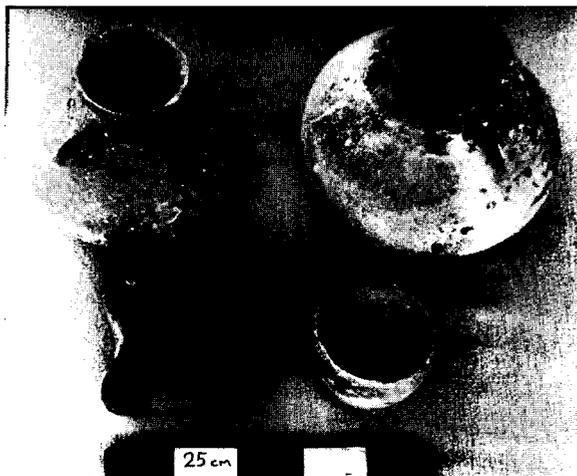


Plate 5a. Early Bronze IV tomb group from north chamber of Tomb 11.

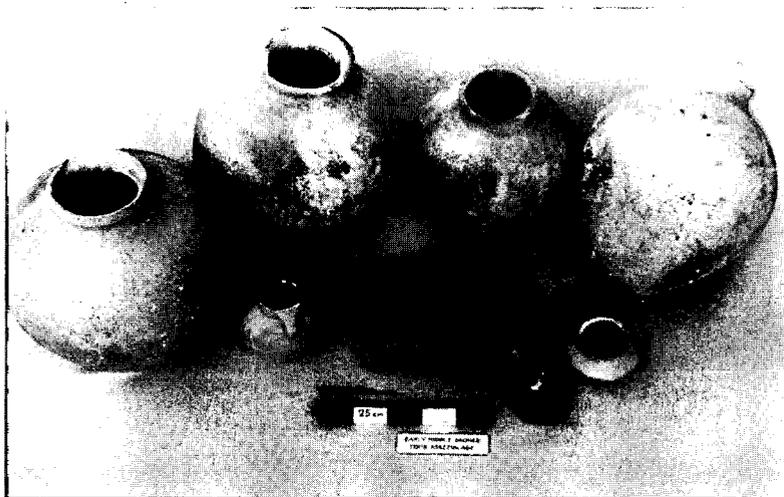


Plate 5b. Middle Bronze tomb group, Tomb 11.



Plate 6a. Tell Jalul from the north.

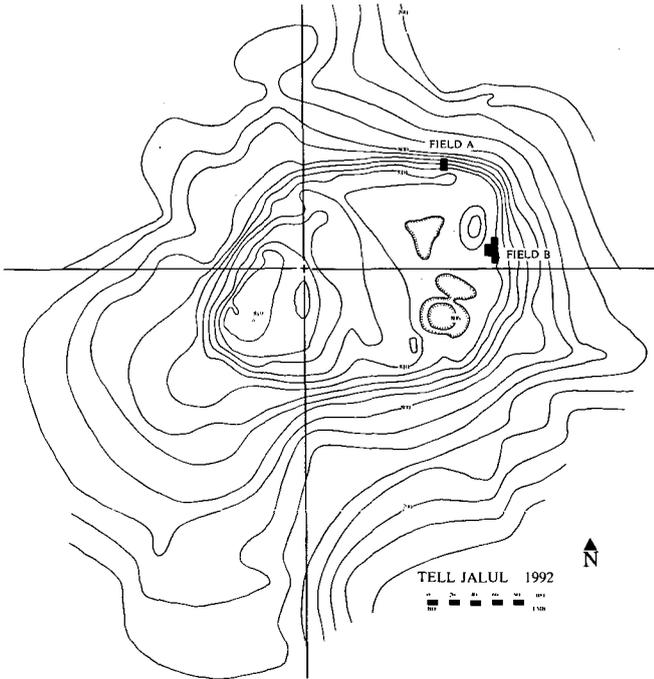


Plate 6b. Topographic Map of Tell Jalul showing excavation areas.



Plate 7a. Two phases of Iron II city wall in Field A. The lower phase dates from the early 9th century B.C. and the upper phase to the 9th-8th century B.C.



Plate 7b. Early Iron II (early 9th century B.C.) approach ramp, Field B.



Plate 8a. Iron II (9th-8th centuries B.C.) approach ramp, Field B.

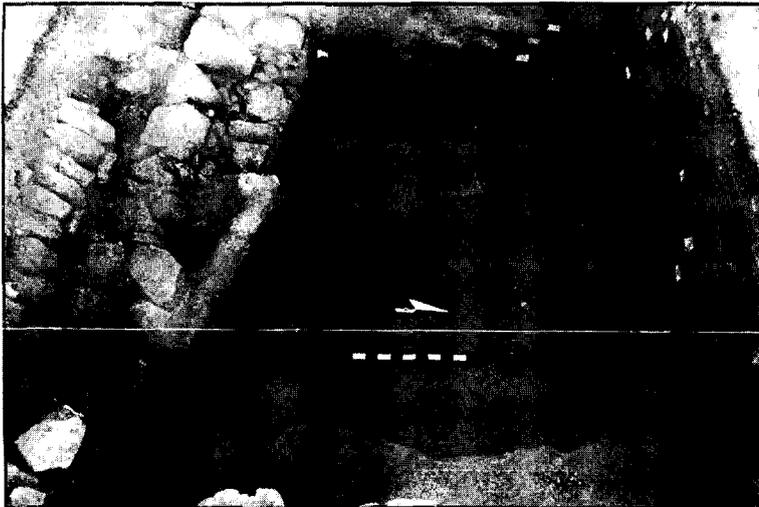


Plate 8b. Late Iron II pit, Field A.

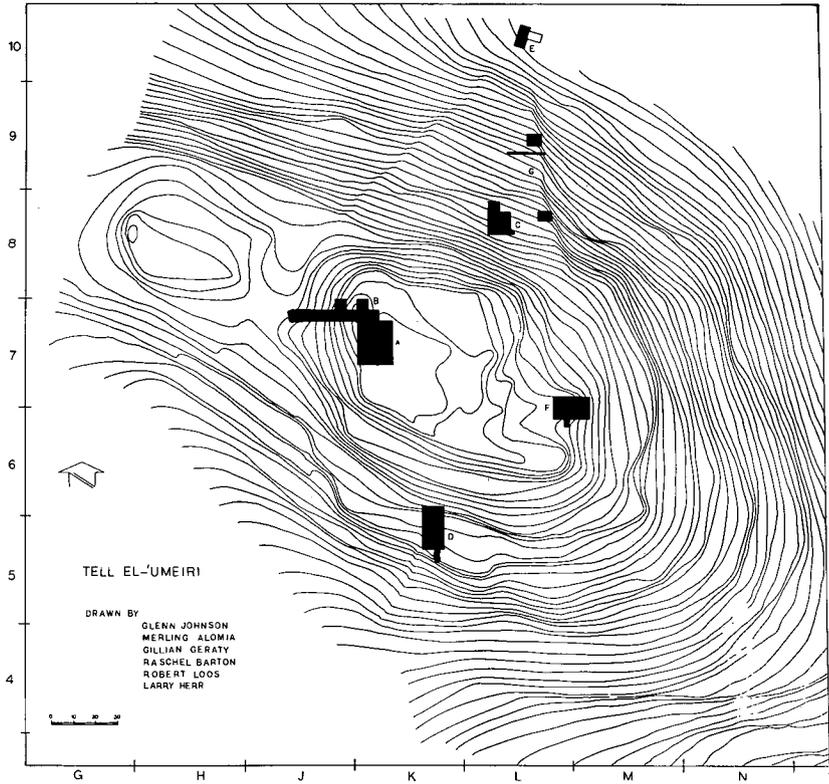


Plate 9. Topographic map of Tell el-'Umeiri showing areas excavated before 1992.

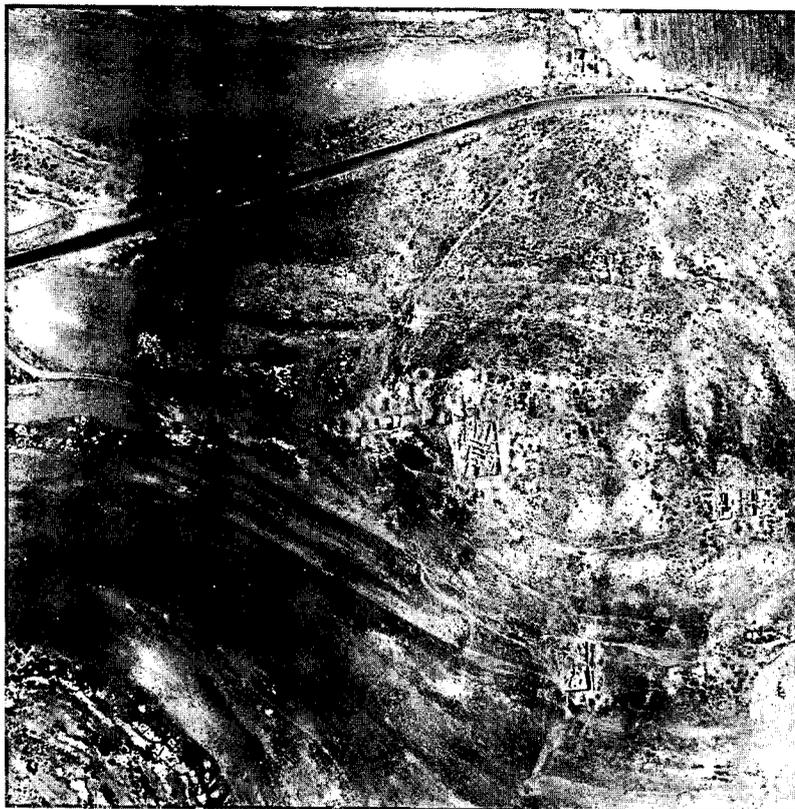


Plate 10. Aerial photo of Tell el-'Umeiri at conclusion of 1992 season.



Plate 11. Early Bronze remains from Field D.



Plate 12. Trench in Field A showing fortification system.

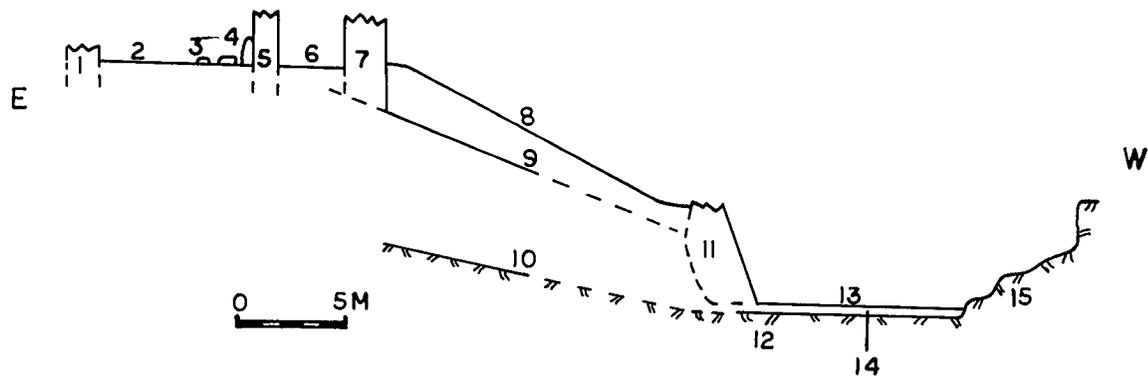


Plate 13. Cross section of fortification system in Field A.

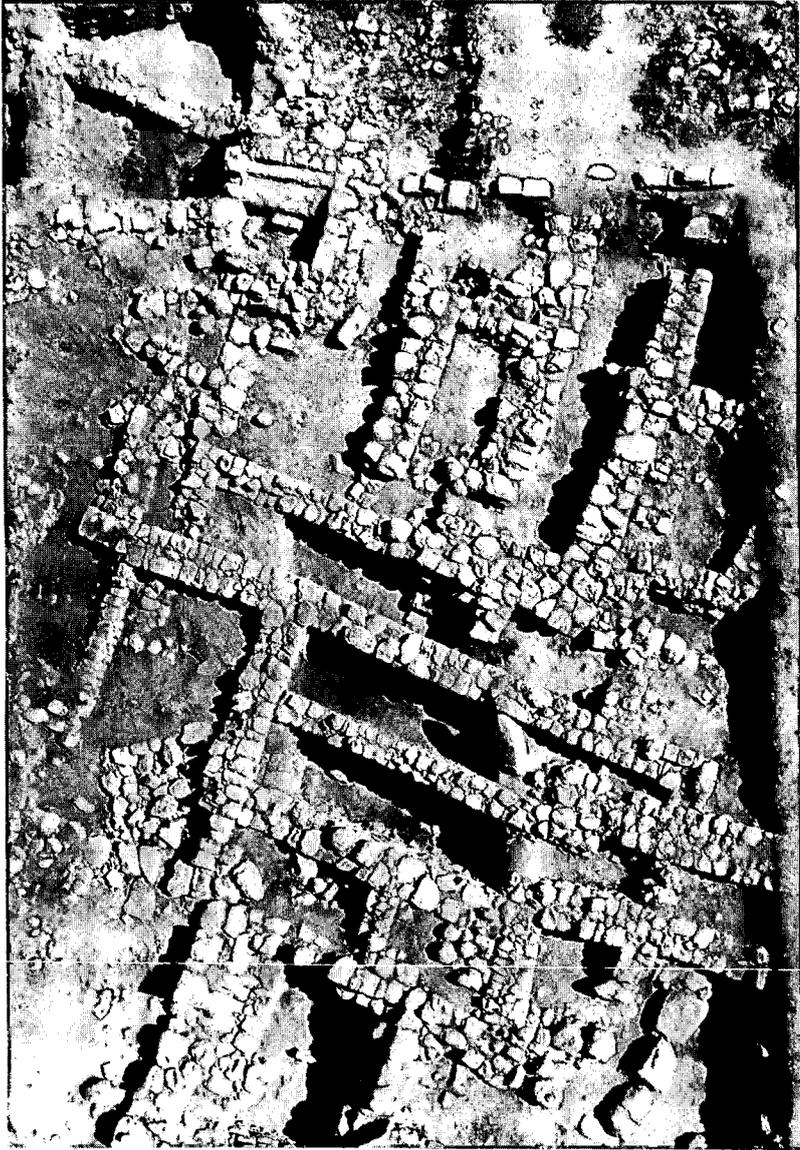


Plate 14. Field A: Late Bronze pottery found below three large boulders in lower right corner of photo; north is at top of photo.



Plate 15a. Frontal view of fortification system in Field B.



Plate 15b. Cobbled room inside casemate wall. Note standing stone against wall.

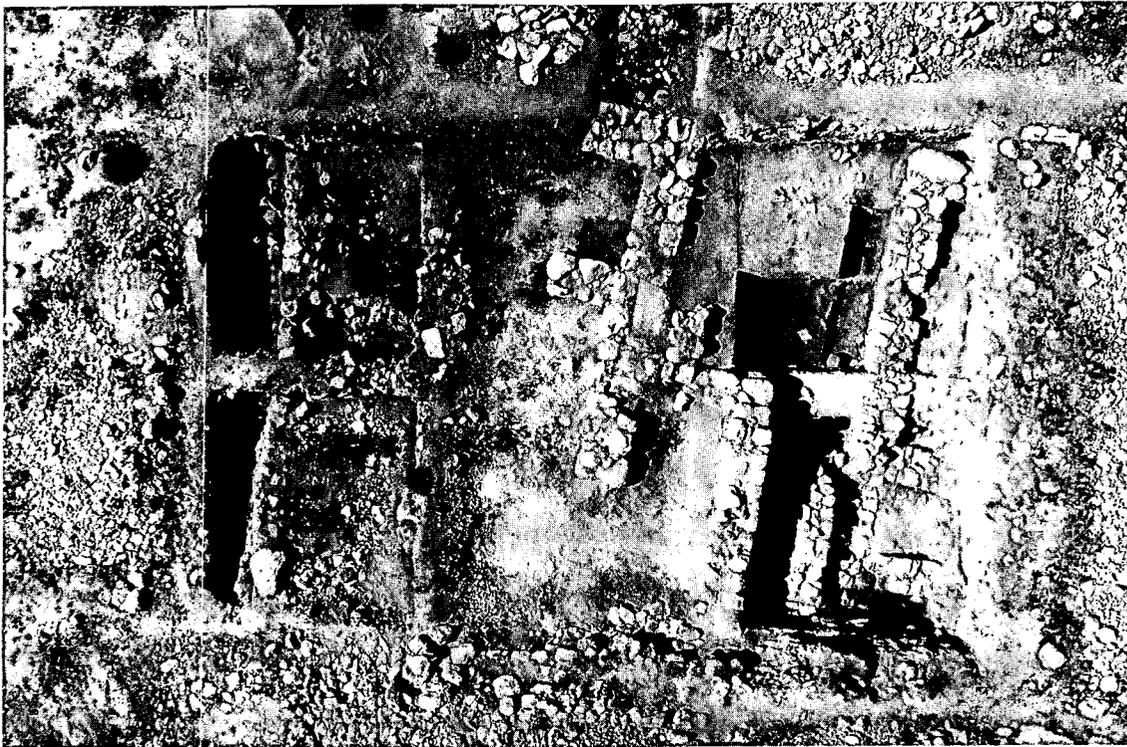


Plate 16. Excavations in Field F.



Plate 17. Faience seal from Field F reading: *"lnsr'l bn 'lmsl*
 ("belonging to Nasar'il son of 'Ilmashal").

BOOK REVIEWS

Attridge, Harold W., and Gohei Hata, eds. *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1992. 802 pp. \$49.95.

Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea Maritima in the early decades of the fourth century, occupied a pivotal point geographically, chronologically, politically, and religiously. Caesarea was the location of the school and important library built up by the early Christian scholar Origen, and it was close enough to Jerusalem to permit access to the library and sites there. Besides being the location of a Christian school, Caesarea had also a rabbinic yeshiva over which the important Rabbi Abbahu presided, and disputatious interface between the two communities of religious scholars was thus inevitable. Eusebius's life and career overspanned the watershed time of the triumph of the Christian church and the Council of Nicæa, so that he witnessed both the last great persecution and the official establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Empire. He was the personal friend of the Emperor Constantine and a key player in the theological controversies which erupted. Most of all, it is fortunate that he was also a scholar and a prolific writer who had access to sources which no longer survive. With considerable justification he is commonly credited with being the first historian of the Christian church.

It is therefore something to be celebrated that we have here a large and rich volume of essays devoted to this important figure by an ecumenical and international team of specialists from Japan, the United States, Canada, and Britain. Actually, the thirty articles which make up the volume do not all deal directly with Eusebius; many of them find justification for inclusion only because they treat a topic which was of interest to Eusebius, such as Christian origins, for instance. The articles are distributed among eight rubrics: Christian Origins, The Growth and Expansion of Christianity, Orthodoxy and Heresy, The Fate of the Jews, Eusebius as Apologist, Eusebius as Exegete, Eusebius and the Empire, and The Legacy of Eusebius.

After a general introduction by the two editors come the thirty articles, the authors and titles of which are: Richard Horsley, "Jesus and Judaism: Christian Perspectives"; David Flusser, "Jesus and Judaism: Jewish Perspectives"; Philip Sellew, "Eusebius and the Gospels"; Peter Gorday, "Paul in Eusebius and Other Early Christian Literature"; Dennis R. MacDonald, "Legends of the Apostles"; Charles A. Boberz, "The Development of Episcopal Order"; Sebastian Brock, "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity"; James E. Goehring, "The Origins of Monasticism"; Elizabeth Clark, "Eusebius on Women in Early Church History"; Joseph Gutmann,

"Early Christian and Jewish Art"; Birger Pearson, "Eusebius and Gnosticism"; William L. Petersen, "Eusebius and the Paschal Controversy"; Alan F. Segal, "Jewish Christianity"; Kikuo Matsunaga, "Christian Self-Identification and the Twelfth Benediction"; Louis H. Feldman, "Jewish Proselytism"; Alan J. Avery-Peck, "Judaism without the Temple: The Mishnah"; Charles Kannengieser, "Eusebius of Caesarea, Origenist"; William Adler, "Eusebius's *Chronicle* and Its Legacy"; Arthur J. Droge, "The Apologetic Dimensions of the *Ecclesiastical History*"; Alan Mendelson, "Eusebius and the Posthumous Career of Apollonius of Tyana"; Frederick W. Norris, "Eusebius on Jesus as Deceiver and Sorcerer"; Eugene Ulrich, "The Old Testament Text of Eusebius: The Heritage of Origen"; Wataru Mizugaki, "'Spirit' and 'Search': The Basis of Biblical Hermeneutics in Origen's *On First Principles* 4.1-3"; Michael J. Hollerich, "Eusebius as a Polemical Interpreter of Scripture"; Yoshiaki Sato, "Martyrdom and Apostasy"; Timothy D. Barnes, "The Constantinian Settlement"; Robert M. Grant, "Eusebius and Imperial Propaganda"; Glenn F. Chesnut, "Eusebius, Augustine, Orosius, and the Later Patristic and Medieval Christian Historians"; Walter Pakter, "Early Western Church Law and the Jews"; Robert L. Wilken, "Eusebius and the Christian Holy Land."

It is not possible to do more than list the articles which make up a very diverse feast. For the most part, they are informative or provocative, and the book is well produced, and it will please readers of a wide range of biblical, historical, and theological disciplines and interests.

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ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Conzelmann, Hans. *Gentiles, Jews, Christians: Polemics and Apologetics in the Greco-Roman Era*. Trans. M. Eugene Boring. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992. xxxvii + 390 pp. \$37.95.

In its earliest days, Christianity was not the creed of the philosophers. Indeed, the apostle Paul noted that not many "wise after the flesh" have been called; in his own time, this was certainly true. However, Christianity soon began making headway among thinkers. By the time of Augustine, Christianity had won the intellectual high ground. The battle had been won gradually, with difficulty, as Christian apologists engaged in polemic, both with pagan philosophers and Jewish scholars.

The Christian-Jewish argument, though often neglected, was vital to the triumph of Christianity in the intellectual sphere. Judaism was, indeed, a formidable rival: as many as ten percent of the empire's population were Jews by birth or conversion. Jewish apologists were already presenting their case to both Greek- and Latin-speaking parts of the Roman world. Within this setting, Christian apologists attempted to uphold the validity of the Old Testament and certain elements of the Jewish faith, while at the same time explaining why the Old Testament faith was not by itself

sufficient for salvation. In *Gentiles, Jews, and Christians*, Hans Conzelmann attempts to show how Christians of the first three centuries made their case for the Jewish God without accepting the Jewish understanding of God's plan of salvation.

The bulk of this work is an appraisal of Jewish apologies such as those in the writings of Philo and Josephus, Gentile documents that mention Judaism or Christianity, and Christian apologies that allude or relate to Judaism. Unfortunately, Conzelmann's attempt to be overly inclusive is at the cost of in-depth analysis. He notes, for instance, that Origen's treatment of Judaism is particularly important—and then offers but the briefest of summaries of the latter's thinking on the subject. On the other hand, Conzelmann devotes far too much space to writers such as Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, or Papinius Statius, who mention Judea only in passing, contributing only slightly to the understanding of relationships among Jews, pagans, and Christians.

Yet another problem is Conzelmann's failure to contextualize pagan, Christian, and Jewish arguments within pagan philosophy. There is not even a hint that Philo, Celsus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Porphyry, and Eusebius were participants in an ongoing middle/neo-Platonic debate about the nature of God and the relationship of the transcendent God to the material universe.

Furthermore, there is seldom any indication of the overall concerns of the documents mentioned, of the circumstances in which they were written, or of the background of the authors. As a result, only those who are thoroughly familiar with patristic and late classical literature are able to follow Conzelmann's argumentation.

In places, Conzelmann's work lacks focus and coherence. He goes from author to author without transition, offering what seem to be random observations. Furthermore, for no apparent reason, he interrupts his chapters with frequent appendices, comments, and excurses. Why, for instance, is his section on the *Shepherd of Hermas* called an appendix when the identically handled *Didache* and *Barnabas* are part of the main text?

Despite the many weaknesses, the central argument of the book is sound. Conzelmann is right in his insistence that, while Christians and Jews have much in common, the difference between the two religions is essential and should not be compromised in a misguided attempt to avoid anti-Semitism. Judaism and Christianity have fundamentally different ideas about salvation, as the polemicists and apologists of the first Christian centuries have, indeed, clearly demonstrated.

Cowe, S. Peter. *The Armenian Version of Daniel*. University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 9. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992. xviii + 490 pp. \$64.95.

The primary purpose of Cowe's work on the Armenian Daniel is to provide a critical edition of the text. In this effort, his work joins earlier volumes in this series in which Michael Stone edited a critical text of the Armenian IV Ezra and Claude Cox studied the Armenian Deuteronomy. While Stone is interested primarily in the critical text itself, Cox attempts to situate the Armenian text in relationship to other translations, chiefly in the Septuagint family. Cowe's work follows the lead of Cox. His analysis of the available texts and his critical text of the Armenian Daniel occupy less than half of his book. The second half of the work (235 pages) analyzes the relationship of the Armenian text to the Georgian text, the Peshitta, and the Greek translations, including a discussion of the translation technique of the Armenian translator.

In the first section of the book, Cowe establishes the textual basis for his critical text. Chap. 1 establishes the textual families, chap. 2 collects data on the source manuscripts (often with colophons), and chap. 3 selects fifteen base manuscripts representing the various families in his critical text. Cowe's purpose in selecting fifteen texts is to keep the textual apparatus manageable. His critical text seems diplomatic, with one text selected as the primary text (M287), and the variations of the other fourteen texts noted in the apparatus. Prior to the critical text, a list of recurrent variants is given (121-137), with the same intent in mind. The critical text itself occupies pp. 141-227, and often the apparatus takes up as much as half a page of text, even after Cowe's efforts to keep it manageable.

In chap. 4, Cowe studies the relationship between the Armenian tradition, the Georgian translation, and the Peshitta, finding that there are two distinguishable phases of the Armenian tradition, with the Georgian translation related to the earlier phase. Chap. 5 aligns the Armenian translation history against the textual history of the Greek translations. Having analyzed the relationship between the Armenian and other traditions, Cowe then discusses the translation techniques of the Armenian Daniel (chap. 6). In chap. 7 is a belated analysis of text fragments as found in patristic and liturgical documents, a section reserved for the end due to its complexity. Though general conclusions are located in the last chapter, important conclusion material is also found in the Introduction (12-14), where Cowe critiques J. Ziegler's use of the Armenian witness in the Göttingen volume on Daniel. Also included are a general bibliography and indexes.

The history of the Armenian translation is complicated by the history of the Syriac versions but partially elucidated by the Georgian version. Cowe accepts that both the Syriac Peshitta and the Armenian Version were preceded by an earlier informal translation, the *vetus Syra* influencing the

old Armenian which, in turn, left significant traces in the Georgian translation. Teasing out reliable traces of the earlier versions requires considerable skill and agility in textual criticism, and Cowe's work seems largely reliable. However, the formidable complexity of the task is such that even excellent work such as this must be used with some caution. Once the influence of the Syriac is understood, Cowe concludes that the primary vorlage for the Armenian version is a Lucianic text, with most Old Greek readings of the Armenian mediated through it. It is interesting that the Greek manuscript which bears the closest resemblance to the Armenian vorlage is itself an eccentric text sometimes placed as a Q satellite, MS 230. In fact, the affinities of the Armenian Daniel are closer to the B family than the Q family.

Chap. 6, on translation technique, is of special interest for Septuagint scholars interested in using the Armenian as a resource in LXX textual criticism. Cowe's comments on Ziegler's use of the Armenian (11-14) should be read in the context of this chapter.

Another excellent aspect of this work is that historical influences are often brought into the discussion. For instance, Cowe notes the political factors which supported the production of numerous manuscripts from the 13th-14th centuries, followed by a two-century dearth of manuscripts (60). Under translation technique Cowe notes the influence of anti-Zoroastrian vocabulary from eastern Armenia, which was under Persian domination at the time of translation (367). Other examples relating both to translation and transmission may be found throughout the book.

In conclusion, it can be stated that this volume by Cowe is the product of massive primary research. It is a thorough study and a solid contribution to the field of Armenian and Septuagint studies.

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JAMES E. MILLER

Freedman, David N., ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 6,700 pp. \$360.

Of these six volumes, it could, facetiously, be claimed that, "the more we learn, the more problems we have!" Indeed, for better or for worse, the recent explosion of knowledge in the humanities, leading to new approaches to the study of the Judaic and Christian Scriptures, has made of *ABD* a child of expansive learning.

Therefore, in accordance with the editorial wishes, the international, interfaith team of contributors has, in general, presented their conclusions in a tentative fashion. The result is a large number of lengthy articles (e.g., "Egyptian Literature," 2:378-399), which present relevant biblical and/or Near Eastern evidence and offer several reasonable conclusions. Though this design offers real scholarly advantages, it does not always, because of its neutral tone, "answer the questions" of the more issue-oriented reader.

A case in point is the article on "golden calf" manufacture and worship (2:1065-1069) by John Spencer, who, after a careful and systematic presentation of the biblical and Near Eastern archaeological data, timidly places the identity of the object(s) only "in the realm of probabilities" (1069).

On the other hand, this hesitant, noncommittal nature of so many scholarly conclusions is often justified. For instance, given the accumulated archaeological knowledge of ancient Syria-Palestine, it has become much more difficult to describe the "religion of ancient Israel" (see "Canaan, Religion of," 1:831-837), or even the exact *constitution* of ancient Israel in Canaan, either during the pre-monarchic or monarchic periods ("Israel, History of," 3:526-567).

Furthermore, the lengthy, alphabetized bibliographies accompanying the articles are helpful in exposing the clearly trodden paths of scholarship and suggesting future possible areas of research.

Thus, as advertised, *ABD* does in fact lay out more suggestive "background" information for the Scriptures than ever before. But this accomplishment raises the question of what constitutes a legitimate 'biblical subject.' The editors' interest in information from cognate areas has resulted in articles as far afield as early church literature from the fourth century. Because of this, the editors have apparently chosen to settle for a less-than-exhaustive reference work. *ABD* has had to omit articles on minor terms and names which are actually found in the Bible. For instance, editorial decision has allowed for encyclopedic articles on subjects like "faith" (2:744-760), but has made no provision for more specific topics. For example, the entry under "heron" (*ʿanāpā*, in 3:181) directs the reader to the massive article on "Zoology (Fauna)" (6:1109-1167), where, against all hope, the heron is not mentioned. For terms of this kind one must still refer to *IDB* or *ISBE*.

Another weakness, due probably to the (overwhelming) size of *ABD*, has to do with a more basic editorial duty: harmonizing articles treating similar subjects. For instance, the useful essay on the camel (1:824-826) presents all biblical passages in historical order as well as a presentation of all pertinent archaeological findings concerning the dromedary's domestication in the Near East. Juris Zarins then concludes that domestication took place in the Levant in the latter half of the "2d millennium B.C." However, E. Firmage ("Zoology," 6:1140), basing his argument on "development of nomadism," dates their domestication to "the end of the 1st millennium B.C.E.!" In light of the above, the reader should consult the cross-references in order to consider all points of view and all possible bibliographic references before adopting a particular position on any given topic.

In *ABD*, we have, then, a reference tool which does not always make things easier, but challenges us to continue biblical scholarship with care. This gargantuan, interdisciplinary work certainly offers us some important resources for such a study.

Grabbe, Lester L. *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*. 2 vol. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1992. xxxi + 772 pp. Cloth, \$56.95.

Recent scholarship has produced tremendous upheavals in our understanding of Second Temple Judaism. Slowly but surely, specialized studies have revealed romantic and/or anti-Semitic biases undergirding earlier twentieth-century historical reconstructions, while others have eroded these pictures through direct engagement with the primary data. The once-sure results of critical scholarship have been replaced by a confusing morass of individual studies with few attempts at synthesis and little, if any, guidance for the uninitiated. Within this context, Lester Grabbe's two-volume tour through Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman eras should be welcomed as a tremendous aid, introducing pastors, professors, and students to the basic literature and issues of these formative eras, as well as an attempt to synthesize recent scholarship into a coherent and relatively complete position.

The strength of Grabbe's work is his systematic and thorough engagement with the primary sources and recent scholarship. Grabbe approaches each era with four sections: (1) a bibliographical guide, (2) a brief introduction to the sources, (3) a more focused discussion of specific historical issues within each period, and (4) a final synthesis. Only chap. 8, "Sects and Violence: Religious Pluralism from the Maccabees to Yavneh" (463-554), and a brief conclusion (607-616) deviate from this chronological and historical format by attempting to map ideological differences between groups and developments between eras. This format is extremely clear and "user-friendly." If nothing else, its clarity ensures the work's importance as a reference, facilitating quick and easy access to major literature, events, and persons within each historical era, as well as an entry into scholarly debates concerning the proper interpretation of this data.

Grabbe's own scholarship is also evident throughout. As a rule, he organizes his final syntheses around the major international rulers and policies. While this helpfully and rightfully places Judaism within the political, social, and religious milieu of the wider eastern and Mediterranean world, it tends to divert Grabbe's synthesis from Judean developments to short summaries of shifts within the imperial apparatus of the Achaemenids, Ptolemies, Antiochenes, and Romans. Judea and Judaism, meanwhile, fade into the background, hidden beneath the intrigues of powers beyond its borders.

As is not surprising in a work of this magnitude, the imprint and influence of certain scholars emerge within Grabbe's treatment of each era. One might detect the influence of Peter Ackroyd in volume one's treatment of the Persian period, with Grabbe's cautious emphasis on what we do not know compared to what we do. Philip Davies's revisionist scholarship plays a central role in Grabbe's reconstruction of Hellenistic Judea and Judaism. Finally, Jacob Neusner's important contributions form the backdrop for much of Grabbe's presentation of the Roman period. A

certain minimalist position therefore runs consistently throughout the two-volume work. This approach emphasizes the perspective of sources rather than our ability to delve "behind" the sources in order to establish historical "events."

Conceptually, Grabbe's most important contribution is to include the Persian period within the same historical continuum as the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Previous scholarship had largely isolated the Persian period from later developments, despite the fact that many formative institutions within Hellenistic and Roman-era Judaism emerged at this time. While one might have desired more depth in the social and ideological analysis of shifts and developments within and between the eras, Grabbe has laid the agenda before us for future thought, discussion, and research.

Indeed, Grabbe's volume is not the final word on the subject, nor does it claim to be. It is, however, an important beginning. By carefully laying out the data and the issues, and by offering a synthesis for dialogue and interaction concerning the historical development of early Judaism, Grabbe has served us well. It is a unique and essential resource for all those with an interest in the subject.

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

Hill, Craig C. *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1992. x + 237 pp. \$24.95.

This publication is a revised version of Hill's Oxford dissertation, written under the direction of E. P. Sanders. It follows a path opened up by W. D. Davies when he questioned the trend locating Paul within a hellenistic cultural mix and argued for his Rabbinic Palestinian background. Davies' student, Sanders, then argued for the vitality of Rabbinic Judaism, exposing the prejudicial picture NT scholarship had painted of it. Now Sanders' student, Hill, argues against the prevalent denigration of Jewish Christianity by NT scholarship. For all three, F. C. Baur and his Hegelian Tübingen "school" serve as the foil against which the argument must be made.

Technically, the book wishes to exegete just one verse of Scripture: Acts 8:1b. In fact, on account of what has been built on this text, much more is involved. The scholarly consensus has been that the seven deacons of Acts 6 were, in reality, the leaders of a Hellenistic Christian community in Jerusalem. When one of them, Stephen, was martyred, those who had opposed him persecuted the other Hellenists, driving them out of Jerusalem, thereby unwittingly accelerating the Gentile mission, which advanced rather easily on account of its more liberal views on circumcision and the ritual law. Meanwhile, the Hebrews, led by the pillar apostles, remained in Jerusalem unmolested on account of their theological conservatism. Consequently, Paul had continuous difficulties with the

Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, who double-crossed him on some occasions (Peter in Antioch and James in Jerusalem) and may have sponsored the opponents Paul faced in Galatia, Corinth, and Philippi. According to this reconstruction, at the core of early Christianity was a theological rift.

Thread by thread, very methodically, Hill undoes the canvas on which this historical picture had been painted. The point he particularly wishes to argue against is that the difference between Hellenists and Hebrews was theological, and therefore could serve to identify Christian groups. He is quite effective in demonstrating that Stephen's speech does not exhibit an animus against the law and the temple. Following H. I. Marshall, he thinks the difference may have been only linguistic, with some Hellenists, like Barnabas, being bilingual. About the Hellenists and the Hebrews, he advises that we might do well to follow the example of the author of Acts, who no sooner than he mentioned them forgot about them.

Now that the standard distinction between Hellenism and Judaism has been shown to be flawed, one should not be surprised to find that the differentiation between Jewish and Hellenistic Christianity is just as flawed. Hill has done a great service by mounting the argument that exposes the faulty foundations of the exegesis that had become standard. In place of the old reconstruction he argues that the past was much more complex and therefore our reconstructions must be much more nuanced. He offers an appealing reconstruction of the events referred to in Acts 15 and Galatians 2:1-10, as well as the Antioch incident recounted by Paul in Galatians 2:11-14. This reconstruction of Paul's journey to Jerusalem with the collection, which, according to Hill, held eschatological significance for Paul, is less convincing. Hill points out that in his reconstruction of the event, Baur almost fails to mention the collection (173), but Hill totally overlooks Paul's great expectations for his mission to Spain as soon as he had completed this obligation.

Hill's efforts fall well within the parameters set forth by the work of R. E. Brown, J. D. Crossan, and others who have been engaged precisely in giving greater nuances to our understanding of early Christianity. His book is an argument against an exegesis of either/or, and for a pluralistic early Christianity. Hill's reconstructions, however, while quite effective in proving the old dichotomy as groundless, are less successful in providing the nuances he finds desirable. In part, this may be ascribed to his interest to show that Paul and James were not theologically at odds, even if not in total agreement. Still, he does provide a most important corrective that should inform future work. While the argument about circumcision is one which concerns the conditions under which Gentiles may enter, the argument about table fellowship at Antioch is one important to Jews who wish to continue as members of the Christian community. This book is thus highly recommended as the spark that is sure to start some fires.

Klaassen, Walter, ed. *Anabaptism Revisited: Essays on Anabaptist/Mennonite Studies in Honor of C. J. Dyck*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1992. 210 pp. \$14.95.

As the title indicates, *Anabaptism Revisited* provides a second look at many of the issues raised by the radical reformation. It expresses the views of the Mennonite revisionists, among whom C. Dyck had a very important place. Dyck is mostly known for having rejected the beautiful picture of "the Anabaptist vision" of the Goshen School of Mennonite historiography and insisted on the less-idealistic need to distinguish between several, often conflicting, strands of Anabaptism. For many readers this book may well become *Anabaptism Revised*. The first part of the book is devoted to sixteenth-century Anabaptism, and the second to contemporary Mennonite problems. The contributions are written by well-known specialists and are well worth reading.

The first article, by W. O. Packull, considers the issue of the impact of the radicals upon the other reformers in the context of the Lutheran-Anabaptist debates in Hesse in 1538. While the inclusion of discipline among the marks of the true church is not an Anabaptist contribution, it is clear that their sharp criticisms of moral corruption in the Lutheran Church provided strong impetus for the adoption of discipline and confirmation. This essay also confirms Bucer's fundamental agreement with the radicals on the desperate need for the reformation churches to foster more eagerly spiritual and moral regeneration among their members.

Several articles prove that the radicals were much more affected by their environment than usually recognized. The flexibility of their theological positions in the *Confession of 1538* and the inclusion of a section on their agreement with the *Apostles' Creed* in the *Hessian Confession* of 1578 reveal their longing for public acceptance. In fact, Arnold Snyder's study of the 1578 *Hessian Confession* of the Swiss Brethren confirms the conclusion that one cannot take the Schleithem Confession as "the" statement of Anabaptist theology. On the important topic of the Lord's Supper, it is clear that the concept usually attributed to the Anabaptists, "bread is nothing but bread," was certainly not the general position of the radicals. The 1578 Confession states clearly that "bread is received spiritually by faith, in the believer's soul," strongly suggesting a Calvinist influence. The same belief is expressed in several other confessional documents.

In one of the few articles that do not deal with the Swiss Brethren, Sjouke Voolstra shows that the Waterland Congregation in Amsterdam was deeply affected by the divisions of the Calvinists on the relation of reason and faith in conversion. Some of the members agreed with the Arminians that regeneration comes from an intellectual knowledge of the truth of Scriptures, while others taught that conversion requires an inner, spiritual experience, a *testimonium internum Spiritus Sancti*. Even the refusal of the oath was not a pure expression of biblicist restitutionism. It had for many a very prudential dimension, since Anabaptists at Zürich were not

executed for their beliefs but for breaking the oath they were required to take that they would cease preaching their beliefs when they were released from prison.

Walter Klaassen's article on the rise of baptism of adult believers in Swiss Anabaptism is extremely valuable, because it clearly delineates the four main phases in the development of that practice: first, the pre-Anabaptist Zwinglian phase of the questioning of the biblicism of infant baptism; then the Müntzer-inspired discussion of the relation of faith and baptism; third, the discovery of the invalidity of infant baptism and the duty to be rebaptized; and finally, the phase of persecutions. His study of the significance of Grebel's letter to Müntzer is superb and demonstrates that the demand for knowledge and faith before baptism was a radical infringement of the barrier between the clergy and the laity: believer's baptism was a public assertion of the spiritual equality of all Christians and amounted to an expression of deep anticlericalism.

The articles devoted to the contemporary Mennonites are valuable for readers who are not members of that religious tradition, because they provide historiographical information on the development of historical revisionism within that movement and reveal the strictures under which an historian of his own denomination has to do his work.

The whole book is a fitting tribute to Cornelius Dyck, whose unassuming scholarship and commitment to his church are an inspiration to all who know him.

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DANIEL AUGSBURGER

Lust, J., E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, compilers; with the collaboration of G. Chamberlain. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992. liii + 217 pp. \$19.95.

In the early 1820s J. Schleusner prepared his *Novus thesaurus philologico criticus, sive lexicon in LXX* Though called a lexicon, it was more a study of Septuagint (LXX) Greek-Hebrew parallels. It was reprinted several times in quick succession, but has long been out of print. In the interim, the only available lexicon has been the Liddell, Scott, Jones *Greek-English Lexicon* of classical Greek as supplemented by Barber. Not even their intermediate lexicon, a distillation of the larger work, covers all of the LXX vocabulary.

At the 1991 SBL annual meeting in Kansas City, two scholars, one from the USA and the other from Europe, met and discovered that they were pursuing similar goals: an updated LXX lexicon. Since then they have collaborated, and under the leadership of Lust, took less than a year to produce the first volume.

This volume covers α - ι and so will presumably be followed by at least two more volumes. Except for proper names, it contains all the words

found in Rahlfs's text (but not the apparatus) a good decision at this stage since the Rahlfs text is the only (semi-)critical text available for the whole of the LXX. The compilers worked closely with CATSS (Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies), and those familiar with the layout of this database will readily recognize the affiliation.

Each word has a single-letter morphological tag, *à la* CATSS. Though brevity was key in the packed file format, in the book some tags have no logical connection with the part of speech they represent. For instance, 'X' means 'particle' and 'M' means 'number.' Given the minimal amount of extra space involved, it would have made better sense to go to a two-letter (intuitive) tag. Nouns also include declension and gender, such as: N3F.

A statistical analysis, broken down into six categories, is provided for each word. The first five categories indicate in which of the following groups each word is found: Pentateuch (Torah), early prophets (Josh-Kgs) and Chronicles, later (major and minor) prophets, the hagiography (Writings) except Chronicles, and the deuterocanonical books. The last category is the total number of times the word occurs.

Some of the categories may not seem natural divisions, but the ordering of the LXX canon does not exactly align with the Hebrew canon. What is not known, given my own extensive work with the CATSS database, is just how reliable these statistics are. Much work remains to be done to correct the database. Hopefully the Leuven project has worked independently to correct these deficiencies.

Where they exist, up to five biblical references are supplied in order of appearance. Consequently, when the word occurs frequently, the citation list may not get out of the Pentateuch, or even the book of Genesis.

Each word is provided with one or more translations as needed, and each new meaning has at least one reference. The key word in this context is 'translation.' LXX lexicography has been divided for some time over the better course to follow in this connection. Some advocate the primacy of the Hebrew text, since the LXX is a translation. Others point to the independence of the translation as the Bible of the early Christian church and the Eastern Orthodox Church, and urge that it be studied in its own right as a Greek document. For reasons which he defends, Lust opts for the former.

However, the description 'translation' also contains an unintended overtone. Though the compilers set out to update the language of LSJ, they have had mixed results. For instance, for ἀναβράσσω the translation listed is *to throw up, to reject* [πυλ], citing Wis. 10:19. Brenton translates the passage as "cast ... up." One must recognize that this is international English and not colloquial American.

In line with the sensitivity to translation, four special cases are indicated: classical Greek forms, non-classical literal renderings of the Hebrew idioms, passages where the Greek text may be corrupt, and passages where the LXX differs from the MT, having either misread the Hebrew (or at least read it differently) or used a divergent text.

When, on the best evidence, the word originated with the LXX, it is marked as a neologism ('neol.'). If it is probably a neologism, and the word is not known prior to Polybius, it is marked as 'neol?'

The review volume already comes with an inserted corrigenda; but, alas, it falls short of listing the typographical errors, of which there are too many. The print quality of the review copy is uneven, and quite weak in places, placing undue strain on the user. It is paper bound, and not designed for the constant use it deserves. A hardbound volume of the completed series would be very useful, especially for libraries.

Compared to LSJ, this is a veritable *vade mecum* and a joy to use. Having used LSJ extensively for the past several years, I find it wonderful to have direct access to all the LXX vocabulary without anything extraneous. Many scholars have dreamed of this day. Now they have a key tool enabling them to explore one of the largest bodies of *koine* Greek. Not only has it been done; it has been done well.

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BERNARD TAYLOR

MacArthur, John Jr. *Rediscovering Expository Preaching*. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1992. xviii + 410 pp. \$19.99.

This is a unique book in that the one whose name appears on the cover is neither the author nor the editor. John MacArthur, president of The Master's Seminary and pastor at Grace Community Church in Sun Valley, California, is a contributor, albeit the major contributor, with the Introduction and seven of the nineteen chapters under his name. The editors, Richard L. Mayhue and Robert L. Thomas, together with the other six contributors, are all members of The Master's Seminary faculty. Obviously, MacArthur, appreciated in evangelical circles and beyond for his dynamic preaching, and a great champion of Bible inspiration and authority, was the prime motivator for the book.

The volume is divided into five parts. Part I establishes the rationale for expository preaching. Parts II, III, IV, and V cover the waterfront, from preparation of the preacher, processing and principalizing the Biblical text, and preparing the sermon, to preaching the exposition. The appendix contains a plus, the reproduction of MacArthur's own handwritten notes from which he preached "The Man of God," based on 1 Tim. 4:11-14 (the actual sermonic event is available on audio cassette).

The fundamental question at issue is: must pastors preach what people want to hear or what God wants proclaimed? Based on 2 Tim. 4:3, the authors insist that expository preaching must be rediscovered and reaffirmed "for the coming generation of preachers facing all the spiritual opportunities and satanic obstacles of a new millenium" (6-7). If they must preach what God wants proclaimed, where do they find His message? The

answer, of course, is in the Bible as a whole, with the preacher focusing on a specific text for each sermon.

The authors posit that the expository method is the most reliable way to discover what God wants proclaimed for the shaping of His message in sermonic form, and its delivery is relevant and applicable to the contemporary hearer.

This kind of exposition has five minimal elements: 1. Scripture as the only source. 2. Careful exegesis to extract the message from the text. 3. Correct interpretation of Scripture in its normal sense and its context. 4. Explanation of the original God-intended meaning of Scripture. 5. Application of that meaning for today.

The heart of the book, relative to the relationship between such exposition and the authority of Scripture, is chap. 2, by MacArthur himself, "The Mandate of Inerrancy: Expository Preaching." His thesis is stated thus: "The existence of God and His nature requires the conclusion that He has communicated accurately and that an adequate exegetical process to determine His meaning is required. The Christian commission to preach God's Word involves the transmitting of that meaning to an audience, a weighty responsibility. A belief in inerrancy thus requires, most important of all, expositional preaching that does not have to do primarily with the homiletical form of the message. In this regard expository preaching differs from what is practiced by non-inerrantists" (22).

Inerrancy for MacArthur rests on five postulates: 1. God is. 2. God is true. 3. God speaks in harmony with His nature. 4. God speaks only truth. 5. God spoke His true Word, as consistent with His true nature, to be communicated to people (23). Thus, inerrancy for MacArthur has to do primarily with the *quality* of the message communicated by God and received by the biblical writers, namely, its truth as truth. If the written Word of God began as truth and was transmitted as truth, then only an exegetical approach is adequate for accurate exposition. If the Bible does not possess the quality of truth, it is disqualified as a reliable source of truth. How, then, could its message be preached? No preacher could approach the pulpit with any confidence regarding the responsibility of communicating truth from God to a congregation hungry for spiritual nourishment. To sum up, "The expositor's task is to preach the mind of God as he finds it in the inerrant Word of God" (34).

To know the mind of God requires the kind of exegesis defined by MacArthur as "the skillful application of sound hermeneutical principles to the biblical text in the original language with a view to understanding and declaring the author's intended meaning both to the immediate and subsequent audiences" (29).

What are the "sound hermeneutical principles" that will guide the faithful expositor to a discovery of God's truth that can be preached? First, is the expositor's scrutiny of the context in a search for the *indication* or intent of the text (123-125). Second, is the study of the grammatical construction of the text (125-126). Third, is the careful study of each word

of the text, and in particular key words, in relationship to each other and to the wider context (126-129). Fourth, is to distinguish between the literal and the figurative (129-131). Fifth, is awareness of how progressive revelation operates in Scripture, in which later passages integrate details into the stream of revelation (131-132). Sixth, is cross-referencing based on the commitment to Scripture interpreting Scripture, thus avoiding the danger of making invalid connections (132-133). Last, is to see what the text says in its own culture, so that the expositor can help listeners know how God's truth applies where customs differ (133-135). In addition, are checking dependable sources, probing for biblical validation, and allowing Scripture rather than experience to regulate doctrine.

The rest of the book demonstrates, in practical terms, how belief in biblical inerrancy ought to impact preaching. The chapters move from that belief, through the application of that belief in the preacher's study, to the actual preaching of God's Word to contemporary congregations.

At a time when listeners are subjected to pulpit froth, to charismatic but contentless preaching, to therapeutic rather than doctrinal sermons, *Rediscovering Expository Preaching* is a welcome challenge to every preacher determined to proclaim the Word of God.

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C. RAYMOND HOLMES

Sanders, E. P. *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE*. London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992. xix + 580 pp. Hardcover, \$39.95; Paperback, \$29.95.

One of the more unlikely areas for radical reinterpretation is that of first-century Judaism. Nevertheless, Sanders is convinced, primarily on the basis of his rereading of the writings of Josephus, that scholars have fundamentally misunderstood the evidence. His thesis is twofold. First, real power for the day-to-day running of Palestine lay with the common priests and the common people. Second, and conversely, though they caught the limelight of history, the leaders of the named parties, along with the Sanhedrin, played little if any substantive role in leadership.

The volume consists of three sections, along with endnotes, bibliography, and indexes. The first section is a brief but comprehensive historical prologue explaining the time-frame of the book (from the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 BCE to the outbreak of revolt against Roman rule in 66 CE) and the events that shaped the period.

In Part II, the heart of the book, Sanders works out the details of his thesis. Rabbinic Judaism termed the disenfranchised, the *'ammê ha'ares*, people of the earth, and considered salvation to be beyond their grasp. In sharp contrast, Sanders contends that the normative Judaism of the day lay outside the domain of the rabbis and found practice and expression at the hands of the common (non-partisan) priests and the common people. He

creates a vivid picture of these two groups interfacing both at the temple, with its services, animal sacrifices, tithes and offerings, rituals and annual feasts, and in their homes, where they lived their lives centered around the daily rituals, weekly Sabbaths, etc.

Part III, Groups and Parties, explains the rationale for leaving the familiar players out of the previous discussion. The whole issue is summarized in the penultimate chapter: "Who Ran What?" His conclusion is terse: it varied. In a culture as rich and diverse as that of first-century Palestine, different people and groups excelled and led out in different ways at different times, but in general the rabbis did not rule; they debated, as attested by the Mishnah.

Sanders' reading of the evidence contrasts sharply with two works from the past: volume II of Schürer's *History of the Jewish People*, and Jeremias' *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, and the position of at least one contemporary writer: Jacob Neusner. Though Sanders finds little common ground with these writings, he is most consciously in disagreement with them in chaps. 10, 18, and 21. Beyond these, Sanders is in basic contention with all the scholars in the field, since he finds no broad-spectrum allies.

On the other hand, the volume breaks fresh ground in a field that has already produced a bountiful harvest. Were that the sole criterion for consideration, it would merit attention. Furthermore, the thesis is a bold new approach, carefully researched, well documented and meticulously argued.

The existence of common people, as Sanders portrays them, is not in question. Sources as diverse as Josephus, the rabbinic writings, and the New Testament speak of them. The issue is whether they functioned as Sanders has suggested, and whether their role was normative. Ultimate certainty is out of the question, since no writings authored by the common people are extant, should any have ever been written. We are limited to authors such as Josephus, who trained as a priest in Jerusalem and later became a Pharisee, and so ranked above the common people.

In portraying the life of the common people, Sanders errs, I fear, on the side of commission rather than omission. First, his portrayal of the life of the common people as one of widespread devotion and conformity to the law and recognition of the ethical implications is surely overdrawn. In essence, he argues for what all the Old Testament prophets combined disclaimed and the New Testament writers could only hope for.

Second, it is troubling to see Sanders essentially attributing halakhic independence to the common people. Even if the picture were not as stark as portrayed in the Mishnah (Sanders is justifiably wary of reading third-century conclusions back into the first century as normative of the earlier time), there was still a real limitation. Their scriptures were written in Hebrew, and their native tongue was Aramaic. Thus they were limited to hearsay interpretations. Who interpreted for them? On the basis of Moses' command, Sanders raises the possibility of Sabbaths spent in Torah study,

perhaps at the synagogue. However, as he acknowledges, we simply do not know enough to be certain.

In the final analysis, we know precious little about these common people. This can be seen throughout the book in the number of times that Sanders makes suggestions, wonders if it may not have been so, or suggests an inference that might account for a particular statement in one of his sources. It is only by a sensitive reading such as Sanders', wherever any information can be gleaned, that any sort of picture is able to emerge. Yet, herein lies the difficulty. Different scholars have reached different conclusions based on the same evidence. Though I expect that Sanders will fall short of displacing the writings of his chief protagonists, this volume will take its place alongside theirs. He will find his supporters and his detractors, and scholarship will be the richer.

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BERNARD TAYLOR

Sanders, John. *No Other Name: An Investigation into the Destiny of the Unevangelized*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992. xviii +315 pp. \$16.95.

Sanders' book is an in-depth analysis of the various Christian answers to the question, What happens to those who have not been evangelized by a Christian? The book covers the whole sweep of Christian history and cites writers from all parts of the theological spectrum. The core of the book is Sanders' analysis of the three major answers given to the question. He titles these three major positions "restrictivism," "universalism," and "wider hope" (ch. IV, 131ff).

Restrictivism teaches that those who are not evangelized are damned or lost eternally, while universalism believes that all will eventually be saved. What Sanders calls the "wider hope" is really a cluster of three possible middle positions which lie between the extremes of restrictivism and universalism. All three of these "wider-hope" positions teach the universality of the *access* to salvation.

Each major position is explored in the following way: First, the Bible texts most often used to support the position are cited. Second, theological reasons for the view are explained, and variations of the main position are delineated. Third, the leading defenders of the position throughout history are listed. Fourth, an evaluation of the position is given. Last, a bibliography (often annotated) of major writings supporting the position is given.

Sanders himself defends the third type of "wider-hope" position. This position he calls *inclusivism*. The view holds that salvation comes only through Jesus Christ, but denies that knowledge of His work and life is necessary to be saved. One need not be aware of the Savior to receive

benefit from Him. This view is held as opposed to the other two "wider-hope" views of universal evangelism before death and universal evangelization at or after death.

Sanders has done his homework, and as a source/reference work the volume is valuable. The reader will find a rich field for follow-up study and analysis. The author's analysis of the various viewpoints is fair-minded and honest. One gets the feeling that the writer does not desire to pigeonhole anyone into theological slots fitting his purpose, but simply attempts to show where the various writers stand and why.

While some universalists will undoubtedly read and interact with Sanders, I suspect his main audience (and chief challengers) will be restrictivist evangelicals. Sanders' main aim seems to be to move such restrictivists to his inclusivist "wider-hope" position.

The biggest barrier to such a move is the question of motivation for mission. If missions are not vital to the salvation of non-Christians, why the urgent thrust to reach the unreached? Hundreds (yea thousands) of missionaries have left home and culture because they believed their mission was crucial to the salvation of those they ministered to. Unfortunately, Sanders deals only briefly with this issue (283-286). If he wants to "convert" evangelical restrictivists to his view, he needs to deal with this aspect in depth.

Non-evangelicals will probably wish Sanders had broadened his scope. Questions related to religious pluralism are arising with increasing frequency and intensity and can be ignored only at the risk of irrelevancy. What are the implications of his inclusivism for Christianity's relationship with other religions? What of conflicting truth claims? It would have been helpful if Sanders had, at least, sketched some broad outlines suggesting where his approach would lead in answer to these issues. Readers seeking answers to such questions could begin by consulting two other recent books: *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society* by Lesslie Newbigin, and *Dissonant Voices: Religious Pluralism and the Question of Truth* by Harold Netland, both published by Eerdmans.

While we may have wished for more, what Sanders has given us is extremely valuable. The book should be the starting point for many interesting, hopefully helpful, and certainly heated discussions of Christian mission.

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JON L. DYBDAHL

Wright, N. T. *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992. 316 pp. \$25.95.

This volume presents fourteen unpublished studies on the themes of Christ and the Law in Paul. Through these the author expounds his

conviction that covenant theology, usually neglected in the current debate, is one of the main clues for understanding Paul. Wright's argument is that Paul's theology consists mainly in "the redefinition, by means of christology and pneumatology of the key Jewish doctrines of monotheism and election" (1) within the framework of his own thought patterns, both as a Pharisee and as a Christian.

In Part One, ("Adam, Israel and the Messiah," etc.) the author proposes an interpretation of 1 Cor 15:20-57 and Rom 5:12-21 on the basis of Jewish apocalyptics: God's purposes for the human race are fulfilled in Israel, "the last Adam," through the Messiah, who incarnates his people and becomes the source of new life for humanity (35-39). This incorporative notion of the Messiah as the one in whom the people of God are summed up (41), is for Wright a major category within Pauline theology ("*Christos* as 'Messiah' in Paul: Philemon 6", 41-55). It helps to explain how Jesus' perfect obedience undoes the disobedience of Adam (Phil 2:5-11), making unnecessary any gnostic or Philonic speculations about an *Ürmensch* or Primal man (95) or about the pre-existence of a human being (against Dunn et al.).

From the perspective of what he calls "christological monotheism" Wright interpretes 1 Cor 8 and Col 1:15-20, without appealing to gnosticism (against Käsemann, etc.) or to any particular branch of Jewish Wisdom literature (against Aletti) or other (misguided!) *religionsgeschichtliche* parallels: he finds a more satisfactory answer (building on R. Hossley and Morna Hooker) in Paul's Christian reading of the *Shema* and Jewish monotheistic confessions, in which "the Creator is the Redeemer, because of his faithfulness to the covenant" (109).

What stands out in Wright's analysis is his evaluation of Paul's theological context. Rather than doing total exegesis of some *locus classicus*, he jumps to stimulating synthesis—often through imaginative insights—intended to show the internal coherence of some Pauline (apparently contradictory) key texts.

In Part Two, the author applies his exegesis to some Pauline controversial statements on the Law. Thus, the clue of Gal 3 would not be those problems with which existentialist theologians have wrestled ("achievement," "accomplishment," etc.), nor those traditional in Protestantism ("legalism," "nomism," "self-righteousness," etc.), but corporate Christology. Since the Messiah is the representative of Israel, the promises to Abraham are realized in his being able at the same time, "to take on himself Israel's curse and exhaust it" (151). Thus, the death of Jesus inaugurates the new covenant, in which the Law is at the same time vindicated and interiorized, relativized and reaffirmed. The twin topics of Wright's study—Christ and the Law—reach their richest joint expression in Romans 10:4: The Messiah is the climax of the covenant (244). Jesus takes on the role of Torah, as the charter of the people of God and as the final revelation of God himself (266). This allows a more positive view of the Torah (even in its negative functions). In the new covenant (fulfilled

by the work of the Spirit), the Law retains its function of demarcating the people of God (214), even if the new badge of membership is faith (156).

Many other areas of debate in Pauline theology are affected by the arguments and conclusions advanced by Wright: the idea of Messiahship as "incorporative" (258); the definition of—*dikaïosune* as "covenant membership"; the translation of Rom 8:3 as "sin-offering" (214); the revision of Rom 7 and 8 *not* from the viewpoint of "man under the law," but of "the law under man;" the reading of Romans as a treatise on the nature of the people of God rather than a book about individual salvation; the important place given to *story* in Pauline theology; etc.

Wright makes a good point when he claims that the need of announcing to the world that the promises to Abraham have come true in Jesus Christ explains Paul's missionary concerns better than Räisänen's "half-suppressed working of his own psyche" or Watson's "sociological agenda for which theology was a mere pretext" (174).

Less convincing are chap. 7 ("Curse and Covenant: Galatians 3:10-14") and chap. 9 ("Reflected Glory: 2 Cor 3"). The narrative analysis of Rom 8:1-11 on the model of R. B. Hays contributes little, and chap. 12 ("Echoes of Cain in Romans 7") is an exegetical *tour de force* unnecessary there.

All in all, Wright's work remains highly significant. Although not everything is yet demonstrated, his provocative approach seems more central to Paul than some "classical" hermeneutics proposed by others.

The volume also includes an excellent bibliography (268-287) and three useful indexes (288-316).

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ' (aleph)	ט = ḏ (tet)	י = y (yod)	ס = s (sade)	ך = ṣ (resh)
ב = b (bet)	ה = h (he)	כ = k (kaph)	ע = ' (ayin)	שׁ = š (shin)
ג = g (gimel)	ו = w (vav)	ל = l (lamed)	פ = p (pe)	תּ = ṭ (tav)
ד = d (dalet)	ז = z (zayin)	מ = m (mem)	צ = ṣ (tsade)	תּ = ṭ (tav)
	ח = ḥ (chet)	נ = n (nun)	ק = q (qaph)	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	ױ, ײ (vocal shewa) = e	װ = o
ֿ = ā	ױ, ײ, װ = ē	ױ = o
ֿ = ā	ױ, ײ = i	ױ = o
ֿ = e	ױ = i	ױ = u
ֿ = ē	ױ = o	ױ = u

(Dāgēš 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>Beihefte zur ZAW</i>
ADAJ <i>Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan</i>	BZNBW <i>Beihefte zur ZNBW</i>
AER <i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>	CAD <i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
AJO <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 Reformatorium</i>
AOS <i>American Oriental Series</i>	CT <i>Christianity Today</i>
APOT <i>Apocr. 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 Archaeology 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>Heythrop Journal</i>
Bib <i>Biblica</i>	HibJ <i>Hibbert Journal</i>
BibB <i>Bibliche 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.)

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>	ReuQ	<i>Revue de Qurrdn</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>	ReuScRel	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
JB	<i>Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.</i>	ReuSém	<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>
JMeH	<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	<i>Sources bibliques</i>
JPOS	<i>Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.</i>	SBLDS	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>	SBLMS	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>	SBLSBS	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>	SBLTT	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.</i>
JRE	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>	SBT	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
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>Semítica</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	<i>Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of OT</i>	SOR	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>	SPB	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i>
JSSR	<i>Journ., Scient. Study of Religion</i>	SSS	<i>Semitic Studies Series</i>
JTC	<i>Journal for Theol. and Church</i>	ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theol. Studies</i>	TAPS	<i>Transactions of Am. Philos. Society</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version</i>	TD	<i>Theology Digest</i>
LCC	<i>Library of Christian Classics</i>	TDNT	<i>Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.</i>
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>	TDOT	<i>Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.</i>
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, Jenni and Westermann, eds.</i>
McCQ	<i>McCormick Quarterly</i>	TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
MLB	<i>Modern Language Bible</i>	TP	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
MQR	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>	TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
NAB	<i>New American Bible</i>	Trad	<i>Traditio</i>
NASB	<i>New American Standard Bible</i>	TRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
NCB	<i>New Century Bible</i>	TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>	TT	<i>Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
NHS	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>	T Today	<i>Theology Today</i>
NICNT	<i>New International Commentary, NT</i>	TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
NICOT	<i>New International Commentary, OT</i>	TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
NIV	<i>New International Version</i>	UBSGNT	<i>United Bible Societies Greek NT</i>
NKZ	<i>Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>	UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
NouT	<i>Nouum Testamentum</i>	USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
NPNF	<i>Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers</i>	VC	<i>Vigilae 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	<i>Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe</i>
NTTS	<i>NT Tools and Studies</i>	WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dict. of Christian Church</i>	WTJ	<i>Westminster Theol. Journal</i>
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>	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>Oldtestamentische Studien</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 graeco, Migne, ed.</i>	ZHT	<i>Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie</i>
PJ	<i>Palästina-Jahrbuch</i>	ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.</i>	ZKT	<i>Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyl.</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>		