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AMMONITE OSTRACA FROM HESHBON

HESHBON OSTRACA IV-VIII

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The excavations at Heshbon in the summer of 1973 produced additional ostraca,[1] one of exceptional interest in an Ammonite cursive script (Ostracon IV), the others of relatively little value, a jar label in semi-formal Ammonite characters (Ostracon V), a sherd bearing a single crude 'alep (VI), and two ostraca on which the faint traces of ink are wholly illegible (VII, VIII).

1. *Heshbon Ostracon IV* (Fig. 1 and Pl. I)

Ostracon IV, Registry No. 1657, was found July 31, 1973, in Area B, Square 1, Locus 143, a context described by the excavator as Iron II/Persian. The upper-left side of the sherd is missing and with it the ends of the first seven lines of script, certainly, and perhaps the first eight. The right margin is intact except for a small chip at the very beginning of line 1, where at most a single letter is missing. Both the top and bottom seem to be the original line of breakage save for minor chips. The piece of pottery is a body sherd taken from a large, fairly rough storage jar. Its surface

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[1] Ostraca found in earlier seasons (from the pre-Islamic period) at Heshbon include Ostracon I (309) and II (803), both written in the standard Aramaic cursive of the Persian chancellery dating to the end of the sixth century. One notes that the changeover from the national script to the standard Aramaic cursive takes place about the same time—the late sixth century—in Ammon and in Israel. The two ostraca above were published by the writer in *AUSS*, 7 (1969): 223-229; and in *AUSS*, 11 (1973): 126-131.

Abbreviations used in this article, but not listed on the back cover, are the following:

CTA   = Andrée Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alpha-betiques* (Paris, 1963).

Gordon   = C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* (Rome, 1955).

PRU   = Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit* (Paris, 1955-1970).

Ugaritica V = Jean Nougayrol, et al., *Ugaritica V* (Paris, 1968).

is not always smooth and frequently contains large calcium grits. The scribe's pen strokes in consequence are broad and sometimes distorted by unevenness or blurred by the spread of the ink. Nevertheless, given sufficient effort, most of the letters in the eleven lines of the inscription can be made out.

The text of the ostracon reads as follows:

 1. *[l]mlk. 'kl* 20+10+5 (?)[   ]
 2. *wṣ'n 8* (VACAT)   [   ]
 3. *wlndb'l bn n'm'l m*[   ]
 4. *lz[   ]m'lt nk't* 10+2 *' k̄ [l*   ]
 5. *lf[   ] nk't 2 'rḥ bt 2 w*[   ]
 6. *lb'š['] ksp* 20+20 *'š ntn l*[   ]
 7. *yn* 20+2 *wṣ'n 10 lbbt* [   ]
 8. *yn 8 w'kl 6*
 9. *lytb dš̀ 'kl* 20+4 (?)
10. *ṣ'n 9*
11. *'rḥ bt 3*

 1. To the king: 35 (jars) of grain [   ]
 2. and 8 small cattle.   [   ]
 3. and to Nadab'el son of Na'am'el from [   ]
 4. To Z[   ] from Elath: 12 (measures) of gum; g[rain   ]
 5. To [   ] 2 (measures) of gum; a two-year old cow and
    [   ]
 6. To Ba'ash[a] 40 (pieces) of silver which he gave to [   ]
 7. 22 (bottles) of wine; and 10 small cattle; fine flour [ ]
 8. 8 (bottles) of wine; and six (jars) of grain.
 9. To Yatib hay; 24 (jars) of grain;
10. 9 small cattle;
11. a three-year-old cow.

Line 1. The reconstruction *[l]mlk* is virtually certain. There is room for one letter only at the beginning of the line. A personal name with *l* (as elsewhere in the inscription), e.g. *[l̀l]mlk*, cannot be fitted into the space.
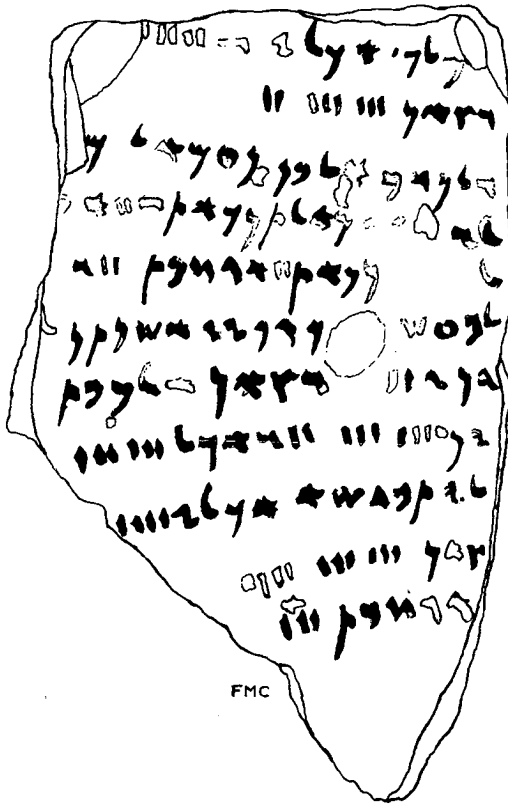
Fig. 1. A tracing of the Heshbon Ostracon IV.

We have translated '*kl* "grain." Often '*ōkel* refers to a cereal in the Bible, and at Ugarit, as D. R. Hillers has shown, '*akl* evidently means "grain" or even "flour."[2] Thus it is used in *CTA* (KRT), 14.18, 172 where the parallel term is *ḥtt* "wheat." More important for our context is the reference in an economic text: '*arbʿm dd 'akl,*

"forty jars of grain."[3] To these references may be added probably
the Canaanite cuneiform tablet from Taanach: "Kôkaba' (meted
out) to Pu'm, 8 *kprt* (vessels) of sifted grain (*'akl dk*)." [4] Akkadian
akalu and aklu have developed similar specialized meanings:
"bread" and "barley" (or barley products). Canaanite *laḥmu,*
"food" follows a similar pattern of semantic development, coming
to mean in Hebrew "bread."

The number at the end of line 1 is quite uncertain after the
sign for "twenty." The upper-left corner is badly chipped.

Line 2. The vacant space at the end of this line suggests that
the list of stores assigned to the crown ends here.

Line 3. The name *Nadab'el* is a popular one in Ammon. Vattioni
lists three occurrences on Ammonite seals.[5] Nachman Avigad has
published a fourth.[6] *Na'am'el* appears elsewhere on a Punic seal,[7]
and the element *n'm* is extremely common in Canaanite ono-
mastica, including Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Hebrew.

We have read the final letter as *m* before the break. Presumably
the home town of Nadab'el followed (as is the case in line 4:
m'lt, "from Elath"), and then the commodity and amount. It is
interesting that the most common name alone in the text is
specified further by both patronymic and place of origin.

Line 4. The initial *zayin* of the personal name expected is all
that can be read. Following it is a large blemish which may or
may not have contained a letter. After the blemish, traces of ink
are discernible but indecipherable.

[3] Gordon, 1126.3, 4 (*PRU*, II, 126.3, 4).

[4] The reading follows Hillers (see note 2) for the most part, and goes
against the writer's earlier proposals, "The Canaanite Cuneiform Tablet from
Taanach," *BASOR*, No. 190 (April, 1968): 41-46. Incidentally, the forms *kprt*
and Akk. *karpatu* "earthenware vessel" (esp. of standard measure) are prob-
ably cognates.

[5] F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Biblica,* 50 (1969): 357-388: Nos. 29,1; 159,2;
201,1. The seal listed as 159 was attributed to Hebron by Reifenberg, but to
judge from its script is Ammonite in origin.

[6] "Ammonite and Moabite Seals," *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twen-
tieth Century*, ed. J. A. Sanders (New York, 1970), pp. 284-295, esp. p. 288 and
Pl. 30, 4.

[7] Vattioni, *Biblica, 50* (1969), No. 95, 1.

The appearance of the term *nk't* in lines 4 and 5 apparently guarantees the reading. The initial letter in each instance could be *nūn* or *mêm*. I was first tempted to read *mr't* "fatlings" in line 5; however, the second letter is certainly *kap* in line 4, and most easily is read *kap* in line 5. We have translated "gum." In Hebrew the term is *nk't*, vocalized *nᵉkôt*. It appears as an item of merchandise along with balsam and ladanum brought by camel caravan from Gilead;[8] in its only other occurrence in the Bible it is in a list of gifts to be brought from Palestine to Egypt: balm, honey, gum, ladanum, pistachio nuts and almonds.[9] The term may be cognate with Akkadian *nukātu* (*nukkatu*) and with Arabic *nuka'at*, a byform of *nuka'at* and *naka'at*, gum of tragacanth, an aromatic resin from the shrub *Astragalus gummifer* and *Astragalus tragacantha*, used in food and medicine.

The writing *'lt* for Elath, the port on the Gulf of Aqabah, is that expected. The name probably derives from the goddess' name, [*Bêt*] *'Ēlat*; the alternate etymology suggested, from *'yl(t)*, "terebinth," whether derived from **'ilatu* or **'aylatu* (>**'êlatu*) would have been written *'lt* in the Ammonite of this period.

The word following the number begins with *'alep*. The following traces fit best with *kap: 'k[l(?)]*, "grain."

Line 5. We can assume that after the initial *l* came a personal name. The traces of ink have virtually disappeared. The second letter of the name, the third after *lamed*, is best preserved; the traces appear to fit *'alep*. *Šîn* may follow giving *l[y]'š* "to Yā'ōš."[10]

At the end of line 5 we find the sequence *'rḥ bt 2*, and in line 11 *'rḥ bt 3*. We take *'rḥ* as identical with Ugaritic *'arḥ* (plural *'arḥt*) "young cow," Akk. *arḥu* "cow," Arab. *'arḥu* "young bull," *'arḥat* "heifer." The following *bt 2* in line 5, *bt 3* in line 11, are abbreviated forms of *bat šēnātayim* and *bat šālōš šānōt*[11] respec-

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[8] Gn 37:25.

[9] Gn 43:11.

[10] On this name and others from the same root, see F. M. Cross, "An Aramaic Inscription from Daskyleion," *BASOR*, No. 184 (Dec., 1966): 8, n. 17.

[11] Cf. the Ammonite *bšnt rḥqt* "in years far off" in the Tell Sīrān Bronze

tively, "two years old" and "three years old." One may compare
the biblical expressions *bt šnth* and *bn šntw* "one year old" used
of sacrificial animals, Ugaritic *'glm dt šnt*, "calves a year old";[12]
and also *'glt mšlšt*, "a three-year-old cow"[13] and *pr mšlš*, a three-
year-old bull."[14] It appears that in antiquity cows aged two or
three years were considered ideal for slaughter.[15]

Line 6. The name *Ba'aša'*, in addition to its appearance as a
royal name in Israel, was the name of an Ammonite king of the
ninth century B.C. who fought at Qarqar:[16]

The phrase *'š ntn l-* is useful in drawing Canaanite isoglosses.
The relative *'š* (<*ša*) stands with Phoenician and North Israelite
versus Hebrew and Moabite *'ašer*. *Ntn*, however, sides with
Moabite,[17] North Israelite, and Hebrew *ntn* versus the new
formation *ytn* in Phoenician and North Canaanite.

Line 7. The spelling *yn* here and in line 8 indicates the con-
traction of the diphthong *ay* > *ê* as in Ugaritic, Phoenician, and
North Israelite. The writing *bn 'mn* in the Tell Sīrān Bronze may
confirm: *banê 'ammōn*.[18]

The word *lbbt* obviously is related to biblical *lĕbībōt*, usually
translated "cakes" or "pancakes." In Arabic *libābat* means "fine
flour," and the derivation of the meaning is clear: "inner part,"
hence "choice part." Similarly in Syriac starch is called *lebbā'*
de-ḥeṭṭātā', "the heart of wheat." Hebrew *lĕbībōt*, "cakes" then

discussed by the writer in his paper "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription
from Tell Sīrān," *BASOR*, No. 212 (Dec., 1973): 12-15.
   [12] *CTA*, 22.2.13 (*Gordon*, 124); 4.6.43 (*Gordon*, 51).
   [13] Gn 15:9.
   [14] 1 Sa 1:24 (according to 4QSam[a] and the Old Greek).
   [15] In an Akkadian text cited in *The Assyrian Dictionary*, I, A, Part II
(Chicago, 1968), p. 263, a buyer is prepared to pay silver for "cows either
three-year-old or two-year-old ones" (ÁB.ḪI.A [*arḫātim*] *šumma* MU 3 *šumma*
šaddidātim).
   [16] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1 (Chicago,
1926): 611. The name is written *ba-'-sa* as expected.
   [17] Cf. the Moabite name *kmšntn* on a seal published by Avigad, "Ammonite
and Moabite Seals" (see n. 6 above), p. 290.
   [18] It is possible also to read the old plural oblique *banî* ('Ammōn). Note
also the writing *ywmt* "days."

are named from their content (not their shape!), the special flour from which they are made. In the present context clearly "fine flour" is a more suitable translation than "cakes" or "loaves."

Line 9. The name *ytb* may be a hypocoristicon of such Canaanite names as '*strty[t]b* or *ytb'l* hitherto explained as errors or by-forms of *ytn*. In Thamudic there is a name *ytb*, probably a G or causative imperfect of *wtb*: Yatib.[19]

The word *déše'*, "grass," "hay" may be followed by a number; if so, it can be only one or two strokes. There is too little room even for the symbol "10." It may be that the rough amount of hay supplied was known, or was not worth measuring out precisely, and hence no number was recorded.

The list is most easily interpreted as the record kept by a royal steward of the assignment or distribution from the royal stores of foodstuffs, beef and mutton, grain and wine, as well as money and spicery, to the personal household of the king, to courtiers, and to others to whom the crown was under obligation. Since the king is first named, and food, grain, and mutton, in sizable amounts is then listed, we must assume that the king is a recipient. The king does not pay taxes in kind. The other persons named, therefore, are also recipients of the designated items rather than the names of men credited with taxes in kind sent to the royal stores.

This text so understood is paralleled by many economic texts listing the distribution of food stuffs and various other commodities under the formula l + PN. A number of such texts are known from Ugarit.[20] One may compare also the Ta'anach Tablet

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[19] Cf. G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, 1 (Louvain, 1934): 213, who suggests the root *tbb* perhaps found in Safaitic *tbn* as well. The root *wtb*, "to rest," "sojourn" seems preferable. The root *tbb* means basically "to do harm" or "to suffer harm or loss." To be sure *tābb* cited by Ryckmans can mean "strong"; it also means "feeble" or "weak," the familiar phenomenon of *didd* (contrary/similar). Arabic *twb* is not a candidate, being a late Aramaic loanword, cognate with *twb* > *šwb* in Canaanite.

[20] *PRU* 2: 88-101 (*Gordon*, 1088-1101, of which 1098 may be an inventory of royal stores); *PRU* 5: 12-13; *Ugaritica V*, 99-100. The closest parallels are *PRU* 2: 89, 90. A. F. Rainey has collected and discussed some of these and

described above, and more remotely the Tell Qasileh ostracon:
zhb. 'pr. lbyt ḥrn š 10+10+10, "Gold of Ophir, presented (*ex
voto*) to the Temple of Hôrôn."[21] In the El Kôm Ostraca,
Qôsyada' the moneylender notes loans *to* a person by *l* + PN,
money received in repayment *from mn* + PN.[22]

If we follow the theory of Aharoni and Rainey, the Samaria
ostraca also note distribution of goods from the royal storehouse
to officers of the king.[23] However, the Samaria Ostraca present
very special problems. I am inclined to regard them as tax
receipts. They come from the royal storehouse in the citadel of
Samaria and appear now to date in the reign of Jeroboam II in
the years 774 to 778.[24] The ostraca contain two groups of men,

other texts attempting to demonstrate that *l* + PN can be used of "recipients,"
as well as of "owners." I have no doubt he is correct. Indeed *l-* can mean
"belonging to," "product of," "distributed to," "credited to," "lent to," "pre-
sented" or "given to" in extant epigraphic material. However, I cannot follow
Rainey in his interpretation (shared with Aharoni) of the Samaria Ostraca.
Cf. A. F. Rainey, "Administration in Ugarit and the Samaria Ostraca," *IEJ*, 12
(1962): 62f.; "The Samaria Ostraca in the Light of Fresh Evidence," *PEQ*, 99
(1967): 32-41; "A Hebrew 'Receipt' from Arad," *BASOR*, No. 202 (April, 1971):
23-29.

[21] Published by B. Maisler (Mazar), "The Excavations at Tell Qasîle," *IEJ*, 1
(1950-51): 194-252, esp. pp. 208ff. and Pls. 37A, 38A.

[22] The ostraca, including a bilingual in Greek and Edomite are to be pub-
lished by L. T. Geraty in the near future.

[23] See Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1967), pp. 315-327;
and above n. 20 for reference to Rainey's papers.

[24] This seems certain now, thanks to Aharoni's definitive solution of the
Samaria numerals: "The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and
the Shekel Weights," *BASOR*, No. 184 (Dec., 1966): 13-19, confirmed by Ivan
Kaufman, "New Evidence for Hieratic Numerals on Hebrew Weights," *BASOR*,
No. 188 (Dec., 1967): 39-41. It is difficult to separate the two groups, 9th- and
10th-year ostraca on the one side, 15th-year ostraca on the other. The script
is remarkably homogeneous. Yet it is strange that there is not clear overlap
of names. However, if we were inclined to attribute the two groups to two
different kings, we should have to reduce the 9th- and 10th-year group to
the last years of Menahem (738, 737), rather than raise their dates to a time
before Jeroboam II. The script is very far developed even for the reign of
Jeroboam. Cf. my remarks, *BASOR*, No. 165 (Febr., 1962): 34-42, where I fol-
lowed Yadin's suggested interpretation of the numerals. The raising of the
date of the Samaria Ostraca suggests that the Murabba'ât Papyrus be raised
to ca. 700 (my former date was 700-650 B.C.), and associated with the Assyrian
crisis in Hezekiah's reign.

"*l*-men" (whose name is preceded by the preposition *l*) and "non-*l*-men." The "*l*-men" repeat, indeed eight of the dozen "*l*-men" appear in the ostraca more than once. Gaddiyaw turns up eight times, 'Ašā' eight times. Moreover, the "*l*-men" are associated frequently with more than one place or clan. The name 'Ašā' on ostraca with commodities coming from 'Abiʿezer, Šemīdaʿ and Ḥeleq. Indeed the place names specify the origin of oil or wine and may precede or follow the "*l*-man"; on the contrary, a place name may identify a "non-*l*-man" (always following when given). The "non-*l*-men" generally are specified more carefully, often with patronymic, gentilic, or town of origin. They never repeat except with the same "*l*-man," the same district and/or town. In Ostraca 1 and 2 several "non-*l*-men" are listed with the numerals 1 or 2 (jars) following their name. When one (rarely two) jars only are in a shipment, one "non-*l*-man" is named or none is named.

From these data we can make several inferences: (1) "*l*-men" are not tax officials unless one assumes administrative chaos with overlapping districts; (2) "non-*l*-men" are small men, attached, unlike the "*l*-men," to one place or estate and to one "*l*-man," and hence are tenants, sharecroppers, or the like, who actually bring commodities to the royal storehouse; (3) the small quantity in the shipments suggests that we have to do not with royal estates or with the total produce of an estate, royal or private.

If these inferences are sound, I believe we must opt for the explanation that most of the ostraca are tax receipts. This fits with the small amount in shipments. If the documents were inventories of produce of royal estates, the number would be far larger; if the documents recorded rations given to a courtier or noble from the storehouse we should expect higher numbers and more than one (or two) commodities listed. Here we may compare our Heshbon Ostracon. It does not seem likely either that the Samaria ostraca record the produce of lands given by royal grant to favored officials. Such produce would go directly to the owner

without going through the royal storehouses, and the produce would be far greater in quantity.

However, if we explain the ostraca as tax receipts, their form and content can be comprehended. The shipments come from the estates of landed (military) nobility[25] which are widely distributed, and are not hereditary lands since one man owns estates in as many as three clans. The "non-*l*-men" are tenants, clients, etc., attached to an individual estate, who bring the appropriate tax in kind to the royal storehouse to be credited to the account of their lords, the "*l*-men." Hence the transaction is properly recorded with an official date of receipt. The district (clan, village, or estate) is listed precisely or imprecisely since the district in question identifies the quality of the product, especially in the case of aged wine. The listing of the "non-*l*-man" more precisely identified usually than the better-known "*l*-men," gives proof that he delivered the wine or oil. We assume that copies of the tax docket were returned to the estate owner as proof of delivery and payment of tax. The omission of the name of a "non-*l*-man" on receipts of a single jar or two is understandable, too, since the receipt is proof enough of his full delivery in such a case.[26]

The script of the Heshbon List is of great interest providing an additional cursive exemplar to our small corpus of Ammonite scripts. The earliest Ammonite document, the ʿAmmān Citadel Inscription, is inscribed in an Aramaic script of ca 850 B.C.[27] Sometime after the ʿAmmān Citadel text, and before the date of the Deir ʿAllā Texts,[28] Ammonite script diverged from its ancestral

[25] That is, *gibborê ḥayil*. The breakdown of the egalitarian land system of Israel came with the rise of a royal officialdom including commercial and military officers attached to the crown, who were rewarded with grants of land, fiefs. Cf. Y. Yadin, "Recipients or Owners, A Note on the Samaria Ostraca," *IEJ*, 9 (1959): 184-187; and especially "Ancient Judaean Weights and the Date of the Samaria Ostraca," *Scripta hierosolymitana*, 8 (1961): 22-25.

[26] On the use of *lmlk* on wine jars and *l* + PN on wine jars, see my remarks in the paper, "Jar Inscriptions from Shiqmona," *IEJ*, 18 (1968): 226-233. Neither are proper parallels to the usage of the Heshbon list.

[27] See my discussion, "Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel Inscription," *BASOR*, No. 193 (Feb., 1969): 13-19.

[28] H. J. Franken, "Texts from the Persian Period from Tell Deir ʿAllā," *VT*,

Aramaic and slowly began its own peculiar development.[29] The date of the Deir 'Allā script is in dispute. Joseph Naveh, before the appearance of the new Ammonite texts, dated it on the basis of the related Aramaic sequence of scripts to the mid-eighth century B.C. or earlier.[30] Among others, the late Paul Lapp protested that the stratigraphy of Tell Deir 'Allā did not permit so early a date, and noted that the floors of the building whose walls bore the inscriptions did contain Persian pottery.[31] The discovery of the Tell Sīrān Bronze made clear once and for all that Ammonite scribes did develop a national script style and happily provided a precise date with which to pin down its typological sequence date: ca. 600 B.C. or slightly later, in the reign of 'Ammīnadab III, the great-great-grandson of that 'Ammīnadab who was a contemporary of Assurbanipal. A monumental inscription on stone taken from the ruins of the 'Ammān Theater comes from about the same date or slightly later.[32] Only two lines are preserved:

>*]b'l. 'bn h̄ [*
>*]bn 'm[n]*
>*]Ba'l. I shall build[*
>*]the people of Ammon[*

The Ba'l of the first line may well be a divine epithet or the name of the Ammonite king, preserved in corrupt form in Jer 40:14: *b'lys mlk bny 'mn*.[33] The second line contains the spelling of *bn*

17 (1967): 480f.

[29] Compare my earlier comments, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Sīrān," *BASOR*, No. 212 (Dec. 1973): 12-15.

[30] I followed Naveh (*IEJ*, 17 [1967]: 256-258) in this dating at the time he wrote, with the following caveat: "One should note, however, that the text shares certain idiosyncrasies with the later Ammonite and Moabite scripts on seals. It is not impossible, therefore, that it is diverging from the standard Aramaic cursive, and hence may preserve archaic forms beyond their time" (*BASOR*, No. 193 [Feb., 1969]: 14, n. 2).

[31] Paul W. Lapp, "The Tell Deir 'Allā Challenge to Palestinian Archaeology," *VT*, 20 (1970), 255.

[32] R. W. Dajani, "The Ammon Theater Fragment," *ADAJ*, 12-13 (1967-68): 65ff.

[33] The *samek* may be a dittography of the following *mêm* in a MS of roughly the second century B.C. when *samek* and *mêm* were frequently confused.

'm[n] used throughout the Tell Sīrān text.[34] Thus on palaeo-
graphic and internal grounds the inscription would date to ca.
580 B.C. These new palaeographical data, plus the evidence of the
Heshbon List, require the lowering of the date of the Deir
'Allā Inscriptions to the early seventh century B.C.[35] The dating
to the early or middle eighth century rather identifies the time
when the Ammonite national script style broke free from the
main line of evolution of the standard Aramaic cursive and
lapidary styles—in the early eighth century. Among the chief
traits of the Ammonite script is its preservation of archaic forms:
bêt, dalet, rêš, and *'ayin* continue closed at the top, *dalet* and
rêš into the sixth century; other archaic features include the
complex *zayin* and *yōd* (into the sixth century), long-tailed *mêm*
with zigzag top, and the two-barred *ḥet.* At the same time certain
letters evolve in unique ways; most striking is the *hē* of the Tell
Sīrān Inscription.

Additional control of Ammonite writing styles is found in the
corpus of Ammonite seals which now can be isolated. The task
has been well begun by N. Avigad in his paper "Ammonite and
Moabite Seals."[36] Five seals can be narrowly dated: The two
seals of "servants of 'Ammīnadab" are dated by the king's reign to
the mid-seventh century B.C.,[37] two seals found in the tomb of

Ba'lay or simply *Ba'l* are well-known hypocoristica. However, a full form, on
the pattern of *[Zakar-]ba'l,* may have been put into a formal text. Alternately
we may take *b'lys* to be a textual corruption of *dblbs* found on the seal of
'mnwt 'mt dblbs. We expect *'mt* like *'bd* to be a royal title; similarly the
ḥnn'l of the seal of *'lyh 'mt ḥnn'l* may be the missing king in the dynasty of
Amminadab, the son of Amminadab I who flourished ca. 625 B.C. Cf. G. M.
Landes, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," *The Biblical Archae-
ologist Reader,* ed. E. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman, 2 (Garden City, N.Y.,
1964): 85 and references.

[34] In the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription, the sequence in line 6
                     ]ḥ. tšt'. bbn. 'lm VACAT[
must be read in light of this orthography in the Tell Sīrān Text:
               "you are feared among the gods."

[35] Evidently the building of the wall on which the inscriptions were penned
(or painted) was built in the seventh century at the beginning of new occu-
pation and continued in use into the Persian period.

[36] See above, n. 6.

[37] Cf. G. R. Driver, "Seals and Tombstones," *ADAJ,* 2 (1953): Pl. VIII,

'Adōnīnūr 'Ammīnadab's official (ʿabd), one of šūbʾēl, and one of menaḥēm ben yenaḥēm,[38] and finally the seal of byd'l ʿbd pd'l, long overlooked, dating to ca. 700.[39] These formal scripts of the seventh century are marked by great conservatism, extremely vertical stances, of which the *pe* is particularly remarkable, and certain innovations which are surprising: a square-shaped ʿayin, long-legged *dalet* in vertical stance, the head of *mêm* with its zigzags in the form of a "w." Highly archaic are the forms of *ʾalep* (unchanged from the early eighth-century Aramaic forms), *yōd, bêt,* two-bar *ḥet* (becoming a single bar in some sixth-century seal scripts), and angular *lamed.*

Pressures of the cursive on the formal and semi-formal (Tell Sīrān Bronze) styles introduce several changes toward 500 B.C.: *bêt* opens at the top, and sometimes ʿayin; *ḥêt* may be reduced as noted above; *yōd* is elongated; *samek* exhibits a "z"-form head, *qōp* opens at the top. Several of these changes are found too in the Aramaic cursive and argillary[40] scripts. It must be emphasized, however, that the opening of *bêt* and ʿayin, *dalet* and *rêš,* and the simplification to the one-bar *ḥêt* had taken place in Aramaic cursive scripts already by the end of the eighth century B.C., long before the Ammonite changes. In the Nimrud Ostracon, for example, of the late eighth century B.C. these changes are fully developed, and in the Assur Ostracon of ca. 660-650 B.C. there is no remnant of the archaic forms. Indeed Ammonite differs radically from the Aramaic in that *dalet* and *rêš* are not open normally in the latest Ammonite cursive, and archaic forms of

1-3; for the *ʾdnplt* seal, see A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals* (London, 1950), p. 42, No. 35.

[38] N. Avigad, "An Ammonite Seal," *IEJ,* 2 (1952): 163f.

[39] *CIS,* 2: 76. See the writer's forthcoming study on the seal and its date. The king in question is mPu-du-AN/Pĕdōʾēl/, who paid tribute to Sennacherib in 701 B.C. The Statue Inscription of yrḥʿzr is too crude and difficult to be of great help to the palaeographer; cf. B. D. Barnett, "Four Sculptures from Amman," *ADAJ,* 1 (1951): 34-36; Pl. XIII.

[40] See the discussion and script charts of Stephen J. Lieberman, "The Aramaic Argillary Script in the Seventh Century," *BASOR,* No. 192 (Dec., 1968): 25-31.

closed *'ayin* persist to the end. At the same time it may be that
some of the Ammonite changes took place under secondary
Aramaic influence. No doubt Aramaic was known and its script
read in Ammon in these centuries.

At present our latest texts in Ammonite script date clearly from
the mid-sixth century B.C. From the very end of the sixth century
come the Heshbon Ostraca I and II, both written in Aramaic
script. So far as the evidence goes it fits with other data suggest-
ing the general replacement of the old national scripts, Edomite,
Ammonite, and Hebrew, by the Aramaic script universally used in
the Persian chancelleries.[41] To be sure in narrow circles in Judaea
and Samaria the old national script survived, becoming what we
have labeled Palaeo-Hebrew; and similar survivals elsewhere, of
which we as yet have no examples, may have existed.

Some brief comments can be made on the script of the Heshbon
Ostracon IV in the context of the evolution of the Ammonite
character.

'Alep in the Deir 'Allā and Tell Sīrān scripts, as in the seventh-
century seal scripts, retains its traditional eighth-century form
showing little or no change. In the Heshbon *'alep*, the mode of
penning has changed: the right two bars are made in a check or
"v" motion; the left bar is made independently. The form is
reminiscent of the "star" *'alep* of the argillary Aramaic script and
the seventh-century forms in the Assur Ostracon and the Saqqarah
Papyrus, but is not identical. Certainly it is typologically the
most advanced of the *'aleps* in Ammonite.

Bêt in the Heshbon List is open at the top. In this it shows
the developed tendency also at work in the more formal script of
the Tell Sīrān Bronze. The cursive of Deir 'Allā preserves the

[41] Cf. the writer's comments and references in "Two Notes on the Pales-
tinian Inscriptions of the Persian Age," *BASOR*, No. 193 (Feb., 1969): 32;
an alternate view has been expressed by J. Naveh, "The Scripts in Palestine
and Transjordan in the Iron Age," *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twen-
tieth Century*, ed. J. A. Sanders, pp. 277-281; and "Hebrew Texts in Aramaic
Script in the Persian Period," *BASOR*, No. 203 (Oct., 1971): 27-32.
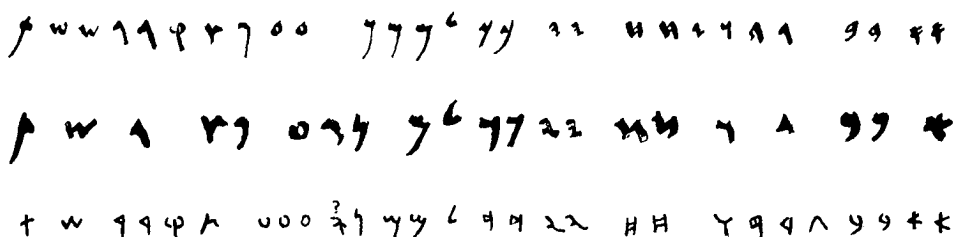
FMC

Fig. 2. Ammonite alphabets.

Line 1. The cursive script of the *Deir 'Allā* inscriptions from the early seventh century B.C.

Line 2. Heshbon Ostracon IV. Dating to the end of the seventh or to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. (In cursive script).

Line 3. The *Tell Sīrān* bronze inscription from the beginning of the sixth century B.C. (Engraved in a semifinal hand).

older, closed form.

Dalet and *rêš* in the Heshbon List reveal little or no tendency toward opening at the top. In the Tell Sīrān Inscription, one *dalet is* slightly open but it is clear that the standard form is closed. These letters stand in strongest opposition to the Aramaic type sequence and leave no doubt of the independence of the Ammonite alphabet over considerable periods of time. In the formal script and in the Deir 'Allā cursive the *dalet* tends to be greatly elongated.

The letter *hê* does not appear, unfortunately, in the Heshbon List. The Deir 'Allā form superficially resembles the simplified cursive *hê* of Aramaic, but two-bar forms and the extraordinary divided-rectangle of the head of the Tell Sīrān *hê* underline its peculiarity.

The *waw* of our Heshbon Ostracon follows precisely in the
tradition of the Deir 'Allā *waw*, which parallels the Aramaic *waw*.
The Tell Sīrān *waw* echoes a lapidary tradition found elsewhere
in the archaizing lapidary scripts from Nerab (early seventh cen-
tury B.C.). The form is not known in the main sequences of
Aramaic formal and cursive scripts.

Both in the Deir 'Allā text and in the Tell Sīrān text, *ḥet* pre-
serves the older two-bar form of the early Aramaic scripts. The
Heshbon List again displays the most developed letter form, with
one bar. At the same time its ancestor is the type of *ḥet* developed
in the Ammonite tradition of Deir 'Allā, as opposed to the main
Aramaic stream.

A formal *yōd* persists throughout the main line of Ammonite
scripts. Simplification under Aramaic influence may be seen in the
seal of *'byḥy bn ynḥm*.[42] The Tell Sīrān *yōd* shows a tendency
to narrow and elongate.

The tradition of *kap* made with a triangular bar on the top left
continues from Deir 'Allā through the Heshbon List. The older,
lapidary *kap* appears in seventh century seal scripts. In Aramaic
the form occurs sporadically in eighth and seventh century scripts,
but never so stylized as in the Tell Sīrān script.

Mêm in the Deir 'Allā texts preserves the long lines and shallow,
zigzag head of eighth-century Aramaic *mêm*. Throughout the Am-
monite scripts we find no evidence of the Aramaic *mêm* developed
in the seventh century with a vertical cross-bar cutting the head.

The letter *samek* is problematical in the Ammonite script. It
appears to share a "z"-headed form with the argillary Aramaic
scripts of the seventh century, and appears sporadically in lapi-
dary texts, including Nerab. Unhappily, however, the Tell Sīrān
samek is in dispute and the Heshbon *samek* is badly preserved.

'Ayin in the Ammonite cursive is round, in the Ammonite
lapidary is square. The two occurrences in the Heshbon List are

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[42] A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals,* No. 40; cf. N. Avigad, "An Ammon-
ite Seal," *IEJ,* 2 (1952): 164, n. 2.

closed or virtually closed. Some (but not all) of the ʿayins of the Tell Sīrān script are left open.

Pē is rounded at its top in Ammonite and tends more to the vertical than in the kindred Aramaic scripts of the seventh-sixth century.

Qōp retains more or less its archaic form in Ammonite, opening at the top but not developing the horizontal "s" top of the Aramaic cursive and argillary scripts of the seventh century B.C.

Šīn shows little development from ninth-eighth century forms.

Taw in the Deir ʿAllā texts and in the Tell Sīrān script derives directly from the elongated taw of ninth-eighth century Aramaic. In the Heshbon list the cross-bar has moved off to the right, a tendency already developed in seventh-century Aramaic.

The script of the Heshbon list shows itself more advanced than the Tell Sīrān script in the case of ʾalep, ḥēṯ, kap, sameḵ and taw. Despite its highly cursive style as opposed to the semi-formal style of the Tell Sīrān inscription, its forms of ʿayin and yōḏ are less developed. In view of the great distance between the cursive of Deir ʿAllā and the cursive of Heshbon, it is difficult to date the Heshbon List earlier than the end of the seventh century B.C., two scribal generations after the Deir ʿAllā inscriptions. In view of internal historical data, the Tell Sīrān Bronze cannot be lowered much below 600 B.C., in no case later than 580 B.C. These data suggest that the Heshbon list is roughly contemporary with the Tell Sīrān Bronze, from the late seventh or early sixth century.

The language of the Heshbon Ostracon IV adds to the evidence that Ammonite was a South Canaanite dialect closely related to Phoenician, the Hebrew of Northern Israel, and in some features with Hebrew and Moabite.

Such a conclusion was already adumbrated by the evidence of Ammonite seals, and their use of characteristic Canaanite elements: bn, bt, nʿr, and ʾmt. The names on seals and in the texts, including royal names, were generally well-known Canaanite or

Amorite patterns.[43] The article *h* which appears on the seals is used regularly also in the Tell Sīrān Inscription.

From Tell Sīrān comes additional evidence, masculine plurals in *-m* (versus Moabite), and the plurals *ywmt* and *šnt* with Phoenician and dialectal Hebrew, probably Israelite.

From Heshbon come a number of words with characteristic Canaanite phonemes: *šn* (*Aram. 'n'*) and *dš'* (*Aram. dt'h*). Even more striking is the relative in *'š* elsewhere found only in Phoenician, but closely related to Northern Israelite *ša-*, Mishnaic *še-*, contrasting with Hebrew and Moabite *'ašer* and older Canaanite *zū* (Ugaritic *dū*). The verb *ntn*, on the other hand, stands with Hebrew and Moabite (and presumably Proto-Semitic) against Phoenician and North Canaanite *ytn*. The survival of *'arḫu* "young cow" in Ammonite is remarkable, occurring elsewhere in Northwest Semitic, I believe, only in Ugaritic.

For all of its banal content, the Heshbon List proves an important addition to our knowledge of the Ammonite script and language.

2. *Heshbon Ostracon V* (Fig. 3 and Pl. I)

Ostracon V, Registry No. 1656, was found July 31, 1973, in Area B, Square 2, a context described by the excavator as Iron II/Persian. The right side of the sherd is missing certainly, and it may be that the inscription was incised (after firing) on an intact jar as a label of ownership.

The inscription can be reconstructed as follows:

[ln]tn'l.

An alternate reading, of course, would be *mtn'l. Ntn'l* is a popular biblical name, and *ntnyhw* appears both in the Bible and on

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[43] To be sure, a number of names remain unexplained, including *dblbs* (*sic!*).
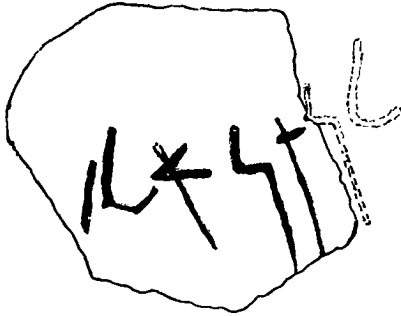
Fig. 3. A tracing of the Heshbon Ostracon V.

Hebrew seals. The Phoenician equivalent *ytn'l* is well known, as well as Phoenician *mtn'l, mtn'lm,* etc.

The letters of the graffito are skillfully made. They display the graceful, elongated forms of eighth-seventh century Ammonite. *Taw* is distinctive in that the cross-bar is tending to move to the right. A vertical stroke on the left of the name, evidently a word divider, suggests that a patronymic followed, now broken off. The graffito is probably to be assigned a seventh-century B.C. date.

3. *Heshbon Ostracon VI* (Pl. I)

Ostracon VI, Registry No. 1676, was found in Area C, Square 2. The archaeological context is predominantly Iron II/Persian with a few possible Iron I sherds present. The sherd preserves only a crude *'alep.*

4. *Heshbon Ostracon VII* (Pl. II)

Ostracon VII, Registry No. 1659, was found in Area B, Square 2, Locus 72, a context described as Iron II/Persian. While it shows

unmistakable evidence of several lines of script, it is wholly illegible. It may be that at some future date new techniques will be developed to reveal script from faint traces, and this ostracon's secrets unlocked.

5. *Heshbon Ostracon VIII* (Pl. II)

Ostracon VIII, Registry No. 1658, was found in Area B, Square 2, in an Iron II/Persian context. Of the original script only traces remain, which are too indistinct to allow identifying any characters.

PLATE I
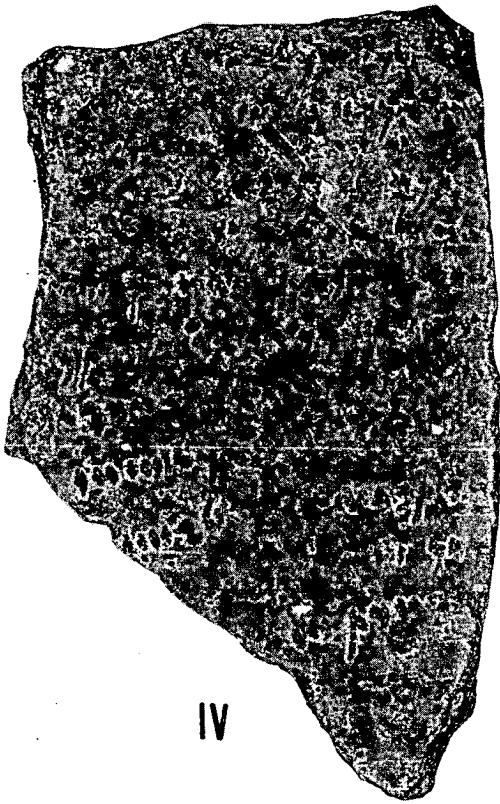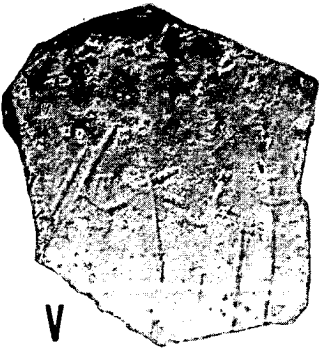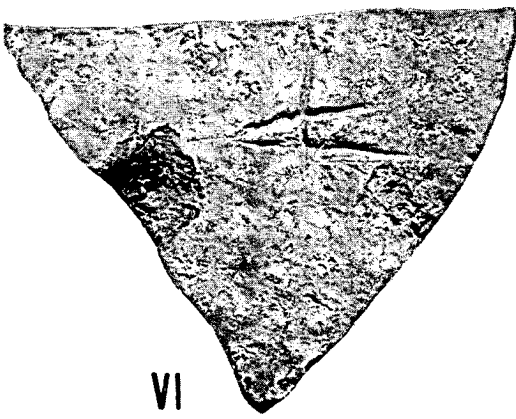
Ammonite Ostraca IV-VI from Heshbon (Actual size). Photos: Eugenia L. Nitowski.

PLATE II
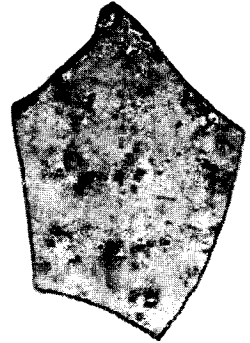
Ammonite Ostraca VII and VIII and Greek Ostracon IX from Heshbon
(Actual size). Photos: Eugenia L. Nitowski.

A GREEK OSTRACON FROM HESHBON
HESHBON OSTRACON IX

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During the 1973 season at Heshbon an ostracon was found in Area B, Square 4, Locus 120W. The sherd has been identified as a Hellenistic body sherd by Dr. James Sauer, although the latest pottery found in the associated pottery pail was dated in the Early Roman period, with a mixture of Hellenistic and Iron Age body sherds. The registration number of the sherd is 1668, and its dimensions are 59 x 55 mm. (Pl. II).

There are traces of about 35 Greek letters on the sherd. However, only a few are in alignment, and there is no observable sequence of lines. Examination and experimentation have not produced any identifiable words or combinations. It would appear that this is possibly the product of someone's doodling or scribbling.

The following is a transcription of recognizable letters:

1   a ι o

2   θ ν ω η

3   ρ η σ

4   a $\overset{o}{\nu}$ $a\sigma$ γ o σ

5           $a\sigma$ κ λ a ρ

Along right side:

6   o o o o

7   ρ o σ

Palaeographically, some of the letter-forms on this ostracon can be paralleled in literary documents in the late Hellenistic period. The *alpha (ll. 1, 4), gamma (l. 4), ēta (ll. 2, 3), iota (l. 1),*

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*kappa (l. 5), rho (ll. 5, 7), sigma (ll. 4, 7), upsilon (l. 4), and
ōmega (l. 2)* are the typical forms used in the second and first
centuries B.C.[1] The dotted *thēta* in the ostracon *(l. 2)* is very
common in third century documents.[2] However, some examples
of the dotted *thēta* are found in the second and first centuries
B.C.[3] Since the forms for the *alpha, sigma,* and *ōmega*[4] in the
ostracon do not occur in the third century documents,[5] it appears
that palaeographically the ostracon should be dated in the sec-
ond or first centuries B.C. This would comport with the ceramic
context of the ostracon cited above — late Hellenistic/early
Roman.

[1] E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*
(Oxford, 1912), pp. 144, 145.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 144; C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* (Oxford, 1956), no. 1
(4th cent.), no. 2a (1st half of 3d cent.); no. 3a (c. middle of 3d cent.); E. G.
Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971), no. 51
(325-275 B.C.), no. 52 (early 3d cent.), no. 54 (middle 3d cent.).

[3] Thompson, *Introduction*, p. 145; Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, no. 6a
(1st half of 2d cent. B.C.); Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, no. 55 (middle of 1st
cent. B.C.).

[4] Reading the second letter after the dotted *thēta* in line 2 on the ostracon
as an *ōmega*.

[5] Cf. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, numbers 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, 5a, 5b; Turner,
Greek Manuscripts, numbers 40, 51, 52, 53, 54.

PROLEGOMENA TO A STUDY OF THE DOMINICAL *LOGOI* AS CITED IN THE *DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM*

Part I: Introductory Matters*

JAMES J. C. COX

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In the third century of the Common Era, possibly during its first two or three decades, an anonymous Christian author, possibly a bishop, resident in Palestine or, more probably, Syria, composed, in Greek, a "Church manual" commonly known as the *Didascalia* or *Didascalia Apostolorum*.

Of those who discuss the question of *the date of the composition of the original Greek text of the Didascalia,* almost all are persuaded that it was composed during the third century of the Common Era. Of these, some contend that is was during the first half, if not within the first two or three decades, of that century (so, for example, F. Nau,[1] A. von Harnack,[2] R. H.

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* Abbreviations employed in this article, which are not spelled out on the back cover of this journal, indicate the following series: *ALCS* = *Ancienne Littérature canonique syriaque; BLE = Bulletin de Littérature ecclesiastique; CQ = Congregational Quarterly; CQR = Church Quarterly Review; DACL* = *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie; DS = Dictionnaire de Spiritualité; DST = Duckworth Studies in Theology; ECC = Early Christian Classics; HS = Horae Semiticae; LTK = Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche; NAK = Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis; RGG = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart; RHE = Revue d'Histoire ecclesiastique; SeT = Studi e Testi; TCL = Translations of Christian Literature; TU = Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.*

[1] *La Didascalie, c'est-à-dire l'Enseignement catholique des douze Apôtres et des saints Disciples de notre Sauveur traduite du syriaque pour la première fois, ALCS,* 1 (Paris, 1902), p. 1.

[2] *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig, 1904 [reprint, Leipzig, 1958]), 1. 2, p. 516.

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Connolly,[3] F. C. Burkitt,[4] J. V. Bartlet,[5] C. J. Cadoux,[6] G. Graf,[7]
P. Galtier,[8] K. Rahner,[9] J. Quasten,[10] J. A. Jungmann,[11] F. L.
Cross,[12] B. Altaner,[13] and G. Strecker[14]); some, that it was com-
posed during the second half of that century (so, for example,
F. X. Funk,[15] H. Achelis and J. Flemming,[16] De L. O'Leary,[17]
M. Viard,[18] O. Bardenhewer,[19] and C. H. Turner[20]); and others,
that it was composed sometime during that century without any

[3] *Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied
by the Verona Latin Fragments with an Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, 1929
[reprint Oxford, 1969]) , p. xci.

[4] "The Didascalia," *JTS* 31 (1930): 259.

[5] *Church-Life and Church-Order during the First Four Centuries with Spe-
cial Reference to the Early Eastern Church Orders* (Oxford, 1943) , pp. 75,
84, 89, 119-120, 146.

[6] In Bartlet, *Church-Life and Church-Order*, p. 54, n. 3.

[7] *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1: *Die Übersetzungen*,
SeT, 118 (Rome, 1944), p. 564.

[8] "La date de la Didascalie des Apôtres," *RHE* 42 (1947) : 351.

[9] "Busslehre und Busspraxis der Didascalia Apostolorum," *ZKT* 72 (1950) :
257.

[10] *Patrology*, 2: *The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus* (Westminster,
Md., 1953), p. 147.

[11] "Didaskalia," in *LTK*, 3, col. 3711.

[12] *The Early Christian Fathers*, *DST*, 57 (London, 1960), p. 96.

[13] *Patrology*, trans. of *Patrologie* by H. C. Graef (Freiburg, 1961 [2d ed.];
New York, 1961), p. 56.

[14] "On the Problem of Jewish Christianity," in W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and
Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, trans. of *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im
ältesten Christentum* by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian
Origins, ed. by R. A. Kraft and G. Krodel (Tübingen, 1964 [2d ed.]; Phila-
delphia, 1971), p. 244.

[15] "La date de la Didascalie des Apôtres," *RHE* 2 (1901): 808; and *Didas-
calia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905 [reprint Paderborn,
1964]), 1, p. V.

[16] *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts*, 2: *Die syrische
Didaskalia*, *TU*, n. f., 10.2 (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 370-372.

[17] *The Apostolical Constitutions and Cognate Documents, with Special
Reference to their Liturgical Elements*, *ECC* (London, 1906), p. 30.

[18] *La Didascalie des Apôtres: introduction critique, esquisse historique*
(Langres, 1906), pp. 33-36.

[19] *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 2: *Vom Ende des zweiten Jahrhun-
derts bis zum Beginn des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt, 1914 [reprint
Darmstadt, 1962]), p. 309.

[20] "The Church Order of St. Hippolytus," *CQR* 85 (1917): 90.

preference for either the first or the second half (so, for example, M. D. Gibson,[21] A. Jülicher,[22] H. Achelis,[23] H. Leclercq,[24] J. M. Harden,[25] Bartlet,[26] E. Tidner,[27] W. C. van Unnik,[28] P. Beaucamp,[29] H. von Campenhausen,[30] G. Bardy,[31] H. E. Feine,[32] and E. J. Goodspeed[33]).

Of those who discuss the question of the *authorship of the original Greek text*, most are persuaded that the anonymous Christian author was, in fact, a resident Bishop (so, for example, Achelis and Flemming,[34] Viard,[35] Achelis,[36] Leclercq,[37] Con-

[21] *The Disdascalia Apostolorum in Syriac: Edited from a Mesopotamian Manuscript with Various Readings and Collations of other Mss, HS,* 1 (London, 1903), p. v.

[22] "Didaskalia," in *Reœlencyklopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* ed. W. Pauly and G. Wissowa (Stuttgart, 1903), 9, col. 394.

[23] "Apostolic Constitutions and Canons," in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* ed. S. M. Jackson et al. (New York, 1908), 1: 245-246.

[24] "Didascalie," in *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie chrétienne et de Liturgie,* ed. H. Leclercq and H. Marrou (Paris, 1920), 4, col. 812.

[25] *The Ethiopic Didascalia, TCL,* series 4: *Oriental Texts* (London, 1920), p. xii; and *An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature* (London, 1926), p. 63.

[26] Review of Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum, CQ* 8 (1930): 222.

[27] *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur lateinischen Didascalia Apostolorum* (Stockholm, 1938), p. XV; and *Didascaliae Apostolorum, Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, Traditionis Apostolicae, versiones Latinae, TU,* 75 (Berlin, 1963), p. IX.

[28] "De Beteekenis van de Mozaische wet voor de Kerk van Christus volgens de syrische Didascalie," *NAK* 3 (1939): 71; and "Didaskalia," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 3d edition ed. by K. Galling (Tübingen, 1958), 2, col. 189.

[29] "Un évêque du IIIe siècle aux prises avec les pécheurs: son activité apostolique," *BLE* 69 (1949): 27.

[30] *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries,* trans. of *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht* by J. A. Baker (Tübingen, 1953; Stanford, 1969), p. 239, n. 7.

[31] "Didascalie des Apôtres" in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité,* ed. A. Rayez (Paris, 1957), 3, col. 863.

[32] *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte: Die katholische Kirche* (Köln, 1964), p. 33.

[33] *A History of Early Christian Literature,* revised and enlarged by R. M. Grant (Chicago, 1966), p. 12.

[34] *Die syrische Didaskalia,* p. 378.

[35] *La Didascalie,* p. 35.

[36] *New Schaff-Herzog,* 1: 245.

[37] "Didascalie," *DACL,* 4, col. 812.

nolly,[38] Burkitt,[39] Bartlet,[40] Galtier,[41] Beaucamp,[42] von Campen-hausen,[43] Quasten,[44] Cross,[45] and Altaner[46]). [47]

And, of those who discuss the question of *the place of the composition of the original Greet text,* the majority favor Syria (so for example, Jülicher [Syria],[48] Harnack [Syria][49] Achelis and Flemming [Coele-Syria],[50] Funk [Syria],[51] Viard [Syria],[52] Achelis [Coele-Syria],[53] Leclercq [Syria or Coele-Syria],[54] Con-

[38] *Didascalia Apostolorum,* p. xci.

[39] "The Didascalia," *JTS* 31 (1930): 261.

[40] *Church-Life and Church-Order,* p. 89.

[41] "La date de la Didascalie," *RHE* 42 (1947): 316.

[42] "Un évêque du IIIe siècle," *BLE* 69 (1949): 27.

[43] *Ecclesiastical Authority,* p. 240.

[44] *Patrology,* 2: 147.

[45] *Early Christian Fathers,* p. 96.

[46] *Patrology,* p. 56.

[47] Of course, the *Didascalia Apostolorum* itself purports to have been written by "the twelve Apostles"—at the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem (Acts 15). In addition to the title, καθολικὴ διδασκαλία τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων (see, below, the discussion on the title), note especially *Didasc.* 6.12. 1f.; 6. 13. 1f.; and 6. 14. 11: "When therefore the entire church was in peril (on account of heresy) we, the twelve apostles (δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι) gathered at Jerusalem and conferred on what should be done. And it seemed good to us (we were all of one mind) to write this Catholic Didascalia (καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν) for your confirmation [P. de Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace* (Leipzig, 1854 [reprint, Osnabrück/Wiesbaden, 1967]), p. 102, 11. 4ff.; Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum,* p. 73, 11. 15ff.; Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum,* 1: 327, 11. 12ff.] . . . and we remained in Jerusalem for some days conferring concerning the common good with the aim of rectifying [the situation], and, at the same time, we wrote this Catholic Didascalia (καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν) [Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum,* p. 104, 11. 26ff.; Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum,* p. 74, 11. 5ff.; Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum,* 1: 333, 11. 22ff.] . . . and we have left this Catholic Didascalia (καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν) worthily and justly, as a memo-randum of the confirmation for the believers [Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum,* p. 106, 11. 28f.; Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum,* p. 78, 11. 7ff.; Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum,* p. 347, 11. 1ff.]."

[48] *Pauly-Wissowa,* 9, col. 394.

[49] *Geschichte,* 1. 2, p. 516; 2. 2, p. 489.

[50] *Die syrische Didaskalia,* p. 364.

[51] *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum,* 1, p. V.

[52] *La Didascalie,* pp. 31-32.

[53] *New Schaff-Herzog,* 1: 245.

[54] "Didascalie," *DACL,* 4, col. 812.

nolly [between Antioch and Edessa],[55] Burkitt [between Antioch and Edessa],[56] Bartlet [northern Syria],[57] Graf [northern Syria],[58] Galtier [Syria (?)],[59] Beaucamp [Syria],[60] Rahner [northern Syria],[61] von Campenhausen [Syria],[62] Quasten [northern Syria][63] Jungmann [northern Syria],[64] Cross [northern Syria],[65] Altaner [northern Syria],[66] van Unnik [Syria],[67] Feine [Syria],[68] and Strecker [Syria][69]), although some do not rule out the possibility of Palestine (so, for example, Jülicher,[70] Harnack,[71] Funk,[72] and Connolly[73]), or even Arabia (so, for example, Harnack[74] and Galtier[75]).

That the *Didascalia* was *originally composed in Greek* is the unanimous opinion of those who deal with that question (so, for example, P. Boetticher [P. de Lagarde],[76] E. Hauler,[77] Nau,[78]

[55] *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. lxxxix.

[56] "The Didascalia," *JTS* 31 (1930): 261.

[57] Review of Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, *CQ* 8 (1930): 222; and *Church-Life and Church-Order*, pp. 75, 89, 119, 146.

[58] *Geschichte*, p. 564.

[59] "La date de la Didascalie," *RHE* 42 (1947): 316.

[60] "Un évêque du IIIe siecle," *BLE* 69 (1949): 27.

[61] "Busslehre and Busspraxis," *ZKT* 72 (1950): 257.

[62] *Ecclesiastical Authority*, p. 239.

[63] *Patrology*, 2: 147.

[64] "Didaskalia," *LTK*, 3, col. 189.

[65] *Early Christian Fathers*, p. 96.

[66] *Patrology*, p. 56.

[67] "Didaskalia," *RGG*, 3d ed., 2, col. 189.

[68] *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 33.

[69] In Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy*, p. 244.

[70] *Pauly-Wissowa*, 9, col. 394.

[71] *Geschichte*, 1. 2, p. 516; 2.2, p. 489.

[72] *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1, p. V.

[73] *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. lxxxix.

[74] *Geschichte*, 2. 2, p. 489.

[75] "La date de la Didascalie," *RHE* 42 (1947): 316.

[76] *Constitutiones Apostolicae Graece* in *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, 2: *Reliquiae Canonicae* (ed. by C. C. J. Bunsen; London, 1854), pp. 42-43.

[77] *Didascaliae Apostolorum: Fragmenta Veronensia Latina* (Leipzig, 1900), p. IX.

[78] *La Didascalie*, pp. 2, 164.

Jülicher,[79] Gibson,[80] Harnack,[81] Viard,[82] O'Leary,[83] A. J. Mac-
lean,[84] Bardenhewer,[85] Bartlet,[86] Turner,[87] Harden,[88] Leclercq,[89]
Connolly,[90] Burkitt,[91] van Unnik,[92] Cadoux,[93] Graf,[94] Tidner,[95]
Galtier,[96] Quasten,[97] von Campenhausen,[98] Bardy,[99] Altaner,[100]
and Tidner[101]).

And with respect to its *literary genre* the *Didascalia* is usually
classified as a *"church order,"* along with such works as the
Didache, the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, the *Apostolic
Church Order*, the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, the *Testament of
Our Lord Jesus Christ*, etc. (so, for example, Maclean,[102] Turner,[103]
Harden,[104] Bartlet,[105] Quasten,[106] von Campenhausen,[107] and

[79] *Pauly-Wissowa*, 9, col. 394.

[80] *Didascalia Apostolorum*, 1, p. v; 2, p. v.

[81] *Geschichte*, 1. 2, p. 516; 2. 2, p. 488.

[82] *La Didascalie*, pp. 14-15.

[83] *The Apostolical Constitutions*, pp. 19, 24, 26, 28.

[84] *The Ancient Church Orders* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 30.

[85] *Geschichte*, 2: 304.

[86] "Fragments of the *Disascalia Apostolorum* in Greek," *JTS* 18 (1916): 308-
309; and Review of Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, *CQ* 8 (1930): 222.

[87] "The Church Order of St. Hippolytus," *CQR* 85 (1917): 77.

[88] *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. xi.

[89] "Didascalie," *DACL*, 4, col. 802.

[90] *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. xi.

[91] "The Didascalia," *JTS* 31 (1930): 259.

[92] "De Beteekenis," *NAK* 31 (1939): 67-68.

[93] In Bartlet, *Church-Life and Church-Order*, p. 76, n. 3.

[94] *Geschichte*, 1: 564.

[95] *Sprachlicher Kommentar*, p. IX.

[96] "La date de la Didascalie," *RHE* 42 (1947): 316.

[97] *Patrology*, 2: 151.

[98] *Ecclesiastical Authority*, p. 239, n. 7.

[99] "Didascalie," *DS*, 3, col. 863.

[100] *Patrology*, p. 57.

[101] *Didascaliae Apostolorum*, p. IX.

[102] *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 2.

[103] "The Church Order of St. Hippolytus," *CQR* 85 (1917): 77, 88-89.

[104] *Ethiopic Didascalia*, pp. ix-xii.

[105] *Church-Life and Church-Order*, pp. 75-77.

[106] *Patrology*, 2: 147.

[107] *Ecclesiastical Authority*, p. 239.

Altaner[108]). Connolly, however, challenges this designation. He writes,

> The book has naturally been classed with that family of documents which we know as the Church Orders, among which it forms a third in point of time to the *Didache* and the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. In its aims, however, and in the character of its contents it stands apart from most of the other documents of this class, for it deals hardly at all with formal legislation. The *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, to take what is probably the nearest contemporary example, might fairly be described as a rudimentary Ordinal or Sacramentary, providing as it does set rules and forms for the ordination of ministers, the celebration of the Eucharist, and the administration of baptism. But any such description would be quite inapplicable to the *Didascalia*, which is much more an elementary treatise on Pastoral Theology. While the author does not come before us here as a theologian in the strict sense of the term, neither does he appear in any sense as a canonist, or one who formulates ecclesiastical rules on the basis of custom or tradition. His interest is engaged with other matters, with personal conduct, and with ecclesiastical discipline only in its wider aspect, as it affects the daily life of the community at large.[109]

Various other descriptive phrases have been employed to classify this document, for example, "un de ces recueils de prescriptions morales et disciplinaires qui se donnent comme d'origine apostolique" (Viard[110]); "the earliest manual on canon law" (O'Leary[111]); "a constitution" (Achelis[112]); "Sammlung von Sittenvorschriften und Rechtsnormen ... der älteste uns bekannte Versuch eines, 'corpus iuris canonici'" (Bardenhewer,[113] and following him, Graf[114]); "a sort of Pastoral" (Burkitt[115]), "ouvrage canonico-liturgique" (Bardy[116]); and a "collection of miscellaneous precepts of professedly Apostolic origin" (Cross[117]).

(To be continued)

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[108] *Patrology*, pp. 54-58.
[109] *Didascalia Apostolorum*, pp. xxvi-xxxvii.
[110] *La Didascalie*, p. 9.
[111] *Apostolical Constitutions*, p. 27.
[112] *New Schaff-Herzog*, 1: 245.
[113] *Geschichte*, 2: 304.
[114] *Geschichte*, 1: 564.
[115] "The Didascalia," *JTS* 31 (1930): 259.
[116] "Didascalie," *DS*, 3, col. 863.
[117] *Early Christian Fathers*, p. 96.

NOTE ON THE TITLE OF THE
DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM[*]

JAMES J. C. COX

The *Didascalia Apostolorum* no longer exists in its original Greek form. It is, however, extant in early Syriac (complete) and Latin (fragmentary) translations, and in later Arabic, Ethiopic, and Greek paraphrases (essentially complete), which paraphrases comprise the first six books of the respective versions of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum.*

The aim of this note is to ascertain the form of the title of the original Greek text. Our evidence consists of (i) the ancient Syriac title;[1] (ii) the author's references to his work within the document itself; (iii) the vestigial remains of the original title preserved in the versions of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum;* and (iv) the comparable titles of related early Christian documents.

The Syriac title, as given in codex *Sangermanensis,* reads *dydsqly' 'wkyt mlpnwt' qtwlyq' dtr'sr šlyh' wtlmyd' qdyš' dprwqn.*[2]

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[1] Unfortunately, the rubricated title of the Latin translation no longer exists. E. Hauler (*Didascaliae Apostolorum: Fragments Veronensia Latina* [Leipzig, 1900], p. 1, n.) conjectures that it probably read *Doctrina Apostolorum;* but E. Tidner (*Didascaliae Apostolorum, Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, versiones Latinae, TU,* 75 [Berlin, 1963], p. ix) proposes that it probably read *Catholica doctrina duodecim apostolorum.*

[2] So codex *Sangermanensis.* See P. de Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace* (Leipzig, 1854 [reprint, Osnabrück/Wiesbaden, 1967]), p. 1.

F. Nau,[3] M. D. Gibson,[4] H. Achelis and J. Flemming,[5] and F. X. Funk[6] interpret this Syriac title as meaning, "The Didascalia, that is/or, the Catholic Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Holy Disciples of our Savior." They understand the adjective *qtwlyq'* ("Catholic") as intended to modify the noun *mlpnwt'* ("Teaching") and, consequently, the phrase *'wkyt mlpnwt' qtwlyq' dtr'sr šlyh' wtlmyd' qdyš' dprwqn* ("that is/or, the Catholic Teaching of the Apostles and Holy Disciples of our Savior") as intended to modify the noun *dydsqly'* ("Didascalia"). They also understand the adjective *qdyš'* ("Holy") as intended to modify *tlmyd'* ("Disciples") alone.

Connolly,[7] on the other hand, interprets the Syriac title as meaning, "The Catholic Didascalia (that is, Teaching) of the Twelve Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Savior." He understands the adjective *qtwlyq'* ("Catholic") as intended to modify the noun *dydsqly'* ("Didascalia") and, consequently, the phrase *'wkyt mlpnwt'* ("that is, Teaching") as intended to explain (with an indigenous Syriac term, *mlpnwt'* ["teaching"] the meaning of the transliterated Greek term *dydsqly'* = διδασκαλία ("Didascalia"). Futhermore, he understands the adjective *qdyš'* ("Holy") as intended to modify both the noun *šlyh'* ("Apostles") and the noun *tlmyd'* ("Disciples").

I am persuaded that Connolly is correct when he contends that the adjective *qtwlyq'* ("Catholic") was intended by the Syriac translator to modify the noun *dydsqly'* ("Didascalia"), and not the noun *mlpnwt'* ("Teaching"). I would conjecture that

[3] *La Didascalie, c'est-à-dire l'Enseignement catholique des douze Apôtres et des saints Disciples de notre Sauveur traduite du Syriaque pour la première fois, ALCS,* 1 (Paris, 1902), p. 1.

[4] *The Didascalia Apostolorum in English: Translated from the Syriac, HS,* 2 (London, 1903), p. 2.

[5] *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts,* 2: *Die syrische Didaskalia, TU,* n.f., 10.2 (Leipzig, 1904), p. 1.

[6] *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905 [reprint, Paderborn, 1964]), 1: 2.

[7] *Didascalia Apostolorum: The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments with an Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, 1929 [reprint, Oxford, 1969]), p. xxviii.

his Greek exemplar read simply καθολικὴ διδασκαλία ("Catholic Didascalia"). I am also persuaded that he is correct when he contends that the expression *'wkyt mlpnwt'* ("that is Teaching") was intended by the Syriac translator as a parenthetical note to explain (with an indigenous Syriac term) the meaning of the transliterated Greek term *dydsqly'* ("Didascalia"). I am not persuaded, however, that he is correct when he argues that the adjective *qdyš'* ("Holy") was intended by the Syriac translator to modify the noun *šlyḥ'* ("Apostles") and the noun *tlmyd'* ("Disciples"). I would conjecture that his Greek exemplar read simply τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ("of the Twelve Disciples") (which he translated with *dtr'sr šlyḥ'* ["of the Twelve Disciples"]) and that he himself added the further modifying phrase *wtlmyd' qdyš' dprwqn* ("and the Holy Disciples of our Savior").

I base these conjectures on the following evidence:

1. With respect to the formulation καθολικὴ διδασκαλία = *dydsqly' qtwlyq'* ("Catholic Didascalia"), it should be noted (a) that on three occasions within the document itself (*Didasc.* 6. 12. 1 f.; 6. 13. 1; and 6. 14. 11), the author refers to his work as *"this Catholic Didascalia"*: ([i] "When therefore the entire church was in peril [on account of heresy] we, the twelve apostles [*tr'sr šlyḥ'* = *duodecim apostoli* = δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι], gathered at Jerusalem and conferred on what should be done. And it seemed good to us [we were all of one mind] to write *this Catholic Didascalia [dydsqly' qtwlyq'* = *catholicam doctrinam* = καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν*] for your confirmation [*Didasc.* 6. 12. 1 f.][8] . . . [ii] and we remained in Jerusalem for some days conferring concerning the common good with the aim of rectifying [the situation], and, at the same time we wrote *this Catholic Didascalia [dydsqly' qtwlyq'* = *catholicam doctrinam* = καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν*] *[Didasc.* 6. 13. 1][9] . . . [iii] and

[8] See Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 102, l. 7 (for the Syriac text), and Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum*, p. 73, ll. 20-21 (for the Latin text).
[9] See Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 104, l. 28 (for the Syriac text), and Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum*, p. 74, l. 8 (for the Latin text).

we have left *this Catholic Didascalia* [*dydsqly' qtwlyq'* =
catholicam doctrinam =καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν], worthily
and justly, as a memorandum of the confirmation for the believers
[*Didasc.* 6. 14. 11]),[10] and (b) that all that remains of the original
title of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, as preserved in the rubric
which introduces the first "book" of the Greek *Constitutiones
Apostolorum*, is the formulation καθολικὴ διδασκαλία
("Catholic Didascalia").[11]

2. With respect to the formulation τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων
= *dtr'sr šlyh'* ("of the Twelve Apostles"), it should be noted
(a) that within the document itself (*Didasc.* 6. 12. 1 f.) the
author implies that his work was composed by "the Twelve
Apostles" without any further qualification such as "and the Holy
Disciples of our Savior," and (b) that several other comparable
Christian documents of the early church are similarly titled (so,
for example, Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων [the title of
the *Didache* as given in the index of codex *Hierosolymitanus*);[12]
Διατάξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων [the title of a work (probably a
"revised" and "expanded" form of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*
and the "immediate" basis of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*)[13]
cited by Epiphanius];[14] and Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων
[probably the original title of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*]).[15]

I conjecture that the original Greek title, if it is preserved at
all in the translations and paraphrases of the *Didascalia*, proba-
bly read Καθολικὴ διδασκαλία τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων
("The Catholic Didascalia of the Twelve Apostles").

[10] See Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 106, 1. 28 (for the Syriac text),
and Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum*, p. 78, 11. 7-8 (for the Latin text).

[11] See Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1: 3.

[12] See F. X. Funk and K. Bihlmeyer, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, SAKDQ,
2. 1. 1 (Tübingen, 1956), p. 1.

[13] See Bartlet, *Church-Life and Church-Order*, pp. 93-96, 148, 151.

[14] *Panarion*, 70. 10-12; 70. 6; 80. 7. See K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Werke*, 3:
Panarion, GCS, 37 (Leipzig, 1915ff.), 70. 10-12; 70. 6; 80. 7.

[15] See Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1: 3.

THE INTELLECT-WILL PROBLEM IN THE THOUGHT
OF SOME NORTHERN RENAISSANCE HUMANISTS:
COLET, ERASMUS, AND MONTAIGNE

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In an earlier essay I have dealt with the intellect-will problem in the thought of Nicholas of Cusa.[1] In the present article I will treat the same question in the thought of three other Northern-Renaissance humanists: Colet, Erasmus, and Montaigne. Finally in my "Summary and Conclusion" at the end of this essay, I shall endeavor to draw some comparisons and contrasts covering all four of the men.

1. John Colet

Colet's View of Man's Nature

John Colet (d. 1519), perhaps most famous as an English educator in Oxford and London, adhered to the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, involving inherited guilt and universal human depravity.[2] When Adam sinned the whole race sinned so that his descendants were born with depraved natures and perverted intellects and wills, subject to the sentence of eternal death. Leland Miles suggests that Colet argued for a tendency to evil in fallen man with no "absolute obliteration of free will."[3] Ernest Hunt quotes Colet to prove that his concept involved total depravity of reason and will in relation to spiritual matters:

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[1] See *AUSS* 12 (July 1974): 83-93. The introductory section in that earlier essay (pp. 83-84) outlines more specifically the particular problem treated in both articles, and it may therefore be useful to reread that section as an introduction to the material being presented now.

[2] Leland Miles, *John Colet and the Platonic Tradition* (La Salle, Ill., 1961), pp. 88-89.

[3] Ibid.

His fall is total: after the Fall "man had no whole and undefiled nature, no unclouded reason, no upright will. Whatever men did among themselves, was foolish and wicked." The whole of humanity has been corrupted by the Fall; the sequel of Adam's primal sin was "one long course of downfall, stumbling, error, and deception amongst men"; man was unable to "establish anything sure, anything holy, anything wholesome, anything to please God or benefit mankind"; the life, laws, customs, and deeds of mankind were polluted and foul.[4]

In *An Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, Colet describes man as comprising "a sentient body" and a soul or "inner man."[5] Because of man's fallen condition the body, with its passions and desires, is in complete control of the soul. "From its violence and tyranny the soul, that is, the poor inner man, being weak and powerless by reason of Adam's unhappy fall, has been incapable, with all its efforts, of releasing and liberating itself."[6] The soul consists of two parts: intelligence or heat, and will or light.[7] The "most excellent" part of the soul is the intellect.[8] In the absence of divine aid the will is unable to assume dominance over the clamorings of the body, and the intellect is unable to grasp any worthwhile knowledge of God.

Colet's teaching of the bondage of the will before justification is based on the doctrine of single predestination (by contrast with double predestination). The sins of men are foreknown by God, but not predetermined by him. In respect to the damned, God's foreknowledge is distinct from his predetermination, so that he is in no way responsible for evil.[9] Colet did not assert, as Luther did, that all things, whether good or evil, happen of necessity.[10] Rather, he urged that "God's foreknowledge and

[4] Ernest William Hunt, *Dean Colet and His Theology* (London, 1956), p. 11.
[5] John Colet, *An Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, trans. J. H. Lupton (Farnborough, Hants., Eng., 1873, 1965), p. 16. Hereinafter referred to as Colet, *Romans*.
[6] Ibid., p. 17.
[7] Ibid., p. 72.
[8] Ibid., p. 29.
[9] Ibid., p. 5.
[10] Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, trans. J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston (London, 1957), pp. 80-81.

truth" are not "the cause of sin being committed; nor is a sin, though foreknown, in any degree the cause of God's fore-knowledge appearing true."[11] Unregenerate men have no power to choose goodness, much less to perform it; but they are, nonetheless, totally responsible for their depravity and ultimate ruin.

In the case of the elect, on the other hand, Colet equates God's foreknowledge with his foreordination.[12] The decision to deliver them from bondage to the sentient body, so that the soul (intellect and will) might henceforth rule and dictate behavior consistent with its will, was an arbitrary one made by God before Creation. Those alone can come to God whom he calls, and these are the ones "whom he has foreordained, purposed, promised, elected and predestinated."[13] "For what he has determined and promised in the future, depends not on the will of men, but on his own power and choice."[14] Those whom God has thus chosen cannot resist his grace.[15] Colet defines grace as "divine mercy," the love which is infused into man by the Holy Spirit so that men will love him in return.[16] Colet's position is simply that apart from grace man has no free will either in the sense of power to choose holiness or in the sense of capacity to implement choice. A few years later Luther was to enunciate the same doctrine.

The man whose will is thus bound was described by Colet in Neo-Platonic terms as the victim of "multiplicity." He is enslaved by the multiple urges of his fleshly self. Justification was defined by Colet as reconciliation with God which renders possible a con-solidation in "unity."[17] The three steps in restoration to unity are hope, faith, and love (in that order). Hope engenders purifica-tion, unity, existence, and power; faith results in light, intellect,

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[11] Colet, *Romans*, p. 5.
[12] Ibid., pp. 27, 32, 34, 37-38.
[13] Ibid., p. 37.
[14] Ibid., p. 38.
[15] Ibid., p. 10; Miles, p. 92.
[16] Miles, p. 92.
[17] Hunt, pp. 110-111.

and knowledge; and love motivates heart, will, and goodness.[18] The establishment of these three qualities in the soul results in man's restoration to his genuinely authentic selfhood.

> We may conclude therefore, that by hope we have existence; by faith, knowledge; and by love, goodness; and that in these three consist the life and growth of the soul, whereby it lives, and has being, knowledge, and love of God; whereby it stands, and preserves and sustains itself; whereby also it reigns—in the body and binds it in obedience to itself; whereby, in a word, the whole man is good, beautiful, and happy.[19]

Miles traces the epistemological tradition by which purification (hope) was a prelude to knowledge (faith). Plato, Paul, Augustine, and Dionysius substantially agree that the first infused grace produces purification.[20] To Colet, the knowledge which results from faith is beyond natural reason. It is a mystical knowledge, "a kind of light infused into the soul of man from the divine sun, by which the heavenly verities are known to be revealed without uncertainty or doubt; and it as far excels the light of reason, as certainty does uncertainty."[21] This mystic knowledge, resulting from union with the divine, is the only true wisdom, as far as Colet is concerned. It can be "received and delivered by those who were utterly devoid of the dark wisdom that consists in human reason."[22] It is wisdom "only from God in Christ."[23]

Colet and Philosophy

Despite Colet's insistence that authentic knowledge and wisdom are available only to the believer who has entered into a mystic union with God's Son, he recognizes that the other two sources

[18] Colet, *Romans*, p. 62; cf. Sears Jayne, *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino* (London, 1963), p. 65.

[19] Colet, *Romans*, p. 62.

[20] Miles, pp. 124-126.

[21] Ibid., p. 130.

[22] John Colet, *An Exposition of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians*, trans. J. H. Lupton (Farnborough, Hants., Eng., 1874, 1965), p. 19. Hereinafter referred to as Colet, *Corinthians*.

[23] Ibid., p. 11.

of knowledge identified by Neo-Platonism are valid, even if to
a much lesser degree. "Men are taught by God in three ways . . .
by his sensible creation, by his spiritual and angelic creation;
and by His Son."[24] Even though he rejected the natural theology
of the scholastics, Colet was prepared to concede that the visible
universe is a source of very limited understanding of ultimate
truth and wisdom.[25] According to Miles, Colet's authorities for this
were Paul (Rom 1:20) and Plato (Laws 12:967, 968).

It is true that Colet regarded the Bible as the one ultimate
standard of truth.[26] In this he was in accord with the 16th-century
Reformers. Eugene F. Rice argues that Colet entirely repudiated
philosophy as a source of truth.[27] Rice refers to the three positions
on the question of faith and reason outlined by Wolfson.[28] First
is the double-faith theory in which true faith is acceptance of
Scripture with or without the assistance of philosophy. Second
is the single-faith theory by which a rational approach to
Scripture utilizes the aid of philosophy. Third is the authoritarian
single-faith theory which requires acceptance of Scripture without
any help from philosophy. Rice is convinced that Colet adhered
to the single-faith theory of the authoritarian variety, Hunt agrees:

> The Bible held the whole truth. That was Colet's conviction.
> "In the choice and well-stored table of Holy Scripture all things
> are contained that belong to the truth." So convinced was he
> of the all-sufficiency of the Bible that he discouraged the use of
> pagan authors as an aid to the understanding of it. "Now if any
> should say, as is often said, that reading pagan authors helps us to
> understand the Holy Scriptures, let them consider whether the
> fact of placing such reliance on them does not make them
> an obstacle to such understanding. In so doing you distrust your
> ability to understand the Scriptures by grace alone and prayer,
> and by the aid of Christ and of faith." And so he urges that "those

[24] Miles, p. 122

[25] Ibid., pp. 122-123, 143.

[26] Hunt, p. 62.

[27] Eugene F. Rice, "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural,"
HTR 45 (July 1952): 152.

[28] Ibid.

books alone ought to be read in which there is a salutary flavour
of Christ; in which Christ is set forth for us to feed upon."[29]

Miles, Cassirer, and Jayne disagree with Rice, Hunt, and Hyma
on this question of Colet's willingness (or unwillingness) to use
philosophy as a handmaiden to theology. Miles and Cassirer
refer to Colet's opinion that one who bears the true spirit of
Christ is far more a Christian than one who has never heard of
him.[30] Miles cites Colet's statement in his exposition of Romans:
"The Gentiles had for their guidance philosophers who were
taught by observation of nature; the Jews had prophets who were
taught by the angels; and lastly we Christians have Apostles,
who were *fully taught* by Jesus."[31] Miles is convinced that Colet
recognized various means used by God throughout history to
reveal truth. Colet rejected Ficino's and Cusa's universalism,
staunchly maintaining that God's media of revelation are distinctly
superior. Only Christians can receive the "full truth." But "Colet
intermittently takes the position to which Augustine finally came,
namely, that Greek (and Jewish) philosophy, while inferior, con-
tain some degree of truth, and can be accepted and used wherever
they are verified by, or at least do not conflict with, Christian
authority."[32] Hence Miles sees Colet as standing somewhere
between Tertullian's unequivocal rejection of philosophy and
the radical humanism of the Florentine Neo-Platonists.[33] This
is tantamount to placing Colet, on this question, squarely within
the Clementine-Augustinian tradition.

Jayne bolsters Miles' argument.[34] His study of Colet's annota-
tions in the margins of Ficino's *Epistolae* has emphasized that
Colet was interested in Platonism mainly in the years at Oxford.
He found it a fruitful source of material for his theological lectures

[29] Hunt, p. 102.
[30] Miles, p. 23; Ernst Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy* (New York, 1963), p. 77; Colet, *Romans,* pp. 87-88.
[31] Ibid., citing Colet, *Romans.*
[32] Ibid., p. 24.
[33] Ibid., p. 30.
[34] Jayne, pp. 77-78.

on the Bible. Although he rejected Ficino's speculative, intellectual approach, he incorporated many Platonic and Neo-Platonic features into his lectures. Insofar as Platonism seemed consistent with Paul, Colet used it even though in certain key issues there was, in fact, a significant contradiction between the two sources. Jayne pertinently remarks, "Colet would obviously not have revived a school if he had not believed that moral training involves intellectual discipline."[35]

Was Colet a Humanist?

Rice takes great pains to convince us that John Colet was not a humanist.[36] He presents two main arguments. First Colet held the traditional medieval Augustinian concept of wisdom as divine knowledge, rather than the classical view of wisdom as natural human perfection, an active commitment of virtue. It was towards this latter definition that Renaissance humanism tended. Second, Colet accepted only revelation as the means of achieving wisdom, whereas the Renaissance humanists exalted reason as its primary source. In regard to the first point, it is interesting to consider the classical definitions of wisdom which Rice gives in his book *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom.* Plato, for example, said that wisdom was a contemplation of eternal, immutable, and intelligible Ideas; and Aristotle defined wisdom as a knowledge of the first causes and principles of things and called it a "divine science."[37] Rice prefers to accept as *the* classical definition of wisdom that held by Cicero and Seneca: a moral virtue which is an imitation of reason and nature. This concept Charron accepted, and hence he was a true Renaissance humanist. It seems not inappropriate to point out that if we were to accept the definition of wisdom given by the two most influential classical philosophers, Colet would have to be regarded as considerably more a humanist than Charron.

[35] Ibid., p. 78.
[36] Rice, "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural," p. 142; cf. Eugene F. Rice, *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 19-29.
[37] Rice, *Renaissance Idea of Wisdom,* p. 1.

Sears Jayne rejects Rice's contention that Colet's concept of wisdom was essentially contemplative and, therefore, subversive of the Renaissance human, ethical, and moral bias.[38] Colet, he says, was a voluntarist. His concern was moral action and ethical reform. Whereas Ficino emphasized the intellectual faculty of the soul, Colet emphasized its moral faculty.[39] It was the good works which the regenerated man could do through the power of the Holy Spirit that Colet consistently extolled.[40] If Rice should object that Renaissance humanism exalted the efficiency of man's free will in the ethical enterprise, by contrast with Colet's annihilation of free will, the answer could be given that Colet considered the *regenerated* will as decidedly effective.[41] The doctrine of faith formed by love, to which Colet gave credence, allowed for a certain distinct autonomy of will after justification.

Rice's second suggestion, that true Renaissance humanism employed human reason as the primary means of attaining wisdom, in contrast to Colet's reliance upon revelation, would appear to be a serious exaggeration.[42] It is not entirely true, for example, as Rice says, that "for Erasmus the insights of wisdom are natural products of the human reason."[43] As we shall see in the next section, Erasmus too had considerable respect for revelation as a source of wisdom. As indicated above, Colet did give some credence to the insights of philosophy. If a humanist must be one who accepts only the presumed classical means of achieving wisdom, i.e., natural reason, there can be no such thing as Christian humanism. We would be in the invidious position of having to exclude such great Christian scholars as Erasmus and Melanchthon from the humanist camp.

Perhaps it is more correct to define a humanist as one who

[38] Jayne, pp. 70-73.
[39] Ibid., p. 73.
[40] Colet, *Corinthians*, pp. 32, 129, 139-140, 142-143.
[41] Rice, "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural," p. 148.
[42] Ibid., pp. 145, 147.
[43] Ibid., p. 146.

acknowledged some place for human intellect and reason in the study of human behavior and its causes, and sometimes in the critical study of Christian sources (Scripture, the Fathers, philosophy), but not in the dialectical investigation of first causes and the nature of absolute truth. If this is correct, both the secularists and the revelationists can be included. Colet does not completely divest human intellect of insight into matters human. Nor does he regard philosophy as completely devoid of truth consistent with the Christian message. He does not, however, go so far as Luther, who regarded philosophy as decidedly harmful and advised against its use.[44] Hence we may justifiably regard Colet as a humanist.

2. Erasmus of Rotterdam

In his article "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural," Rice describes the gap between Colet's theology and Erasmus' humanism as similar to that between Erasmus and Luther.[45] He says that the medieval Augustinian tradition, of which Colet was a part, differs from humanism in that it continued to define *sapientia* in terms of Christian revelation. "It is precisely this disassociation of wisdom and revelation which is the novel element in the humanist conception of sapientia."[46] Hence the humanist definition of wisdom is closer to the Ciceronian. Rice presents Erasmus and Conrad Celtis as typical representatives of the trend. They wished to invest wisdom with much of its old ethical and scientific meaning. For Celtis *sapientia* involves "a love of astronomical and physical investigation."[47] Rice fails to indicate the distinction between Celtis and Erasmus on the question of science. Speaking of Erasmus, Preserved Smith explains:

[44] Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia, 1963, 1966), pp. 4, 9-11; cf. William M. Landeen, *Martin Luther's Religious Thought* (Mountain View, California, 1971), p. 89.

[45] Rice, "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural," pp. 141-163.

[46] Ibid., p. 145.

[47] Ibid.

> Then, again, he had no interest in science. While Leonardo
> was experimenting in anatomy and physics and accumulating
> facts about geology and astronomy, while Copernicus was working
> out the most momentous discovery that has ever dawned upon
> the human mind, while Vives, who was well known to Erasmus,
> was stating that men should no longer rely on authority but
> should look at nature for themselves, the attitude of Erasmus
> was intensely conservative. Like Socrates, he not only did not
> care for natural science, he actively disliked it as leading men's
> thoughts away from the more important problems of moral
> philosophy.[48]

Rice indicates that Erasmus shared Celtis' ethical concept of wisdom. This is the emphasis, he says, in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani.*[49] Even though Rice recognizes that Erasmus found in Christ the ultimate source of wisdom, it was wisdom resulting from an imitation of his virtues rather than from acceptance of revelation. "For Erasmus the insights of wisdom are natural products of the human reason."[50] Erasmus promised immortality to the follower of Ciceronian ethics.[51] He emphasized antique virtue as sufficient for salvation. "The rigid identification of *sapientia* with revelation gradually gives way to a *prisca sapientia* whose primary source is the natural reason of the classical moralists. Colet classified wisdom under faith and illumination; Erasmus and Celtis under reason and humanitas."[52]

In order to test the validity of Rice's assertions we need to investigate further the questions he discusses. First, what was Erasmus' concept of wisdom? Was it wholly human and ethical or was there a revelational element? Second, what were the means emphasized by Erasmus, with which man might achieve wisdom? Did all depend on human intellect and will or was there a distinctly divine ingredient?

[48] Preserved Smith, *Erasmus: A Study of His Life, Ideals, and Place in History* (New York, 1923, 1962), p. 35.

[49] Rice, "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural," p. 145.

[50] Ibid., p. 146.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., p. 147.

Erasmus' Concept of Wisdom; the "Philosophia Christi"

According to Lewis W. Spitz, even though Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* at times sounds like Ovid and Cicero, who saw in nature and reason the source of good ethical conduct, the more predominant motif is, in fact, the true *sapientia* "which comes from above and which can best be learned from the Wisdom incarnate. Erasmus does not stand on naturalistic ground, antique or modern."[53] Similar ambivalence is evident in Erasmus' colloquy, "The Epicurean." The best things in life are enjoyed to the full by the religious man. Indeed, Christ was the greatest philosopher and the leading Epicurean. Nevertheless, Christian piety is linked with the transcendent God, and union with him, rendering possible release from the limitations of nature, is man's highest good.[54]

There is an undoubted ethical emphasis in the *Enchiridion*. The virtue of the Stoics and the probity of the Christians are spoken of as wisdom.[55] But the ultimate revelational nature of wisdom is very much in evidence.

> On the other hand, the author of wisdom—rather, Wisdom itself—is Christ Jesus, who is the true light, the only light dispelling the light of worldly folly; the radiance of His Father's glory who, according to Paul, was made our wisdom when He became the redemption and justification for us who have been reborn in Him . . . and following His example, we can overcome our enemy, wickedness, if only we are wise in Him, in whom we shall conquer. . . . For, as Paul says, in the eyes of God there is no more profound folly than worldly wisdom: it must be unlearned by one who wishes to be truly wise.[56]

Erasmus worked for the rebirth of letters (*renascentes litterae*), and a restitution of Christianity (*restitutio Christianismi*).[57]

[53] Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 207-208.

[54] Ibid., pp. 209-210.

[55] Raymond Himelick, trans., *The Enchiridion of Erasmus* (Bloomington, Ind., 1963), p. 59.

[56] Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[57] Spitz, pp. 203-204.

Christianity could be restored only by attention to its earliest literary sources. In the preface to his Greek New Testament he urged renewed attention to the commandments of the Founder of the Faith, to evangelical and apostolic sources.[58] The reform which he had in mind involved a critical use of the Scriptures, Church Fathers, and *bonae litterae*.[59] The term he gave to the resultant world-view was "philosophia Christi." Both Agricola and Abelard had used the term before him. It described an eclectic Christian philosophy of the kind advocated by Justin Martyr who in the 2d century A.D. wrote his two apologies and the *Dialogue with Trypho*.[60] Erasmus thought it much worse for a Christian to be ignorant of Christ's teaching than for Aristotelians to be ill-informed as to the true teachings of Aristotle. The Stoics, Epicureans, Socrates, and Aristotle taught truths which were later reiterated by Christ; but he taught them best, and perfectly practised what he preached. J. Huizinga concludes that Erasmus' classicism "only serves him as a form, and from antiquity he only chooses those elements which in ethical tendency are in conformity with his Christian ideal."[61]

The Means of Achieving Wisdom

It is not true, in Smith's estimation, that there was no mystical ingredient in the piety of Erasmus, that it was all ethical.[62] The influence of the Brethren of the Common Life stayed with him and imparted a recognition of the role of the spirit. From the Florentine Platonic Academy Erasmus derived much of his respect for Greek philosophy and for the right of reason.[63] His religion became a life (as distinct from a creed) in which

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Johann Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation* (New York, 1924, 1957).

[62] Smith, pp. 52-53.

[63] Ibid.

revelation and reason were linked in somewhat tenuous co-existence.[64]

Although Erasmus sometimes divided man into the threefold division of body, soul, and spirit, usually he spoke of only the two components, body and spirit.[65] The two main powers of the spirit were understanding and will. He related faith to understanding and love to will. Faith was a "cognitive principle for spiritual truths."[66] Understanding and knowledge are essential to faith. Faith is not primarily an existential experience for Erasmus. This is why in the *Enchridion* he offers knowledge as one of the two vital weapons for the Christian. The other is prayer.[67] The three sources of knowledge which he stressed are Scripture, the early-church Fathers, and the philosophers.

For Erasmus, the Scriptures were paramount as the source of truth.[68] His exegetical method called for the use of intellect and reason. It was the historical-grammatical method, which employs both literary and textual criticism. His work on the Greek text of the New Testament and the Greek and Latin Fathers earned him the reputation of being a founder of modern textual criticism. But he favored the allegorical method of interpretation by which hidden meanings are looked for beneath the superficial and the literal.[69]

In respect to philosophy, Erasmus rejected Scholasticism out of hand. In his *Ratio verae theologiae*, he contrasts the theology of the scholastics with that of Origen, Basil, and Jerome.[70] The older theology he likens to a golden river, the scholastic to a small rivulet which has been polluted. On the other hand, pagan authors should be studied. The philosophy of the Greeks com-

[64] Ibid.

[65] Roland H. Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (New York, 1969), pp. 60-61.

[66] Spitz, pp. 231-232.

[67] Himelick, pp. 47-48.

[68] John C. Olin, ed., *Luther, Erasmus and the Reformation: a Catholic-Protestant Reappraisal* (New York, 1969), p. 102.

[69] Himelick, p. 53.

[70] Ibid., p. 213. (See Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, 5:82.)

prised a kind of natural gospel.[71] The classics were Erasmus' source for his conception of *humanitas* as virtue, morality, and integrity in the Roman sense.[72] In fact, he was prepared to credit some of the classical writers with a measure of inspiration. In the colloquy, "The Godly Feast," Erasmus puts these words into the mouth of Eusebius:

> On the contrary, whatever is devout and contributes to good morals should not be called profane. Of course, Sacred Scripture is the basic authority in everything; yet I sometimes run across ancient sayings or pagan writings—even the poets'—so purely and reverently expressed, and so inspired, that I can't help believing their authors' hearts were moved by some divine power. And perhaps the spirit of Christ is more widespread than we understand, and the company of saints includes many not in our calendar. Speaking frankly among friends, I can't read Cicero's *De senectute, De amicitia, De officiis, De Tusculanis quaestionibus* without sometimes kissing the book and blessing that pure heart, divinely inspired as it was.[73]

The real point seems to be, not that Erasmus attempted to separate faith and reason, as Rice would have us believe, but that he sought to draw reason into the realm of faith, in the sense that he used philosophy, not as a handmaiden of theology, but as a rational contributor to that instructed faith which he saw as vital to the good life.

Erasmus' Concept of the Will

In his *Discourse on Free Will* (1524), Erasmus defended two main theses: (1) that the doctrine of absolute necessity in all happenings is false, and (2) that the free will of man can accomplish something. Grace is essential, but man's will is free to choose the good and to co-operate with grace. In relation to the first point, Erasmus rejected the teachings of Colet and Luther on the question of predestination. Colet, as we have seen, identified or "coalesced" God's foreknowledge and predestination

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[71] Smith, p. 34.

[72] Spitz, p. 211.

[73] Erasmus, *Ten Colloquies*, trans. Craig R. Thompson (New York, 1957), p. 155.

in the case of the saved. Both Colet and Luther, with some shade
of difference, looked upon the will of the justified man as
not being the cause of his justification; rather, God's arbitrary
predetermination was the cause. Erasmus saw God's foreknowl-
edge as compatible with human freedom of choice. "Fore-
knowledge," he said, "does not cause what is to take place. Even
we know many things which will be happening. They will not
happen because we know them, but vice versa."[74] Bainton brands
this argument as specious:

> There can be sure foreknowledge only of that which is
> definitely fixed. A man can, of course, foresee that which he has not
> foreordained, but if there is only one God, there is no other on
> whom to lay the responsibility for the predetermination. A single
> omnipotent and omniscient God can foreknow only what He has
> foreordained. Luther insisted on this squarely. And he was
> convinced that he understood the mind of Paul.[75]

Perhaps Erasmus was more Pauline than Bainton suggests. In
Rom 8:29, 30 predestination of those "to be conformed to the
image of his Son" comes after foreknowledge, and the call comes
after the predestination. In Rom 9, the crucial chapter over
which Luther and Erasmus argued so bitterly, God is not
spoken of as predetermining the faith of the spiritual seed of
Abraham, but rather the fulfillment of the promise to those
foreknown to have faith. It would seem highly possible that an
omnipotent and omniscient God could foreordain that his human
creatures should have freedom of choice. Of course, if they chose
evil, God could be blamed for granting them such freedom. But
since he exercised his omnipotence to the extent of refraining
from coercion in either direction, man is responsible for the
results of his own choice.

This was precisely Erasmus' point. After the Fall and before
the gift of special grace, human reason, intellect, and will were

[74] Ernst F. Winter, trans. & ed., *Erasmus-Luther Discourse on Free Will*
(New York, 1961), p. 49.

[75] Bainton, p. 190.

weak but not entirely extinct.[76] By free will before grace, Erasmus meant freedom to choose either good or evil.[77] Whether he credited man's will with the capacity to implement the choice before grace is a moot point. He claimed that "they had a will tending to moral good, but incapable of eternal salvation, unless grace be added through faith."[78] Again and again he asserted man's incapacity to perform good works apart from grace.[79] This rather tends to weaken respect for his favorite classical authors who were not Christians. Hence he adds:

> The fact remains that there have been philosophers who possessed some knowledge of God, and hence perhaps also some trust and love of God, and did not act solely out of vainglory's sake, but rather out of love of virtue and goodness, which, they taught, was to be loved for no other reason but that it is good.[80]

Erasmus told Thomas More that if it were not for Paul's authority to the contrary, he would have been inclined to believe that man by his natural powers could earn the lesser merit (*meritum de congruo*).

After the reception of grace, Erasmus thought, reason is restored and will is strengthened to cooperate.[81] "Thus faith heals our reason which has suffered through sin, and charity helps our weakened will to act."[82] By means of this "operative" grace man is capable of performing ethically good works which render him an eligible applicant for "ultimate" grace by which sin is finally and irrevocably eradicated.[83] The recipients of "operative" grace are, therefore, able to "trust in their own works."[84] Here is the semi-Pelagian element in Erasmus' theology.

[76] Winter, p. 22.
[77] Ibid., pp. 22-23, 25-26, 29-30.
[78] Ibid., p. 24.
[79] Ibid., pp. 22-24.
[80] Ibid., p. 28.
[81] Bainton, pp. 188-189.
[82] Winter, p. 24.
[83] Ibid., p. 29.
[84] Ibid., p. 45.

After reception of "operative" grace, man has now both the
freedom of choice and a certain capacity to earn merit by the
implementation of the choice. Colet substantially agreed. Luther
vehemently disagreed, recognizing neither free choice nor an
independent power of cooperation with grace. Significantly,
Melanchthon rejected predestination and took a position some-
where between Erasmus and Luther on the question of the will.[85]
He agreed with Erasmus that before grace man has freedom to
choose. The power to implement the choice is available only
after grace, but the works are works of faith, not works of
meritorious cooperation. On this latter point he agreed with
Luther against Erasmus. Perhaps, in the final analysis, Melanch-
thon can be regarded as more Pauline than Colet, Luther, or
Erasmus.

It is strikingly evident that Erasmus did not regard the primary
sources of wisdom as natural reason, the classical moralists, and
the autonomous exercise of the will in the direction of ethical
goodness—despite Rice's insistence to the contrary. Nor did
Erasmus promise immortality to the follower of Ciceronian
ethics. In fact, revelation and grace are very basic to the
Erasmian system of thought. If Rice's definition of a humanist
were correct, Erasmus would not qualify.

3. Montaigne

Montaigne as a Humanist

Philip P. Hallie furnishes us with a definition of a humanist
which "fits Montaigne like a glove" but which, when applied to
the other personalities discussed in this essay and my previous
one, fits only where it touches.[86] The humanists were those
scholars concerned with grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and
moral philosophy. The only "philosophy" of the humanists was

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[85] Clyde Leonard Manschreck, *Melanchthon the Quiet Reformer* (New York,
1958), pp. xiii, 60-63.

[86] Philip P. Hallie, *The Scar of Montaigne: an Essay in Personal Philosophy*
(Middletown, 1966), pp. 9-10.

moral philosophy. Their special interest did not include logic, the natural sciences, metaphysics, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, law, and theology. "A humanist is somebody more interested (via his interest in antiquity) in ways of using language and of living than he is in knowledge of the conclusions of such fields as physics, mathematics, or theology."[87] The humanists rejected the Scholastic quest for God. "They were not interested in what was external to man, nor were they interested in the externals of men."[88] They sought to understand "the ways men encounter various subjects, the ways they engage in their various occupations, the ways they live in their various stations."[89]

Hallie offers Erasmus, along with Montaigne, as a prime example of his definition. He spares us Rice's emphasis on autonomous reason as the humanist means of achieving wisdom, presumably because this would not fit Montaigne. But his definition does not fit Cusa, Colet, or Erasmus. As we have seen, these three did not make any radical separation of the realm of faith from the realm of reason and will. There was a distinct theocentric element in the thought of Cusa, Colet, and Erasmus. "Philosophia Christi" does not fit comfortably into Hallie's definition.

On the other hand, the idea presented by Rice, that the humanists exalted man in relation to the cosmos, extolling the independent potential of his intellectual and voluntarist powers, does not apply to Montaigne. He deemphasized man's ascendancy in the universe, taking the Skeptic view that he is not the ruler over the rest of creation but is on "the same footing" as the animals.[90] As an orthodox Skeptic following the lead of Sextus Empiricus, Montaigne valued life according to nature.[91] By "nature" he did not mean the laws of nature discovered by

[87] Ibid., p. 10.
[88] Ibid., 15.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., p. 31.
[91] Ibid., pp. 32, 49.

human reason alone. He meant "the passions . . . whereby hunger drives us to food and thirst to drink."[92] In other words, "nature" has reference to the drives which are characteristically experienced by both men and animals.

> Moreover, what sort of faculty of ours do we not recognize in the actions of the animals? Is there a society regulated with more order, diversified into more charges and functions, and more consistently maintained, than that of the honeybees? Can we imagine so orderly an arrangement of actions and occupations as this to be conducted without reason and foresight?"[93]

This is a salient motif in the "Apology of Raymond Sebond." If Colet demoted human reason by subordinating it to grace, Montaigne devalued it by asserting its inability to arrive at any certain truth whether in the philosophical or the natural realm. Rice's contention that for the humanist "the insights of wisdom are natural products of the human reason,"[94] excludes Montaigne from the humanist fraternity. On the other hand, the definition of a humanist provided in this essay—as one who acknowledges some place for human intellect and reason in the study of human behavior and its causes—allows for the inclusion of Montaigne. Obviously, his reason was not dormant in the recognition of the endless variety of beliefs, customs, and standards in the world and the acceptance of the provinciality of his own mores. His point was that "we have no other test of truth and reason than the example and pattern of the opinions and customs of the country we live in."[95] Reason does have some place in his system, but not for the discovery of unequivocal truths, not as the source of wisdom.

Montaigne's Skepticism

Skepticism was a large ingredient in Montaigne's personal philosophy. He maintained that Skepticism rescues the mind

[92] Ibid., p. 32.
[93] Donald M. Frame, trans., *The Complete Essays of Montaigne* (Stanford, Cal., 1958), p. 332.
[94] Rice, "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural," p. 146.
[95] Hallie, p. 19.

from the sea of doubt and anxiety associated with the search for philosophical certitude.[96] As a Skeptic he rejected metaphysical laws as well as any concept of natural law underlying the positive laws of a nation.[97] The laws, customs and beliefs of any society he regarded as local and relative.[98] His motive for accepting the mores of his own society was expediential, not metaphysical or moral.[99] His concern was his own "health," which he defined as the psychological peace resulting from orientation to the accepted order of society, with minimal concern for any specialized knowledge of man and the cosmos.[100] But "health" was more than that. It involved toleration of other people's ideas and ways of doing things. "In fact, for him, health and the recognition of variety in the world are much the same thing."[101] This life in accordance with health is life in conformity to the "Practical Criterion."[102] Montaigne is categorized as a moderate Catholic and a "Politique" because his acceptance of the Practical Criterion rendered him tolerant of any religious or political world-view.[103] In this regard his philosophy was to "live and let live."

As a Skeptic, Montaigne rejected "Indicative Signs," defined as dialectical proofs of the Absolute, but also as hidden "substances" or "laws" or "essences."[104] "Recollective Signs," which refer to experience that relates to other parts of experience, he accepted as valid. He held that "no one claim about facts beyond experience is in the end more certain (or uncertain) than any other."[105] Indicative Signs (antitheses) could be very numerous.

[96] Ibid., p. 23.
[97] Ibid., p. 24.
[98] Ibid., p. 19.
[99] Ibid., p. 24.
[100] Ibid., p. 19.
[101] Ibid., p. 20.
[102] Ibid., p. 24.
[103] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[104] Ibid., p. 26.
[105] Ibid., p. 28.

Montaigne tolerated them all, but he dignified none of them as truth.[106]

Montaigne's philosophy implies the relativity of all scientific knowledge. He spoke of the very real possibility of Copernicus being replaced by some other astronomer who would upset his theories. Since there are no eternal guarantees of truth, fashions of thought will come and go.[107] "In short, the truth of our impressions is relative to ourselves; there may be as many different kinds of truths as there are different kinds of animals. As for the independent, essential nature of objects 'behind' those impressions these conflicting impressions and effects lead us to suspend judgment."[108]

Acceptance of religious, political and cultural custom was not a contradiction of Montaigne's subjective philosophy, but was rather a part of it. He did not put religion into one compartment of his existence and the Skeptic's life according to nature into another compartment. Religious conformity and tolerance for the sake of peace and "health" was adjustment to the real situation of life. It was not based on the conviction of the truth of religious propositions but on the practical expedient of "hunting with the pack." It was dictated by the Practical Criterion.

Since, as a Skeptic, Montaigne identified no universal truths which are valid for all men, his humanism was not likely to become the kind of educative program envisioned by Erasmus and Melanchthon. His philosophy amounts to this: Do your own thing within the context of the demands of your own society.

> . . . Montaigne ususally spoke not in terms of "us" but in terms of *me,* this particular man, with this particular name—a particular man whose particular yearnings and insights and impulses overflowed the categories or methods of any school.[109]

[106] Ibid., p. 29.
[107] Ibid., pp. 45-46.
[108] Ibid., p. 31.
[109] Ibid., p. 33.

The Apology of Raymond Sebond

The essay, the "Apology of Raymond Sebond," effectively illustrates Montaigne's understanding of the intellect-will problem. The essay was written between 1575 and 1580 as a defence of Sebond's natural theology. It is a Skeptical essay written to defend an orthodox Catholic theologian.[110] Montaigne attempts to disarm both Sebond and his opponents so as to demonstrate the weakness of human reason.

One objection to Sebond's dialectical arguments, which Montaigne regards as somewhat mild, is that matters of faith are separate from matters of reason and, therefore, Sebond's dialectical enterprise was fruitless.[111] Montaigne has two answers. First, although reason provides no ontological proof, it has considerable psychological value for the believer. It proves nothing, but bolsters the attitude of faith.[112] Second, faith cannot be separated from things human. It is always conditioned by the subject who adheres to it. Grace is never undefiled by the human recipient.[113] Otherwise, everyone would believe the same way and there would be no variety. At first sight, this seems inconsistent with Montaigne's ultimate appeal to revelation and grace.

> For to make the handful bigger than the hand, the armful bigger than the arm, and to hope to straddle more than the reach of our legs, is impossible and unnatural. Nor can man raise himself above himself and humanity; for he can see only with his own eyes, and seize only with his own grasp. He will rise, if God by exception lends him a hand; he will rise by abandoning and renouncing his own means, and letting himself be raised and uplifted by purely celestial means. It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoical virtue, to aspire to that divine and miraculous metamorphosis.[114]

What is the use of revelation and grace if there is no universally valid perception of it? Why does Montaigne talk about the divine

[110] Ibid., p. 38.
[111] Ibid., p. 40.
[112] Ibid., p. 41.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Frame, p. 457.

at all if the apprehension of it is so individualized and fragmented? He speaks elsewhere of the Fideist's simple faith in God as one of the sources of stability and peace. But in Montaigne's view this is a highly subjective experience which is culturally, psychologically, and biologically determined. Revelation in any ultimate sense is rejected. Because it is received by a particular subject, it is distorted by subjective experience. Therefore revelation, like reason, is unable to result in any certain and unvarying truth.

"He will not try to distinguish the ray of divinity from the human being who 'lodges' it in his mind; he will simply look at the whole man."[115] Since each and every individual experience is valid, we should be tolerant to all. This is different from Nicholas of Cusa's universalism because it is based on a slightly different premise. Nicholas says that there is some of the same ultimate truth in all men. Therefore a universal religion should be possible. Montaigne says that the divine ray is diffused differently in each man. Therefore religious unity is unrealistic. Tolerance is the watch-word.

Montaigne prized complete, untrammeled freedom of the will. His thought on this question was in no way determined by metaphysical or theological considerations. Freedom, however, was not of the antinomian variety. It involved easy-going conformity to customary law and the pressures of habit and tradition.[116] Although his public life made demands upon him contrary to the dictates of his free will and conscience, he attempted to fulfill his obligations to society while maintaining an unswerving loyalty to his unique authentic selfhood.[117]

4. Summary and Conclusion

The new approach to matters divine led the Northern humanists discussed in this and my previous essay to new conclusions

[115] Hallie, p. 43.
[116] Ibid., p. 118.
[117] Ibid., p. 121.

about man and his ethical capacities and responsibilities. Nicholas of Cusa asserted that natural reason cannot find out God. Intellect is "detained in ignorance" apart from grace, and will is impotent apart from Christ. But both intellect and will are activated and empowered by a mystical union with the Divine. This was no radical separation of faith and reason but a redefinition of the relationship between faith-grace and intellect-will. That Cusa respected the use of natural reason in the natural realm is demonstrated by his interest in mathematics, astronomy, and history.

John Colet made a distinction between intellect, which after reception of grace apprehends God, and that reasonable capacity by which man studies the phenomenal world. It is will in the realm of the spiritual, not will in the amoral affairs of daily life, which to Colet is in bondage apart from grace. As a voluntarist he saw regenerated will as effective in the area of morals and ethics. His system is, therefore, somewhat similar to that of Cusa. Erasmus gave a larger place to human intellect and will than did Colet and Cusa, but sought to draw reason into the area of faith by making it, along with revelation, a means to the ethically good life. Montaigne repudiated both reason and revelation as sources of unvarying truth in either the spiritual or the natural realms. Reason has psychological and homiletical value, and human will is entirely free.

Therefore none of the four writers studied fits into Rice's definition of a humanist as one who sought by means of autonomous human intellect and will the natural human virtue which Cicero valued so highly. The tentative, alternative definition suggested here is that a Renaissance humanist was one who acknowledged some place for human intellect and reason in the study of human behavior and its causes, and sometimes also in the critical study of Christian sources (Scripture, the Fathers, philosophy), but not in the dialectical investigation of first causes and the nature of absolute truth.

THE MEANING OF "LET US" IN GN 1:26

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The plural "let us" in the phrase "let us make man" in Gn 1:26 has a long history of interpretation, reaching into pre-Christian times. What does the plural "us" in this enigmatic phrase indicate? Should it be changed to the singular or does it indeed have a plural meaning? If it has a plural meaning, is its intention to express an address between gods, or between God and heavenly beings, or between God and earth or earthly elements? Is it a plural of majesty, a plural of deliberation, or a plural of fullness? These suggestions and their supporting arguments will receive critical consideration with an attempt to evaluate their cogency.

Jewish scholars produced for King Ptolemy the "corrected" version of the sacred Scriptures with the rendering "let me" in the singular.[1] Christian exegetes have left a rich history of interpretation.[2] Justin Martyr found in the plural a reference to Christ.[3] Later Irenaeus includes in the plural the Son and the Holy Spirit[4] and a similar trinitarian explanation of the expression is found in Theophilus of Antioch.[5] Tertullian includes in the plural the activity of the incarnate Word, i.e. Christ.[6] In short, in the Early Church the predominant interpretation understood the plural as expressing the trinity or triunity of God.

The First Council of Sirmium (A.D. 351) affirmed that Gn 1:26 was addressed by the Father to the Son as a distinct Person and

[1] J. Jervell, *Imago Dei* (Göttingen, 1960), p. 75.

[2] H. H. Somers, "The Riddle of a Plural (Gen 1:26): Its History in Tradition," *Folia* 9 (1955): 63-101; R. Mcl. Wilson, "The Early History of the Exegesis of Gen 1:26," *Studia Patristica* 1 (1957): 420-437.

[3] G. F. Armstrong, *Die Genesis in der alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 1962), p. 39.

[4] Armstrong, *Genesis*, p. 69.

[5] Wilson, *Studia Patristica* 1 (1957): 431-432.

[6] Armstrong, *Genesis*, pp. 127-128.

threatened excommunication for all those who denied it.[7] This trinitarian interpretation has become the traditional view but is widely questioned today even among Roman Catholic scholars.[8]

This introduction provides the background for a consideration of current views.

1. *The Mythological Interpretation*

In comparison to ancient Near Eastern parallels the suggestion has been put forth that the expression "let us" expresses the idea of counseling in a divine assembly, namely one god addresses another in preparation for the creation of man. This view has an early interpreter in J. Ph. Gabler who in 1795 suggested that here are "remnants of a Semitic polytheism."[9] This mythological interpretation has been supported by H. Gunkel[10] and is adopted by many other scholars.[11]

A number of ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies contain the idea of the creation of man as the outcome of conversations between gods. In the *Enuma elish* Marduk addresses the god Ea to reveal the plan of the creation of man "for the relief of the gods." A Sumerian text describes how Nammu, the primordial sea-goddess, urges her son Enki to "fashion servants of the gods."[12] Enki then gives instruction for man's creation. In the most important single witness to the Babylonian speculation on man's origin, the Atrahasis Epic, man is also created after conversations be-

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[7] Somers, *Folia* 9 (1955): 63-67.

[8] H. Junker, *Genesis* (Würzburg, 1949), p. 13: "The OT reader can recognize here no 'vestigium Trinitatis.' " P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Genesis* (Bonn, 1930), p. 100: "Whoever understands this verse of the trinity forgets that Gen 1 is part of the OT."

[9] *Neuer Versuch* (Altdorf, 1795), p. 36. See also his footnote in J. G. Eichhorn's *Urgeschichte* 1 (Altdorf, 1790): 217, n. 25, which he edited for publication.

[10] H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Göttingen, 1901), p. 101.

[11] A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Munich, 1953): 351 ff.; J. Hempel, *Gott, Mensch und Tier* (BZAW, 81; Berlin, 1961), p. 220; G. W. Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion* (Leiden, 1963), p. 50; S. G. F. Brandon, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1963), p. 151; and others.

[12] S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, 2d ed. (New York, 1961), p. 70.

tween a variety of gods and goddesses.[13] There is an Akkadian
text which contains the phrase "let us create mankind." We may
quote it as being the closest parallel of all known texts from
the anicient Near East:

> The banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates
> Have been established,
> What (else) shall we do?
> What (else) shall we create?
> . . . .
> Let us slay (two) Lamga gods.
> With their blood let us create mankind.
> The service of the gods be their portion,
> For all times.[14]

Gn 1:26 is said to reflect this kind of mythological picture.
Further support is sought in the OT notion of a heavenly court.[15]
Although the OT knows a heavenly court which is usually under-
stood to be made up of angelic or other created beings, this is
not identical to the notions presented in the ancient Near Eastern
myths with their conversations between gods. It is extremely un-
likely that the use of the plural in the expression "let us" in
Gn 1:26 is in any way dependent on such mythological descrip-
tions.[16] C. Westermann has recently pointed out the impossibility
that the writer of Gn 1 could have considered the plural in
terms of a conversation in a heavenly court because "he did
not know the notion of a heavenly court," and also because
"he emphasizes strongly the uniqueness of Yahweh beside which
there is no other heavenly being."[17] We can only agree with G.
von Rad who has summarized succinctly:

> Nothing is here by chance; everything must be considered care-
> fully, deliberately and precisely. It is false, to reckon here
> [Gen 1] even occasionally with archaic and half-mythological

[13] W. G. Lambert, *Atra-ḫasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford,
1969), pp. 57-61; W. L. Moran, "The Creation of Man in Atrahasis I 192-248,"
BASOR 200 (1970): 48-56.

[14] A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1963), p. 69.

[15] 1 Ki 22:19-20; Job 1:6-12; 2:1-6; 38:7.

[16] D. J. A. Clines, "The Image of God in Man," *Tyndale Bulletin* 19
(1968): 64.

[17] C. Westermann, *Genesis* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968), p. 200.

rudiments. . . . What is said here is intended to hold true entirely
and exactly as it stands.[18]

If we couple this idea so well expressed and correct on general
grounds with the established fact that Gn 1 contains a strong
anti-mythological polemic[19] then it is difficult to understand how
a trace of polytheism could have been maintained in the phrase
"let us." On the one hand the writer composes "carefully,
deliberately and precisely" and on the other hand he fights off
any mythological notions in the creation story. These considera-
tions indicate that the mythological interpretation is totally
inadequate.[20]

2. *Address to Earthly Elements*

A view held by some Jewish scholars in the past[21] but hardly
supported in modern times[22] is the idea that God talked to the
earth or to earthly elements. The phrase "in our image" would
then refer to man's likeness of both God and earth or earthly
elements, which view would pose most serious difficulties.

In Gn 2:7 man is certainly formed from the dust of the ground
and becomes a living being through God's breathing the breath
of life into him. But why would God wish to invite the earth as
a partner in the work of the creation of man? In the creation story
the earth is made and exists in a completely undifferentiated,
unpersonalized condition. The view that there is a partnership

[18] G. von Rad, *Genesis* (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 45.

[19] Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Polemic Nature of the Genesis Cosmology," *EQ*
46 (1974): 81-102.

[20] Th. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of OT Theology*, 2d ed. (Newton, Mass.,
1970), p. 327: "It is necessary however, to devote a few words to the possibility
of a polytheistic survival in Gen 1:26. The whole atmosphere of Gen 1,
where God is recognized as existing before all other things and where all
present existence is traced back to His Word only, is so anti-polytheistic that
the very idea of polytheism is out of the question."

[21] Joseph Kimchi and Maimonides Genesis Rabbah 8.3 (Soncino ed. 1:56):
"R. Joshus b. Levi said: He took counsel with the works of heaven and
earth ... R. Samuel b. Nahman: With the works of each day."

[22] W. Caspari, "Imago Divina," *Festschrift Reinhold Seeberg I*, ed. W. Koepp
Leipzig, 1929), p. 207.

between God and earth in the creation of man finds no support in the OT or in ancient Near Eastern texts. The idea is actually contradicted in Gn 1:27 where God alone is the Creator of the world. It would be also strange that the earth is spoken of in the third person in vs. 24. These difficulties have rightly led interpreters to reject the theory that the "us" refers to God's address to the earth or earthly elements.

3. *Address to Heavenly Court*

A prominent interpretation among modern scholars is that the plural refers to God's addressing a heavenly court.[23] In support of this position the traditional texts known in the OT concerning a heavenly court are used.[24] This position is considered by many to be an extension of the mythological interpretation but it is said to avoid a crude polytheism.

If this suggestion should be correct, the implication would clearly be that man must be made in the image not only of God but also of other heavenly beings. This conclusion has been drawn by G. von Rad who explains: "The meaning of vs. 26f. is that man is created by God in the form of and similar to the Elohim." This "means that God's image does not refer directly to Yahweh but to the 'angels.' "[25] But this suggestion on the part of von Rad is contradicted in vs. 27: "and God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him."

Another objection of considerable weight rests in the fact that the words "let us make" would not simply be communicative[26] but include the heavenly court in the act of the creation of man. The consistent picture of the OT, however, is that the act of creation is that of Yahweh alone. For example, the rhetorical question in Is 40:14—"With whom took he counsel?"—shows that

[23] G. von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 57.
[24] I Ki 22:19; Job 1:6-12; 2:1-6; 38:7.
[25] G. von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 57.
[26] F. Delitzsch, *A New Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh, 1888), 1: 98; H. E. Ryle, *The Book of Genesis* (Cambridge, 1914), p. 19.

Yahweh did not include in his speaking and counseling any other heavenly creature. Furthermore, we must remember that those that were addressed in Gn 1:26 are not merely consulted by the speaker but are indeed summoned to an act of creation in harmony with the one who speaks.[27] It is no surprise that many scholars have seen these to be cogent reasons on the basis of which the interpretation of the plural in terms of an address to the heavenly court is judged inadequate.

4. Plural of Majesty

Many interpreters in the past regarded the plural as a plural of majesty (*pluralis majestatis*). This means that God speaks of himself and with himself in the plural number. This suggestion, held by only a few today, needs some consideration.

Plurals of majesty exist with nouns in the Hebrew language[28] but there are no certain examples of plurals of majesty with either verbs or pronouns. The only possible exception where there may be a plural of majesty with a pronoun is said to come from post-exilic times. A statement by a Persian king quoted in Ezr 4:18[29] reads, "The document which you sent to us has been translated and read before me" (NAS). It had been suggested, however, that more probably the "us" means "my government" or "my court," and the pronoun "me" equals "me personally," so that "in fact 'us' is here not really a plural of majesty."[30] If this suggestion is correct, then the OT nowhere contains a verb or pronoun used in connection with a plural of majesty. Even if there were an exception, it is correct that the verb used in Gn 1:26

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[27] K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics* 3/1 (Edinburgh, 1958): 191-192.

[28] P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hebreu biblique* (Rome, 1947), #136 d-e; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1913), 2: 60-61, #29d; idem, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen, 1956), #19c.

[29] W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* (2d ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1967), p. 129; Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 200.

[30] Clines, *Tyndale Bulletin* 19 (1968): 65.

(*ʿāśāh)* is *never* used with a plural of majesty.[31] There is no linguistic or grammatical basis upon which the "us" can be considered to be a plural of majesty. It is for this reason that this interpretation is today generally abandoned.

5. *Plural of Deliberation*

One of the most widely accepted interpretations of the plural in Gn 1:26 is that God addresses himself and that the plural is a plural of deliberation. The arguments put forth in its favor rest upon a colloquial use in modern languages. In English one can say, "Let's see."[32] L. Koehler has noted a similar usage in Swiss German.[33] The question is being raised whether such a use can be found in the OT. Supporters of this hypothesis point to 2 Sam 24:14, where David speaks of himself in the plural "let us fall *[nippelāh]* into the hand of the Lord . . . but into the hand of men let me not fall *['eppolāh]*." In Ps 1:11 the following supposedly close parallel is found: "Let us make *[naʿaśeh,* as in Gn 1:26] ornaments of gold studded with silver."[34] However, it is by no means certain that this is really the plural expressing self-deliberation because the speaker can include here the craftsman who would be asked to produce such ornaments of gold. In any case, these examples hardly qualify as explanations that there is a plural of deliberation used in Gn 1:26, because in none of these examples do we find God as the speaker. Passages with God as the speaker are Is 6:8; Gn 3:22; 11:7. But these passages can hardly be used in support of a plural of deliberation in Gn 1:26, because they have the same problems as the passage under discussion and either fall into the same category without any supportive evidence or are to be explained as Gn 1:26 in other ways. "The rarity of parallels gives us little confidence in

[31] Joüon, *Grammaire,* #114e.

[32] Clines, *Tyndale Bulletin* 19 (1968): 68.

[33] L. Koehler, "Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei-Lehre, Gen 1, 26" *TZ* 4 (1968): 21-22.

[34] Schmidt, *Schöpfungsgeschichte,* p. 130.

the correctness of this view, . . ."[35] It is difficult to disagree with
this conclusion.

6. *Plural of Fullness*

The inadequacies of the suggestions already discussed lead
us to suggest that the plural in the phrase "let us" (Gn 1:26)
is a plural of fullness.[36] This plural supposes that there is within
the divine Being the distinction of personalities, a plurality within
the deity, a "unanimity of intention and plan."[37] In other words,
a distinction in the divine Being with regard to a plurality of
persons is here represented as a germinal idea.[38] Thus the phrase
"let us" expresses through its plural of fullness an intra-divine
deliberation among "persons" within the divine Being.[39] The
understanding of the plural as a plural of fullness gives all
indications of being an adequate interpretation which avoids
the unsatisfactory aspects of the other solutions.

There is no explicit indication in the narrative of man's creation
as to the identity of the partners within the plurality of persons in
the divine Being. It has been suggested that God is addressing
his Spirit who has appeared in Gn 1:2 in a prominent role.[40]
The translation "mighty wind" for "Spirit of God" is full of
difficulties.[41] Other OT passages in which the Spirit is the agent
of creation may be cited. [42] On the other hand, one may point

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[35] Clines, *Tyndale Bulletin* 19 (1968): 68.

[36] The expression "plural of fullness" is used explicitly by D. Kidner,
Genesis (Chicago, 1967), p. 52.

[37] Barth, *Church Dogmatics* 3/1: 192.

[38] J. P. Lange, *Genesis* (London, 1890), p. 173.

[39] The idea of another "person" within the divine Being is affirmed among
these by J. J. Stamm, "Die Imago-Lehre von Karl Barth und die alttesta-
mentliche Wissenschaft," *Antwort. Festschrift für K. Barth*, ed. E. Wolf et al.
(Zollikon-Zurich, 1956), p. 94; Clines, *Tyndale Bulletin* 19 (1968): 69. M. J.
Lagrange, "Hexameron," *RB* 5 (1896): 387, writes, "If he uses the plural,
this supposes that there is in him a fullness of being so that he can
deliberate with himself."

[40] So Lange, *Genesis*, p. 173, whose view is more fully developed by Clines,
Tyndale Bulletin 19 (1968): 69.

[41] See W. H. McClellan, "The Meaning of *RUAH 'ELOHIM* in Gen 1:2."
Bib 15 (1934): 517-527; D. W. Thomas, "A Consideration of Some Unusual

to the vivid personification[43] or more likely a hypostasis[44] of wisdom in Pr 8. Wisdom seems to have divine rank and has a share with Yahweh in seeing the world coming into existence. Pr 8:31 may be understood to allude "to the topics of conversation between Yahweh and Wisdom."[45] The figure of Wisdom must be seen as distinct from the Spirit and may represent another veiled indication of plurality of persons in the divine Being. If one considers such passages as Gn 3:22 and 11:7, and especially Dan 7:9-10, 13-14, along with Pr 8, it does not seem to be inconceivable that the writer of Gn 1 wished to imply in vs. 26 that in the creation of man a deliberating counseling between "persons" and a mutual summons within the deity or divine Being took place. In any case, the OT by itself does not know of an explicit trinity, although the passage above is considered by many to have veiled hints in that direction. The trinitarian concept of deity is clearly revealed only in the NT.

A proper understanding of the "let us" as a plural of fullness does not militate against OT monotheism. The transition between the plural in the phrase " let us" in vs. 26 to the singular in the phrase "God created" in vs. 27 remains harmonious because the plurality of "persons" within the divine Being keeps them all within divine rank and maintains the emphasis on creation through the one Godhead. On the basis of our discussion of the various suggestions for coming to grips with the plural "let us" in Gn 1:26, it seems that to take this plural as a plural of fullness avoids the pitfalls of the other views we have considered and appears to have most in its favor.

Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT* 3 (1953): 209-244; I. Blythin "A Note on Gen 1:2," *VT* 12 (1962): 120-121; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel,* 2d ed. (Cardiff, 1964), p. 32, n. 8.

[42] Job 33:4; Ps 104:30; Ezk 37.

[43] R. B. Y. Scott, "Wisdom in Creation," *VT* 10 (1960): 213-223; R. Marcus, "On Biblical Hypostasis of Wisdom," *HUCA* 23 (1950/51): 157-171.

[44] So especially H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (London, 1947), pp. 102-103.

[45] W. McKane, *Proverbs* (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 358.

JOHN CALVIN AND THE BRETHREN OF
THE COMMON LIFE

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A number of the most prominent leaders in the religious history of western Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries had direct contact with the Catholic reform group known as the Brethren of the Common Life. Such was true, for example, of Desiderius Erasmus and Martin Luther, both of whom during their youth had been students under the Brethren. However, in the case of John Calvin, evidence of similar direct contact with the Brethren is lacking; in fact, this group did not establish any houses, dormitories for students, or schools in France and Switzerland, the two countries where Calvin spent most of his life. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the influence of the Brotherhood did reach him in several significant ways.

It is the purpose of the present brief essay to provide an overview of two main avenues through which John Calvin quite early in his career came in touch with the ideals and practices fostered by the Brethren of the Common Life: (1) his education at the College of Montaigu in Paris, and (2) his contact with the "Fabrisian Reformers." A third line of influence from that Brotherhood reached him later through his association with such men as Johann Sturm and Martin Bucer in Strassburg, both of whom had had contact with representatives of the Brotherhood. However, this third line of influence deserves separate treatment and hence will not be included here.[1]

1. The Brethren of the Common Life

Before we proceed to a discussion of the influence of the

[1] It is the writer's hope to present a brief article on this topic in a future issue of *AUSS*.

Brotherhood of the Common Life on Calvin, it will be well for
us to take a quick look at that Brotherhood itself and at the some-
what larger movement of which it was a part. The Brethren of
the Common Life originated in Deventer and Zwolle in the
Netherlands with the work of Gerard Groote (1340-1384), who
also laid the foundations for two other very closely related
groups—the Sisters of the Common Life and the Augustinian
Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windesheim.[2] The
Brethren and Sisters were "semi-monastic" in nature, holding
property in common and living by certain specific rules or
regulations (but without vows which were binding for life).
The Augustinian Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windes-
heim was, of course, a monastic order; but its purpose for exist-
ence and its ideals were related to those of the Brethren and
Sisters. In fact, the three groups are usually viewed as different
parts of the same movement—a movement which has become
known as the "Devotio Moderna." Adherents of this movement
fostered a practical sort of devotion which sought a close relation-
ship with Christ and the imitation of him in everyday life.
Regularity in prayer and in reading of Scripture was specified, as
were activities that would reach out to benefit the surrounding
communities and be helpful to society at large.[3]

[2] The basic work in English on these related groups is Albert Hyma, *The
Christian Renaissance* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1924, and Hamden, Conn., 1965).
Hyma has also given helpful treatment in his *The Brethren of the Common
Life* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1950) and in his *Renaissance to Reformation*
(Grand Rapids, Mich., 1951), pp. 124-238. William M. Landeen has produced
a comprehensive treatment of the Brotherhood in Germany in a series of four
articles "The Beginnings of the *Devotio Moderna* in Germany" (Parts I and
II) and "The *Devotio Moderna* in Germany" (Parts III and IV) in *Research
Studies of the State College of Washington* 19 (1951): 162-202, 221-253; 21
(1953): 275-309; 22 (1954): 57-75.

[3] Various documents, including constitutions of houses, indicate the regu-
lations observed. The text of the original constitution of the Brethren of the
Common Life in Deventer is conveniently provided by Albert Hyma, *Christian
Renaissance,* pp. 441-474, and has been reproduced in Kenneth A. Strand, ed.,
*The Dawn of Modern Civilization: Studies in Renaissance, Reformation and
Other Topics Presented to Honor Albert Hyma* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1962,
1964), pp. 362-395.

The Brethren in particular were active in training youth in Christian nurture, and to this end they established dormitories and schools in various places throughout the Low Countries and in the German lands.[4] Moreover, in various localities where they did not have schools of their own they served as teachers in public and parochial schools. Acquaintance with edifying literature was encouraged, and the youth who stayed with the Brethren often devoted considerable time to the copying of good books. When printing with movable type was introduced in western Europe, the Brethren took an interest in this field, and several Brethren houses established printing presses of their own.[5]

The Brethren placed an emphasis on use of the vernacular in order that the common people might be able to understand. Indeed, Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (d. 1398), a pioneer writer among them, wrote a treatise entitled *De Libris Teutonicalibus* advocating this practice.[6] Moreover, Groote, Zerbolt, and other early leaders in the movement produced significant devotional treatises, and youth who stayed with the Brethren were taught to keep *rapiaria*. These *rapiaria* were notebooks or "excerpt-books" in which statements helpful for Christian life would be jotted down. It appears that the well-known *Imitation of Christ*

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[4] Basic materials regarding their educational work are to be found in Hyma, *Brethren*, pp. 115-126, and Julia S. Henkel, "School Organizational Patterns of the Brethren of the Common Life," in *Dawn of Modern Civilization*, pp. 323-338 (also reprinted more recently in Strand, ed., *Essays on the Northern Renaissance* [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968], pp. 35-50); Julia S. Henkel, "An Historical Study of the Educational Contributions of the Brethren of the Common Life" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1962); and R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden, 1968).

[5] For a survey of their printing activity, see Kenneth A. Strand, "The Brethren of the Common Life and Fifteenth-Century Printing: A Brief Survey," in *Dawn of Modern Civilization*, pp. 341-355 (reprinted in *Essays on the Northern Renaissance*, pp. 51-64).

[6] This treatise was discovered by Albert Hyma in the Stadtbibliothek in Nuremberg and published by him in his "The 'De Libris Teutonicalibus' by Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen," in *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 17 (1924): 42-70.

of Thomas à Kempis actually had its origin in such *rapiaria* from
the Deventer Brethren house where Thomas resided prior to his
entry into the monastery of St. Agnietenberg.[7]

We have already mentioned that the Brethren established no
houses, dormitories, nor schools in France and Switzerland.
Neither were there any foundations by the Sisters and the
Windesheimers in those countries. However, in the late 15th to
early 16th century, the last-named group did send bands of
missionaries to carry on a program of reform in monasteries in
northern France and particularly in the region near Paris.[8]

2. *Calvin's Education at the College of Montaigu*

The major portion of John Calvin's first stay at the University
of Paris, which he entered in 1523 at the age of 14, was spent at
the College of Montaigu. There, from 1524 to 1528 he studied
under Noel Béda. Béda, in turn had been a star pupil of John
Standonck, who several decades earlier had reorganized the Mon-
taigu so significantly as virtually to make it a new establishment.[9]

Standonck's work at the Montaigu began about 1483. He had
come from the north, where he had studied under the Brethren
of the Common Life in Gouda, and he carried some of the
Brethren's reform ideals to Paris. He gained prominence in
various ways, serving at one time as rector of the University of
Paris for a short period of time. At the request of King Charles
VIII, he even had the privilege of presenting a reform program

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[7] The literature on the authorship of the *Imitation* is, of course, extensive.
For documentary evidence to support the statement made here, see especially
Hyma, *Brethren*, pp. 145-194, and also Hyma's English edition of Book I of
the *Imitation* based on the Eutin manuscript (A. Hyma, ed., *The Imitation
of Christ by Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1950]).

[8] For details, see Hyma, *Renaissance to Reformation*, pp. 350-354.

[9] A basic study on the Montaigu is that of Marcel Godet, *La congrégation
de Montaigu (1490-1580)* (Paris, 1912); and helpful detail regarding Standonck
is given by Augustin Renaudet, *Humanisme et Renaissance* (Geneva, 1958),
pp. 114-161 (the chapter is entitled "Jean Standonck: un réformateur catho-
lique avant la réforme"). A. Hyma has provided a useful summary regarding
Standonck and his work at the Montaigu in *Renaissance to Reformation*,
pp. 338-350.

before a convocation assembled at Tours. This reform program, with its attacks on various clerical abuses and on the sale of indulgences, bears a striking resemblance not only to the type of reform recommended by pioneer leaders in the Devotio Moderna but also to some of the reform appeals made later by Martin Luther in his *Address to the German Nobility* and by Calvin in his *Necessity of Reforming the Church*.[10] The reputation of the Montaigu under Standonck's leadership drew to the school numerous students, who in turn went forth as missionary reformers.

Standonck eventually drew up for the Montaigu a constitution, or "plan of reorganization," which in many respects paralleled the emphases of the Brethren houses in such matters as regulations concerning prayer, reading of Scriptures, keeping of *rapiaria*, encouragement toward confessing faults one to another and reproving one another when wrong-doing was involved. The, constitution went through various steps in its development, but its final form was officially adopted in 1503. It set forth the basic organizational scheme which was used in the institution for many years—even to the time of Calvin's stay and beyond.

Standonck's plan was more rigorous than what was normal among the Brethren, and his somewhat ascetic tendencies were probably encouraged by contact with such an individual as the Parisian ascetic Francis de Paule, rather than through his association with the Gouda Brethren.[11] Erasmus, who resided briefly at the Montaigu in 1495, referred later to his experience there as including deprivation of food and sleep, and consumption of spoiled wine and rotten eggs.[12] Undoubtedly his description

[10] These basic works are readily available in various source collections. Excerpts which cover major points in both of them have recently been made available in Kenneth A. Strand, ed. and comp., *Reform Appeals of Luther and Calvin* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1974).

[11] However, even the Gouda Brethren may have been more inclined toward asceticism than was usual among the Brethren of the Common Life in general. In any event, the Gouda house was very poor. Cf. Hyma, *Renaissance to Reformation*, pp. 349-350.

[12] See Hyma, *Renaissance to Reformation*, p. 214, and cf. Erasmus' state-

contained at least some exaggeration, but it does point in the
direction of rigor and asceticism beyond what the Brethren norm-
ally would encourage. Interestingly enough, Calvin's much longer
stay at the Montaigu some three decades later did not lead him
to paint a similar picture.

Although Béda evidently maintained the general atmosphere
which his mentor had created, his own instruction followed the
lines of scholastic theology much more than was customary in
the case of the Brethren and their pupil Standonck. In view of
this, one would have to assume that as far as Béda was con-
cerned personally, he shared with Calvin the ideals of the
Brethren and of Standonck in only a somewhat diminished way.
However, the influence of the Montaigu was not limited to Béda
personally. The daily schedule and other aspects of the program
which reflected the innovations of Standonck could not but have
touched the life of young Calvin. Moreover, Standonck had pro-
vided the Montaigu with a library containing writings of pioneer
leaders of the Devotio Moderna, such as those of Gerard Zerbolt.
With this literature Calvin must certainly have become acquainted.

In support of this last suggestion there is an independent line of
evidence which provides an interesting parallel: About the time
that Calvin left Paris in 1528, Ignatius Loyola arrived there and
studied at the Montaigu. Clear indications of a strong impact of
the Montaigu's reform program *and its library* on Loyola have
been pointed out, the constitution for his own Society of Jesus
bearing in certain respects such striking resemblances to Stan-
donck's constitution as to make it obvious that the similarities
are more than coincidental.[13] In view of the knowledge that

ment given in Richard L. DeMolen, ed., *Erasmus* (London, 1973), p. 17:
". . . I carried little away from these except a body plagued by the worst
humours, plus a most generous supply of lice." Reference is made in the
same context to "sleepless nights" and to burdensome labors.

[13] See the comparisons given by Godet, *Montaigu*, pp. 103-106. It appears
that in preparing his *Spiritual Exercises* Loyola was also rather strongly in-
fluenced by Zerbolt's *Spiritual Ascensions,* as well as by other works, though

Loyola was thus touched by the ideals of Standonck and the Brethren of the Common Life as reproduced at the Montaigu, is it reasonable to assume less with regard to Calvin, who spent *several years* at the same institution *just prior to* Loyola's arrival?

One further point bears at least passing mention here; namely, Calvin's reputation for correcting his student colleagues.[14] This tendency of open strictness in regard to others as well as to himself may indeed have been related to his personal bent of character. But is it possible that there may also have been more to the matter than this? Could it be that his activity in reproving his schoolmates represents a sincere effort on his part to live in harmony with ideals fostered by Standonck's regulations that inmates of the Montaigu should be encouraged to reprove one another in cases of wrongdoing?

3. *The Impact of the Fabrisian Reform*

The "Fabrisian Reform" movement was a humanistic-type reform which was especially prominent in and near Paris during the early 16th century. Its key leader was the famed French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (who used the latinized name *Faber Stapulensis*, from which the term "Fabrisian" arises). Closely associated with Lefèvre were William Briçonnet, for a time bishop of Meaux, and various other humanistic reformers, such as Bude and Vatable, who were among Calvin's teachers when he returned to Paris for further humanistic studies after having completed his law training at Orléans and Bourges. Also in the group of Lefèvre's disciples were Gerard Roussel and Guillaume Farel, with whom Calvin had close association at different times in his career. Most of the Fabrisian reformers did not leave

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some of this influence may have reached him at Manresa before his stay at the Montaigu.

[14] See Th. Beza's *Vita* of John Calvin in *Corpus Reformatorum*, 21: 121. As given in English translation in the Edinburgh edition (reprint ed., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1958), vol. 1, p. lx: ". . . even at that youthful age, he was remarkably religious, and was also a strict censor of every thing vicious in his companions."

the Roman Catholic communion, though Farel did, of course, become a full-fledged Protestant reformer.

In 1534 Calvin visited Lefèvre himself in Nérac in southern France, a place of refuge to which the elderly humanist had repaired a few years earlier at the invitation of Marguerite d'Angoulême. Although this visit occurred late in the older man's career (he died in 1536), it coincided with a period in Calvin's own life when the young man was beginning to manifest a decided interest in religious reform. But undoubtedly even more important for Calvin than this visit with Lefèvre was his association with Lefèvre's disciples, including Bude, Vatable, and Roussel. This was an association which certainly made an impact on the budding reformer. Then too, one must not discount the influence of Lefèvre's own writings on Calvin.

That Calvin derived various of his reform ideals and concepts from the "Fabrisian Reform" movement can scarcely be doubted, and has generally been recognized by the experts. But just what were—or seem to have been—some of these reform ideals and concepts?

E. Doumergue has considered Lefèvre's important *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul* of 1512 as in a sense the "first Protestant book," pointing out that in this publication Lefèvre anticipated Luther on such matters as *sola scriptura* and justification by faith. Doumergue also indicates that the views expressed by Lefèvre regarding baptism and the eucharist, use of the vernacular for public prayers, and the need for clerical reform went beyond what was common in traditional circles.[15] It is pertinent to note here, further, that Lefèvre's *Commentary on the Psalms*, published three years earlier than the one on Paul's epistles, formed a major source for even Luther in that Reformer's preparation for his important lectures on the Psalms, delivered at the University of Wittenberg from 1513 to 1515. Moveover, later publications by

[15] See Emile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin: les hommes et les choses de son temps,* 1 (Lausanne, 1899): 78-84.

Lefèvre, such as his *Commentary on the Four Gospels* and his Bible translation (NT, 1523; OT, 1528), give still further evidence of the so-called "Fabrisian Protestantism."

As has been already suggested, the kinship of certain essentials of this "Fabrisian Protestantism" with aspects of Calvin's reform ideals and activities, as well as the line of influence from the Fabrisian circle to Calvin, are quite generally recognized. What has frequently been overlooked, however, is the indebtedness of Lefèvre to earlier reformers in the North. As Albert Hyma has aptly pointed out, Doumergue in referring to Lefèvre's *Commentary* of 1512 fails to tell us that "two years before this work appeared Lefèvre visited the Brethren of the Common Life at Cologne," that in 1510 he induced Badius Ascensius (a humanistic Paris printer who had spent some time with the Brethren in Ghent) to print the *Rosary of Spiritual Exercises* of John Mombaer (a Windesheim reformer who for a time was active in reforming monasteries in northern France), and that in 1512 he edited a work of Ruysbroeck (a Dutch mystic who had influenced Groote).[16] Hyma goes on to point out that some of Lefèvre's "Protestant" views were already expressed in the aforementioned works by Mombaer and Ruysbroeck.[17]

The emphasis which was placed on use of the vernacular by leaders of the Devotio Moderna, by Lefèvre, and by the major Protestant reformers is an especially striking phenomenon. In this connection it should be noted that Lefèvre's own attitude on this matter did not originate with his *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul* in 1512, but rather seems to have taken shape at about the time of his visit to the Brethren of the Common Life in Cologne two years earlier.[18]

Excellent documentation for several basic similarities between

[16] See Hyma, *Renaissance to Reformation*, p. 372.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Augustin Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1953), p. 622.

the religious thought of Lefèvre and that which was characteristic
of the Devotio Moderna has been provided by C. Louise Salley
in her extensive comparisons between Lefèvre's *Commentary
on the Four Gospels,* on the one hand, and works such as the
Imitation of Christ and the writings of Wessel Gansfort, on the
other.[19] That Lefèvre was familiar with the *Imitation* and with
writings of Gansfort is clear from his direct references to them,
as well as from comparison of his works with those earlier
productions.

Among important parallels noted by Salley are statements
regarding *sola scriptura,* justification by faith, imitation of Christ
in the life, contempt for the present world (in the sense that
"the Christian should desire to be unknown in this world in order
that he may receive glory in the next," to use Lefèvre's words),
mystical union between God and the Christian individual, dis-
taste for empty formalism, critical attitude toward excessive
veneration of saints and of the Virgin Mary, and appraisal of
education as worthwhile only as it is placed within the context of
the love of Christ.[20]

One cannot but be impressed by the parallels between the
religious thought of Lefèvre and the Northern reformers, on the
one hand, and of Lefèvre and the later Protestant Reformers, on
the other. There are particularly striking similarities regarding
such fundamental doctrinal matters as the authority of Scripture
and the meaning of justification by faith, as well in relationship
to practices such as use of the vernacular. In some respects,
Calvin's thought is even more similar than Luther's to that of
Lefèvre and the Dutch reformers. One may notice, for example,
the stress which Calvin places on good works—in the context,

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[19] C. Louise Salley, "Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples: Heir of the Dutch Reformers
of the Fifteenth Century," in *Dawn of Modern Civilization,* pp. 75-124.
Gansfort spent at least a dozen years with the Brethren in Zwolle between
1432 and 1449, and he resided again in Zwolle during the last fourteen years
of his life (d. 1489).

[20] Ibid., pp. 104-115.

of course, of justification by faith. Although Luther by no means rejected good works, Calvin's belief that Christ does not justify anyone whom he does not also sanctify is more akin to the emphasis revealed in expressions in the writings of Lefèvre and the Devotio Moderna.[21] Also, Calvin's treatment of the sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, is more like the spiritual emphasis of Lefèvre and the Northern reformers than is Luther's belief in Christ's corporeal presence in the Eucharist.[22]

Even though a strong case can be made for links between Lefèvre and his followers with the Devotio Moderna, on one hand, and with Calvin, on the other, care must be taken not to overemphasize these links to the extent that Lefèvre is considered to be truly a "Protestant before his time" or that Calvin is considered to be a direct spiritual descendent of either the Fabrisian Reformers or the Devotio Moderna.

With respect to Lefèvre, it is important to remember that he never officially broke with the Roman Catholic Church and that in many respects his religious views were not identical with those of the Protestant reformers. One is much inclined to agree with Salley that although Lefèvre "has sometimes been portrayed as the fountainhead of a French Protestant movement which arose independently of Lutheranism, a consideration of Lefèvre's own writings makes evident that he was really not a 'Protestant before the Reformation.' "[23] She notes that his "tenet concerning justi-

[21] Cf. Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.16.1; and see Salley, "Lefèvre," pp. 107-109.

[22] Cf., e.g., Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.17.1-11, with Gansfort's statement, " 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves.' Manifestly it must be admitted that the life, of which he speaks, is the life of the inner man, i.e. life in the Holy Spirit. Necessarily therefore it must also be admitted that when he says, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood,' we are to understand that it is an inward eating and drinking, i.e. of the inner man. . . . For such eating of that flesh and drinking of that blood is so acceptable to God that simultaneously with it the Spirit and life are bestowed upon those who eat. He who thus eats already has the benefit of outward sacramental eating. . . . To eat therefore is to remember, to esteem, to love" (from E. W. Miller and D. W. Scudder, *Wessel Gansfort: Life and Writings* [New York, 1917], 2:28-30).

[23] Salley, "Lefèvre," p. 115.

fication by faith and grace was not exactly the same as Luther's justification by faith alone" and that he also "accepted the traditional credos respecting purgatory, veneration of saints, invocation of the Virgin Mary, the Real Presence, the Immaculate Conception, and prayers for the dead."[24]

3. Conclusion

Both Lefèvre and Calvin were certainly influenced by factors from more than one direction, and the latter's religious development was especially complex. Even in his early career, Calvin was influenced by Olivétan; moreover, he imbibed of Luther's theology, he read from Zwingli's writings, and he drew from many other sources as well. But although influence from the reformers to the North should not be overemphasized, neither should it be overlooked. There is at least a very strong likelihood that in a direct way through the Montaigu and indirectly through Lefèvre and the Fabrisian reformers, Calvin was exposed to ideals and teachings of the Brethren of the Common Life—ideals and teachings which made a lasting impact on him.

[24] Ibid.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bruce, F. F. *Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974. 216 pp. Paperback, $3.45.

The prolific NT scholar F. F. Bruce here presents an analysis and evaluation of materials dealing with Jesus and Christian origins outside the NT for thinking laymen. Besides dealing with references found in the early Roman writers,. he discusses both the genuine statements and Christian glosses of Josephus, the Qumran documents, the Agrapha and Apocryphal Gospels, the Gospel of Thomas (at some length), Jesus in the Koran and in Islamic Tradition, and the evidence of archaeology.

Bruce deals with these wide-ranging materials in a very interesting manner, but apparently he himself has some doubt about the nature of the contents since in the last chapter he presents an apologia for it. The reason for this is that in fact some of these materials, such as statements of Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus, the rabbis, and archaeological evidence, have been used to confirm if not to prove the historicity of Jesus, while on the other hand, the Apocryphal Gospels and the Koran have very little reliable historical matter. The Qumran documents do not refer directly to Jesus or to Christian origins. Bruce's defense is simply that "he is concerned to give an account of references to Jesus and Christian origins, factual or fictitious, outside the New Testament" (p. 203). If this is so, he has left out the greater part of the material in the apostolic and other church fathers. To justify the fictitious material, he adds that it testifies to the exceptional impact of the person of Christ. Somehow, it seems to the reviewer that there is lack of coherence in the material included in the volume and this is indicated by Bruce's uneasiness and also in the "Publisher's Note" (p. 7). Too much variegated material is thrown together. A more selective principle should have been used to bring about coherence and consistency.

Andrews University   SAKAE KUBO

Conzelmann, Hans. *History of Primitive Christianity*. Translated by John E. Steely. Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1973. 190 pp. $8.50.

The period from the resurrection of Jesus to A.D. 100 is the subject of this book written for non-specialists. The sources are quite limited, mainly Acts and Paul's letters. The clearest picture of this period understandably portrays the history that deals with Paul and his communities. Always, however, the author makes a critical evaluation of the sources, especially the book of Acts. Because of the limitation in sources, most chapters are necessarily short. Only three pages are devoted to "The Original Community from the Apostolic Council down to the Jewish War" and five pages to "Jewish Christianity after the Jewish War."

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Given his presuppositions, the author demonstrates a disciplined method-
ology and a brilliant speculative mind. He sifts his material with careful
discretion. He is aware of the danger but the necessity of circular reasoning
in order to reconstruct the history of the period. Disagreement will come
over the question of the authenticity and reliability of the sources. He con-
siders the Twelve a later creation "as the symbolic representation of the
nature of the church as God's people of the end-time" (p. 56). The Hellenists
(Acts 6) precipitated the Gentile mission and through their influence and
teaching not only Gentiles but Jewish Christians even before Paul's con-
version no longer observed the law. Conservatives will tend to accept much
more than Conzelmann does. Nevertheless, all will find much in the book
that is fertile and provocative.

In several places throughout the book, the author discusses the relationship
between faith and its historical forms and his perceptive statements regarding
this continuing problem are much appreciated (pp. 72, 74, 123-125).

There are two helpful appendices. The first deals with persons who lived
during this period and the other is a collection of sources. A short bibliog-
raphy is included as well as two indexes, one of passages and another of
persons and subjects.

Andrews University   SAKAE KUBO

Dulles, Avery, S. J. *Models of the Church.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday,
    1974. 216 pp. $6.95.

Models of the Church is a balanced analysis of some of the major approaches
in contemporary ecclesiology. Written from a Roman Catholic point of view
it explores five "basic models of the Church that have arisen in history as
a result of the differing points of view or horizons of believers and theologians
of different ages and cultures." Dulles' thesis is that instead of some super
model, some absolute best image, we ought to find a way of incorporating
the major affirmations of each ecclesiological type without carrying over its
distinctive liabilities.

Dulles devotes a chapter to each of the five models he has retained: Church
as institution, as mystical communion, as sacrament, as herald, and as servant.
Each model is presented with some assessment of its respective strengths and
weaknesses. Then, in five additional chapters the author shows how the
various models lead to diverse positions regarding acute problems in con-
temporary theology: eschatology, the characteristics of the true Church,
ecumenism, the ministry, and divine revelation. Finally, in a reflective over-
view, an attempt is made to summarize the values and limitations of each
model.

Dulles does not consider every model of equal worth nor that any single
model can satisfactorily express the mystery of the Church. Since one's critique
and choice of models already presuppose a certain understanding of the
realities of faith, he suggests more objective criteria for their evaluation:
their basis in Scripture and in Christian tradition, their capacity to give

church members a sense of their corporate identity and mission, their fruitfulness in enabling Christian believers to relate successfully to other religious traditions, etc. On the basis of these criteria, Dulles shows slight partiality for the sacramental model and reserves most of his criticism for the institutional type, which, "by itself, tends to become rigid, doctrinaire, and conformist." Although the future forms of the Church lie beyond his power to foresee, the eminent Jesuit deems it safe to predict "that the analogues and paradigms discussed in this book will retain their significance for ecclesiology through many generations to come."

There is little with which to take issue in this volume with its fair and even-handed presentation of the issues. I am not convinced, however, that Dulles has accurately represented the views of some contemporary theologians on the problem of how the Church and the Kingdom of God relate to each other. I think, for instance, that Fr. Richard P. McBrien retains more of the element of divine initiative in the coming of the kingdom than Dulles seems willing to concede.

Granting the author's reluctance to provide us with a super model, I wish, however, that he would have devoted more space to a theological diagnosis of the current trends precipitating the apparent decline of the Catholic ecclesiological reform movement that followed in the aftermath of Vatican Council II. The reader would have benefited, for instance, from a coherent and sustained critique of *Mysterium Ecclesiae* of the summer of 1973, showing, as Dulles did in his *America* article of August of the same year, how this new Vatican statement reflects some of the least commendable elements of the old institutional ecclesiology.

Although it breaks little new ground, *Models of the Church* is excellent in categorizing and criticizing existing ecclesiological types. Its 275 footnotes and almost flawless typography—the reviewer noticed only one error, a mistaken usage of the French, on p. 182—enrich the value of this welcome addition to the survey literature in ecclesiology now available for seminary and college courses.

Andrews University   RAOUL DEDEREN

Eberhardt, Walter. *Reformation und Gegenreformation*. Berlin: Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten, 1973. 696 pp.

This book, in nineteen chapters of main text (pp. 7-366), gives a rather comprehensive overview of the Reformation period. The material is competently handled, and a fair amount of detailed information is provided. As might be expected, Luther and the German Reformation receive rather substantial treatment. Various other segments of the Reformation are amply treated as well, though the attention given to the Reformation in England seems to be a bit on the scant side. The Anabaptists, altogether too often neglected, deservedly receive more than the usual amount of attention that would be expected in a volume of this size. Even the fact that some among the Anabaptists observed the seventh-day Sabbath is duly noted, although the basic

work by Gerhard F. Hasel on this subject has apparently been overlooked (see his articles in *AUSS* 5 [1967]: 101-121; and 6 [1968]: 19-28).

There are some "extras" in connection with major reformers in the fact that Eberhardt deals with certain aspects of their work and theology which are not commonly noted in general histories. For example, Luther's study of the book of Daniel and his discussion of Sabbath and Sunday (and also Carlstadt's attitude toward the Sabbath) are treated.

Occasionally, one becomes puzzled at the organization of this volume. For the most part, the chapters seem coherent; but now and then, a better topical arrangement or chronological sequence (or both) could probably have been chosen. For instance, although Chap. 7 deals with the crisis in Luther's Reformation between 1522 and 1526 and Chap. 8 reaches down through the Anabaptist Münster episode and even deals with Menno Simons, Chap. 9 moves back to the development of the Lutheran Reformation from 1522 onward to 1555. It would seem that Luther's break with Erasmus, his marriage, and perhaps other items treated in this ninth chapter should really have been brought to attention earlier. One is more amazed, however, that in this same chapter, Zwingli's death in 1531 is treated after notice of the Nuremberg Concord of 1532 and the Schmalkald Articles of 1537 (see pp. 184-186). Especially puzzling is the following remark at the end of a section entitled "Die Entstehung der 'Schmalkaldener Artikel'" and dealing with events of 1537 and 1538: "Inmitten dieser Entwicklungen starb Zwingli einen tragischen Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld bei Kappel" (p. 186). The author does, of course, place the death of Zwingli correctly in the year 1531.

Despite such chronological and other minor difficulties, this volume affords an excellent introduction to the history of the Reformation era. The problems are truly minimal when compared with the very real value furnished. In addition to the comprehensive treatment given in the main text, an extensive section of notes (pp. 367-638) provides a further massive wealth of material. Selected to a great degree from authoritative source collections and recognized scholars in the field, these notes are virtually a source book in themselves.

A glossary of terms is included in the volume (pp. 639-643), followed by a list of abbreviations (pp. 644-645). There is also a helpful chronology of main events (pp. 646-658), covering the period from Wyclif's death in 1384 to the year 1794; and this is followed by an index of personal names and subjects (pp. 659-670) and a fairly comprehensive bibliography (pp. 671-685). The concluding items are the Table of Contents (pp. 687-695) and the imprint information (on the final, unnumbered page).

For those who read German, this book is highly recommended.

Andrews University   KENNETH A. STRAND

Fridrichsen, Anton. *The Problem of Miracle in Primitive Christianity.* Translated by Roy A. Harrisville and John S. Hanson. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg, 1972. 174 pp. $5.95.

This is a long overdue translation of the French original published in 1925. Fridrichsen was Professor of NT at Uppsala and the revered mentor of many leading NT scholars of today.

His purpose in this book is not to renew the conflict over the explanation of the miracles, i.e., supernatural or natural, but to examine their place in the life of early Christianity. There is no question concerning the connection of miracles with Jesus. The question is how were the miracles of Jesus considered by the early Christians in the light of the fact that in this period magicians, sorcerers, and charlatans were very numerous and their reputation was not high. The early church fathers from the second century on faced the accusation that Jesus was a magician and used secret arts to perform his miracles. Did this problem of miracle appear in primitive Christianity, and are there traces of this problem already in the NT?

Fridrichsen's approach to this problem is through form criticism especially as it relates to the development and modification of the tradition from its origin to its literary form as presently found in the NT. He seeks to distinguish what he calls the popular elements of the tradition from the later redaction. With specific reference to his topic, the former present miracles as they reflect popular faith, naive and bereft of reflection, while the latter expresses an evaluation and criticism of thaumaturgy.

According to Fridrichsen miracles are intimately bound with the origin of the church and its eschatological nature. Jesus himself considered miracles as an integral part of his messianic activity. Yet miracles were subordinate to the fundamentally moral character of Christianity. But in such a milieu in which Christianity arose, problems were bound to arise as people identified this aspect with other magicians and charlatans who claimed miraculous powers.

Fridrichsen sees in John the Baptist's question (Mt 11:2-6) criticism against Jesus by the followers of John. John had heard of the "works" of Jesus (his healings and exorcisms) which led him to doubt the messianic character of Jesus. Jesus answered by quoting Isaiah, which is to say that his miracles were not those of a popular thaumaturge but were the fulfillment of prophecies, thus showing himself to be "the one that is to come." This very type of answer was given by Justin, Tertullian, and Lactantius to the same objections.

Criticism of Jesus' miracles (exorcisms) is implied also in the Beelzebub pericope. Jesus' command for silence to the demons is interpreted as originally the triumph of the exorcist over the demon, an indication that the demon's power is broken and he has become subject to the exorcist. But the command for silence to those he healed demonstrates the distinction between Jesus and other healers who sought publicity. The Temptation Narrative is seen as a controversy between those in the church who sought for and promoted miracles and those who "felt the need to set limits to pious fantasy because they recognized that the wild growth of the prodigious represented a danger within and without" (p. 124). The first two miracles are not messianic but the very type that suited popular thaumaturgy. In Mk 2:1-12, Fridrichsen sees vs. 9 as an interpolation in which the redactor is opposing the belief that miracle legitimates spiritual power by actually inferring that forgiveness is the real miracle, whereas healing is secondary. Lk 10:17-20 and 1 Cor 13 both seek to put miracles in their proper subordinate role, in the first to salvation and in the second to love. A warning against false prophets (Mt 7:15ff.) is really against miracle-workers.

Fridrichsen's main thesis is no doubt true. It is inevitable in the NT milieu that such a problem would arise. The quality and character of Christian

miracles would have to be distinguished from those of the Jewish and pagan world. Whether all of his explanations are as valid as his thesis is an open question. Especially that of the Temptation Narrative can be explained differently. While written almost half a century ago, this work still provides insights that are profitable for us today.

Andrews University   SAKAE KUBO

Hanson, Richard S. *The Future of the Great Planet Earth: What Does Biblical Prophecy Mean for You?* Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg, 1972. 123 pp. Paperback, $2.95.

Because Hanson writes in reaction to the popular misuse of Bible prophecies, he is at pains to show that the prophets of old did more than predict the future. "What makes a person a prophet is not what he sees of the future, but what he sees of the truth" (p. 121). With regard to the apocalyptic books of Daniel and Revelation, he explains that the purpose of the former was to assure the Jews living at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes that the end of suffering was certain, and the purpose of the latter was to show that God, not the emperor, is the one who controls the world and will be with his people all the way. This leads Hanson to reject the popular view that the book of Revelation is "history written in advance with all the details spelled out," as if "our age is *the* age that holds the key to understanding— as though the Bible were written for our time alone" (p. 90).

Although Hanson acknowledges that Revelation gives "the outcome in advance," he basically is caught in a false dilemma, preterism or futurism. He clearly chooses the first in order to avoid the last. He rightly exposes the fundamental weakness of futurism, which takes, for instance, the names of ancient nations out of Eze 38-39 and applies them to nations of today: "they are ignoring the history between then and now" (p. 90). This awareness of historical perspective prevents Hanson from being caught in the modern delusion of interpreting the founding of the new state of Israel in 1948 as a fulfillment of Bible prophecies. Although he admits that there are some signs that seem to suggest it, he finds that "there are also things that do not fit. The restoration of Israel pictured in many of those visions is a restoration that happens because the Messiah appears. But where is the Messiah in the modern State of Israel?" (pp. 48-49).

Unfortunately, Hanson ignores the opportunity to work out the deep, central focus of all Bible prophecies, the spiritual and Christo-centric nature of the true Israel of God in the setting of Biblical eschatology. This failure comes tragically to light in his incredible misunderstanding of Armageddon, the final battle between heaven and earth when the Antichrist launches his final attack upon the people of God. He states: "Armageddon is what happens when the kings of the world meet on the field of combat—when nations rise against nations and make war together" (p. 116). Here the great climax of the long-standing controversy between Christ and Satan (in Rev 16, 17 and 19) is superficially secularized into a war merely between nations. The basic defect of Hanson's book lies in the field of eschatology, of which he speaks only incidentally. There is no co-ordination and systematization of the Biblical data with regard to the final war between good and evil.

One more remarkable hiatus must be mentioned. When Hanson presents the Christ of the four Gospels in Chap. 5, he finds no room to speak of the real significance of the death of Jesus, the atoning sacrifice of Christ. The symbols of bread and wine at the Lord's Supper are said to be a suggestion that he is the source of our life (p. 170). This is true indeed, but is that all there is to say about the cross of Christ? Can the resurrection of Jesus become truly meaningful when the reason for his death is obscured?

On the other hand, Chap. 7, "The Way of Life," is excellent. Here the author shows convincingly that the way of life for the true Christian includes more than accepting a daily forgiveness of guilt. It is "living the way of Jesus," and this is spelled out well.

Andrews University   HANS K. LARONDELLE

Ladd, George Eldon. *The Presence of the Future: The Eschatology of Biblical Realism.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974. xiv + 370 pp. Paperback, $4.50.

It is refreshing to have this further volume on eschatology by George Eldon Ladd. It is not a new book, however, but is rather a revised and updated version of the author's *Jesus and the Kingdom* (New York, 1964). The changes from the earlier edition are actually few. As stated in the Preface, this "Second Edition features a new Preface; a revised and updated first chapter, 'The Debate over Eschatology'; and an updated Bibliography" (p. xiv).

Although the Preface has been rewritten to a fair extent, the changes in Chap. 1 are relatively few. On page 20, a paragraph has been added regarding C. H. Dodd's book *The Founder of Christianity* published in 1970. The thrust of this brief paragraph is to call attention to Dodd's reference to a consummation of God's Kingdom "beyond history" as apparently manifesting a somewhat new element in Dodd's view of the eschatology of Jesus: "Dodd seems to allow for a real futurity of the Kingdom" (p. 20). We wish that Ladd might have elaborated on this matter inasmuch as Dodd's use of the term "beyond history" was not really new in 1970, and the kind of "real futurity" intended by Ladd (or Dodd?) needs explication.

Further expansion in the present edition has taken place on pages 36-38, where one paragraph is devoted to Herman Ridderbos and several paragraphs to Norman Perrin.

The already extensive bibliography has been appropriately updated by the addition of a number of new titles, including several by Ladd himself. In view of the rather extended treatment he gives to Rudolf Bultmann in Chap. 1, it is unfortunate that in that chapter he fails to mention Bultmann's *History and Eschatology: The Presence of Eternity* (New York, 1957), and that he also fails to list this title in his bibliography.

Indeed, one may wonder about Ladd's classification of Bultmann as being among the Consistent Eschatologists (pp. 7-8; see also p. 312) and particularly about the remark that the "most important contemporary support of Consistent Eschatology is found in the interpretation of Rudolf Bultmann and

some of his followers" (p. 7), even though later the fact is stressed that Bultmann finds the real *meaning* in Christ's teaching about the kingdom to be an existential one (p. 21).

Ladd's new book retains, of course, all the values of the original edition. The updating, though not extensive, is useful; and the new paperback form is most welcome. On the whole, this book—in either of its editions—continues to be an instructive volume by an author who moves as a master in the field.

Andrews University   KENNETH A. STRAND

MacPherson, Dave. *The Unbelievable Pre-Trib Origin: The Recent Discovery of a Well-Known Theory's Beginning—and Its Incredible Cover-Up!* Kansas City, Mo.: Heart of America Bible Society, 1973. 123 pp. Paperback, $2.95.

Pretribulationism, with its "Secret Rapture" theory, is usually thought of as originating with the "Plymouth Brethren" movement in the British Isles about A.D. 1830. The pioneer popularizer of the view, if not the very originator of it, is believed to be John Nelson Darby, an early leader among the "Brethren." But how did Darby reach his pretribulationist conclusions?

This is the question which the present book proposes to answer. The author, a journalist much interested in tracing the origin of pretribulationism, has done a great deal of careful research on the subject. He claims to have made a remarkable discovery in finding and reading works by Robert Norton published in 1840 and 1861. Norton's material, he feels, indicates that a prophetic revelation to one Margaret Macdonald in Port-Glasgow, Scotland, early in 1830 reveals the origin of the pretribulation-rapture concept. Says MacPherson, "It is quite possible that Norton is the only person who ever preserved Margaret Macdonald's Pre-Trib revelation in a book" (p. 48).

MacPherson presents various materials that supposedly support his conclusion. It appears to this reviewer that he gives four lines of evidence: (1) He quotes extensively from a letter written about 1834 by one Francis Sitwell to Sitwell's sister Mary. This letter mentions the Macdonalds, and it also discloses Sitwell's own pretribulationist view (pp. 68-70). (2) He refers to an 1833 book of Robert Baxter of Doncaster which supposedly relates an obvious pretribulationist doctrine to Margaret Macdonald's revelation. According to MacPherson, Baxter gives several significant Bible texts in the same sequence as they were treated by Margaret in her so-called "Pre-Trib revelation" (pp. 94-99, especially pp. 95-97). (3) Reference is made to a visit of Darby to the Macdonalds in 1830, at which time he undoubtedly adopted the pretribulationist view even though he never gave credit to Margaret Macdonald for it (pp. 91-94). (4) The text of Margaret Macdonald's vision itself is provided by MacPherson in an appendix (pp. 105-108). This text is taken from Norton and is given both in the form in which it appears in Norton's 1840 publication and in the somewhat shortened form from 1861.

Unfortunately, MacPherson's thesis falls apart when one scrutinizes the source materials he provides: (1) The Sitwell letter praises the Macdonalds

and does reveal a pretribulationist view on the part of Francis Sitwell himself, but it makes no connection between his view and the Macdonalds (at least not in the excerpts which MacPherson has furnished from Sitwell's letter). (2) The book by Robert Baxter attacks pretribulationism, but it speaks of this view as being put forward in writing by *Edward Irving*, not Margaret Macdonald! Indeed, in the quoted material from Baxter, as furnished by MacPherson, Margaret Macdonald is not so much as mentioned once! The reference to several Bible texts having been used by Baxter and by Margaret Macdonald in the "same sequence" is not convincing; and, moreover, one would need to determine whether Irving might have provided a closer parallel to Baxter's use of these texts. (3) It is impossible to prove that Darby adopted pretribulationism from Margaret Macdonald, as MacPherson himself recognizes. But in the absence of any forceful positive evidence, there is really very little help in MacPherson's explanation that this supposed silence exists because it was characteristic of Darby not to give credit to others for his views. (4) Although the foregoing arguments have at best built only an extremely weak circumstantial case for Margaret Macdonald as the source of Darby's new views, the greatest difficulty, it seems to this reviewer, is found in the text of Margaret Macdonald's so-called pretribulationist revelation itself, as furnished by MacPherson. The implication of a "secret rapture" must, in fact, be read into that account, which speaks of the church being purified *during* the final tribulation, instead of being caught up to escape that tribulation: "The trial of the Church is from Antichrist. It is by being filled with the Spirit that we shall be kept," said Margaret Macdonald (see p. 107 of MacPherson's book). MacPherson's own evaluation that Miss Macdonald was a "partial rapturist" will not do, for the passage just quoted nowhere gives such an impression, nor does anything else in the entire text of her revelation as provided by MacPherson.

Thus the case for the "unbelievable pre-trib origin" falls apart. What MacPherson's book does do, however, is to give valuable insights regarding the charismatic movements of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In this respect it does serve a useful purpose. The considerable amount of first-hand detail incorporated from the writings of Norton lends particular interest.

Because the pretribulationist rapture concept is such a widespread view among conservative Christians in North America today, its exact origin is still of interest, if this can indeed be discovered. Perhaps MacPherson's work will stimulate a further search for this.

MacPherson utilizes a considerable number of writers on dispensationalism, and usually quite perpiscaciously. One striking omission, however, is the work by Clarence Bass, *Backgrounds to Dispensationalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1960), which should at least have merited inclusion in the bibliography.

In closing, the reviewer would point out that this is a fascinating book, written in a rather popular style. Moreover, we can be grateful to the author for throwing additional light on the charismatic manifestations which were in evidence in southwestern Scotland and in various other places in the British Isles during the 1820s and 1830s, even though his book falls short of reaching the goal implied in its somewhat spectacular title and even more sensational subtitle.

Andrews University   KENNETH A. STRAND

Mitton, C. Leslie. *Jesus: The Fact Behind the Faith.* Grand Rapids, Mich.:
    Eerdmans, 1974. 152 pp. Paperback, $2.95.

While the trend toward a general skepticism concerning what can be known
about the historical Jesus has turned somewhat, the impression still remains
that very little can be known about Jesus. The Gospels, it is maintained,
reflect the Church's faith in Christ as Lord and thus the historical Jesus is
beyond recovery. Mitton attempts to show that this assessment grossly exag-
gerates the situation. While not denying later elements of faith within the
Gospels, he is confident that these do not distort the picture of the historical
Jesus recoverable in the Synoptic Gospels.

He states that his book is not intended to contribute anything to the
scholarly discussion of this question but is written for ministers and teachers
who have become disturbed by this skeptical mood. While it is true that the
author presents nothing new in a specific sense, nevertheless his bringing
together in such a lucid and cogent way evidence that scholars (including
himself) have furnished is a worthwhile contribution.

Mitton is conservative but critical. He does not accept John as a reliable
historical source nor the M material in Matthew, and he recognizes that
some alteration of Mark's material is made by Matthew and Luke, and that
there are other inauthentic items. He also places a number of items in the
possible but uncertain area. But by and large he feels that on the basis of
sound historical criteria the Synoptic Gospels reliably present to us the
historical Jesus in three areas. They provide a valid portrait of the character
and person of Jesus himself, a credible sequence of the outstanding events
of Jesus' life, and a considerable amount of reliable teaching material. His
criteria for distinguishing the historical from nonhistorical are (1) multiple
attestation, i.e., material found in Mark, Q, and L; (2) agreement of John
with Mark, Q, and L; (3) "stumbling-block characteristics of Jesus," i.e., mate-
rial offensive to Jews of his time and to followers of Jesus at a later time;
(4) test of dissimilarity.

Mitton's arguments are persuasive and need to be seriously evaluated,
although those inclined to skepticism will find basic points of disagreement
and the fundamentalists will feel that he gives up too much.

Andrews University   SAKAE KUBO

Morris, Colin. *The Hammer of the Lord.* Nashville and New York: Abingdon,
    1973. 160 pp. Paperback, $4.75.

Colin Morris, now general secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society
of England, takes up his pen this time more constructively to deal with the
theme of hope following two "demolition books," *Include Me Out* and *Un-
young, Uncolored, Unpoor,* written while a missionary in Zambia as a fiery
passionate spokesman for the people of the Third World. His objective is
"to point to sources of Christian hope without pandering to that slick opti-
mism which the hardheaded realist rightly sweeps aside with contempt" (p. 9).

But what are the sources of hope that Morris points to? First of all is the
fact that the universe stands behind us when we do good in spite of the

apparent triumph of evil, that God promises us an open future, that God has inexhaustible initiatives by which he brings pressure upon the world, that the church with all its weaknesses is still the custodian of hope, that the individual is important because he can change things, that men are becoming more responsible for one another, that God can penetrate into the present by miraculous action.

Morris views secular optimism as a serious obstacle to the possibility of hope. As a stubborn realist he realizes that there are some insoluble problems but the Christian nevertheless must practice the ethics of hope, do to others as Christ has done for him.

Morris believes in the future but refuses to isolate it from the past and the present. He insists on keeping all three in one focus and shuns mellon-tolatry. His emphasis, however, is to awaken hope in the present in what he calls the "eternity between Crucifixion and Resurrection" (p. 159). Some readers may feel that Morris has not been positive enough. His signs of hope may seem vague and indefinite. Thus this is not an inspirational book in the usual sense of the word since he consciously seeks to set aside easy optimism for a hardheaded realism which still maintains hope in an apparently hopeless time. The reader knows there is no easy way out, that faith will be tried to the uttermost, and that love must respond to a hostile environment. As he says, "To live through the death of faith is a terrifying, numbing thing" (p. 158).

In this somewhat loosely written work, we still feel the power of Morris' pen when he grasps one's attention by his skillful collocation of words and phrases. In spite of this ability the book suffers from a lack of tight organization. At times it rambles and wanders off its subject. There is no clear logical arrangement of topics.

Still many will be glad to have Morris strike a positive note and be constructive after his two previous books.

Andrews University   SAKAE KUBO

Mueller, Walter. *Grammatical Aids for Students of New Testament Greek.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1972. 86 pp. Paperback, $2.45.

This work is intended as a supplement to a standard grammar and for students who already have basic knowledge of Greek grammar or who are in the process of acquiring it. It is a convenient and concise summation and is put together so that the student will be able to see the relationships among different declensions and conjugations as well as the identifying marks of each form. This will help to make the learning of Greek a bit easier than the rote memorization of every form as an isolated item.

This work could be very helpful as a quick review for students about to enter Intermediate Greek, as well as for those who may need to review after having completed Greek several years ago.

The work is organized very well and the explanations are simple and clear. However, the reviewer has found that students encounter as much problem with the translation of these forms as with the forms themselves. It would have been equally helpful if such assistance had been given.

An obvious error on p. 20 that should be corrected in a future edition is the accusative singular form of σάρξ which should be σάρκα instead of σαρκι.

Andrews University   SAKAE KUBO

Müller, Werner E. *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im Alten Testament*. Edited by Horst Dietrich Preuss. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973. 139 pp. Paperback, DM 18.00.

This volume consists of a reprint and expansion of Müller's highly original dissertation on the remnant in the OT first published in 1939. The expansion by Preuss consists of slight expansions or clarifications in a fair number of footnotes, an "Addition" (pp. 96-126) and a "Bibliography" (pp. 127-134).

Müller's study finds its basis in Herntrich's distinction between the secular and religious spheres of the remnant idea in the OT. This distinction, which is conceived on the basis of highly problematical modern notions that are transferred onto the biblical materials, has led to conclusions which have had a determining and stifling influence on much modern scholarship in this area.

The first part of Müller's investigation concerns the political meaning of the remnant for a people (pp. 13-46) in the war annals of the Hittites, Egyptians, and Assyrians, and in the OT. This restricted investigation in ancient Near Eastern texts has led Müller to conclude that the remnant idea (1) originated out of the Assyrian method of complete annihilation of the enemy in total warfare and (2) derived in the OT, as in its surrounding cultures, from the sphere of political life and practice. Both of these conclusions which have been adopted in standard OT scholarship cannot be maintained on account of the evidence of the remnant idea in a great variety of literature of Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Eygptian origin, and in the OT itself (see my monograph *The Remnant* [*AUM*, 5; Berrien Springs, Mich., 1972], pp. 50-134). Here is a classic example of how dangerous and misleading a restricted and narrow focus on a subject may turn out to be. The remnant idea is not restricted to a particular genre but appears in epic, prophecy, prayer, hymn, letter, annal, etc., and occurs in connection with threats in the natural, social, and political spheres such as flood, famine, drought, plague, pestilence, rebellion, war, and natural death. Contrary to Müller's notion, the remnant idea has its origin in the life-and-death problem, the securing of human existence and life, and future hope.

The second part of Müller's study pursues the remnant idea in the religious thought world of the OT (pp. 47-92). Müller is correct in tracing the remnant idea to periods earlier than Amos and Elijah. He argues that in Isaiah there are several stages of development in the remnant motif. This is very questionable unless one operates with unchecked principles of literary criticism (see Hasel, *The Remnant*, pp. 216-372). Müller touches briefly on the remnant in Zep, Jer, Eze, and post-exilic Judaism.

Müller's monograph raises a most serious problem of procedure and methodology. He develops the "origin" and "content" of the remnant motif on the basis of a supposedly distinguishable "secular-political" sphere, while the "development" and "history" of the remnant idea is treated under its

so-called "religious" sphere. The modern dualism between secularity and religion is transferred to the biblical materials where both spheres are inseparable. These distinctions blur the understanding of the biblical idea of the remnant.

Preuss's very useful 30-page "Addition" seeks to trace the influence of Müller's thoughts on later OT scholarship. He shows how scholars from 1939 to the present such as G. von Rad, E. Jacob, O. Kaiser, H. Gross, J. Nelis, H.-P. Müller, W. H. Schmidt, U. Stegemann, etc., have (uncritically) taken over Müller's notions, especially the political origin of the remnant idea and the distinction between the "secular-political" and "religious" spheres. However, Preuss points out that in view of the reviewer's study referred to above, these notions are not only called into question but must be given up (pp. 17, 113-116, 126). Unfortunately Preuss did not have available the dissertation of D. M. Warne (1958) on the origin, development, and significance of the OT idea of the remnant and the thesis of R. Hoshizaki (1955) on the Isaianic concept of the remnant. It is surprising that no reference is made to I. Engnell, J. Lindblom, and others writing in English. It seems that my study "Semantic Values of Derivatives of the Hebrew Root Š'R," *AUSS* 11 (1973): 152-169, appeared too late for inclusion in Preuss's "Addition."

This reprint will be valued for making available a rare German dissertation whose conclusions unfortunately were uncritically adopted by most German scholars for over three decades. The "Addition" will bring the reader fairly up-to-date with regard to more recent literature.

Andrews University   GERHARD F. HASEL

Ozanne, G. C. *The First 7000 Years.* Jericho, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1970. 227 pp. $5.00.

The first ten chapters of this book deal with Biblical chronology from Adam to Christ while the last two are more concerned with numerology, a typology developed from the preceding chronology. Nine of the ten chapters on chronology deal with the OT, starting with Genesis and ending with Nehemiah.

From Gn 1 to I Ki 1 (Adam to Solomon) the author has outlined a relatively reasonable chronology from a conservative viewpoint. The most controversial point in this part of his presentation is his use of the genealogies in Gn 5 and 11 for precise historico-chronological conclusions.

For his work on the divided monarchy Ozanne rejects all synchronisms with Assyria. He admits that these present a problem for his system, but he does not feel competent to deal with them since he is not an Assyriologist. He is confident, however, that when such materials are correctly understood they will come into harmony with his system of Biblical chronology. His objection seems somewhat unusual in view of the fact that he uses Nebuchadnezzar's chronicles, also Assyriological materials, to provide his terminal date for the Hebrew monarchy. The result from this approach is that Ozanne comes out with a rather long chronology for the period from Jehu to the fall of Samaria, a period for which Assyrian synchronisms are available. This in turn produces high dates for preceding events: the division of the

kingdom, 968; the accession of Solomon, 1008; David's installation, 1048; the Exodus, 1484. All of these are at least 40 years higher than almost anyone currently would date them.

After discussing the 70 years of exile in chapter 8, Ozanne proceeds to the 70 weeks of Dan 9. He dates the going forth of the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem to the 20th year of Artaxerxes I in 445 when Nehemiah received his commission. Accepting the day-year principle, there are 483 years (69 weeks) from that date down to Christ. Since this computation comes out too late, Ozanne reduces each of the 483 years by 5 days by taking them as lunar-solar prophetic years. This reduction brings the end of the 69th week back to A.D. 32, which is the year to which Ozanne dates Christ's crucifixion. He considers very unlikely the suggestion that this period may have started earlier with Ezra. Ozanne's work on the chronology of the birth, baptism, ministry, and death of Christ (chap. 10) simply has not come to grips with the problems involved, as he himself admits in the last instance.

Following futurist and dispensationalist interpretation, Ozanne puts the 70th week of Dan 9 down at the end of the age, just prior to the com-mencement of the millennium. In contrast to other interpreters of this school, however, Ozanne provides dates for these events. He derives these dates from three lines of evidence: (1) his interpretation of the figures in apocalyptic passages in the Bible; (2) numerology, i.e., the number of years from Adam to the foundation of the temple equals the number from the founding of the temple to the beginning of the millennium, etc.; (3) the schematic out-line of 6000 years of human history followed by the millennium, whence the title for his work. Since he dates Creation at 4004 B.C. and Christ's birth 4000 years later at 4 B.C., human history as we know it will terminate in A.D. 1996 when the millennium begins. The 70th week will begin seven years before that, in 1989, but this is not synonymous with Christ's coming, as the rapture takes place prior to 1989. On the basis of these principles, it is difficult to take Ozanne seriously. He has moved out of serious scholarship into specu-lation.

An intimate part of Ozanne's system is that the Sabbath is a type of the millennium. To support such an interpretation he draws upon the usual texts that mention that a thousand years are as but a day with the Lord. Two observations are offered on this point to close this review. First, the Sabbath appears in the OT as the fourth of ten stipulations upon which the covenant between Yahweh and Israel was based. Nothing could be further from a prophetic or typological context. The Sabbath is cited there as a memorial of Creation, and later it is referred to as a memorial of the Exodus. In Heb 4, which Ozanne mentions, the Sabbath does not prefigure the millennium but refers to the Christian's rest in Christ. Secondly, as Ozanne also notes, the day-age concept was present both in late pre-Christian Jewish thought and in Christian teaching as early as the Apostolic Fathers, in the Epistle of Barnabas. This interpretation does not appear in the NT, however. It later led to the failure of hopes for Christ's return around A.D. 500 and again around A.D. 1000, since Christians then used the LXX for the figures upon which they based their calculations. For details the reader is referred to *AUSS* 4 (1966): 166-168.

Andrews University   WILLIAM SHEA

Pagels, Elaine H. *The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis: Heracleon's Commentary on John.* SBL Monograph Series 17. Nashville: Abingdon, 1973. 128 pp. $3.50.

This monograph is the product of a doctoral dissertation (Harvard, 1970), written under Helmut Koester. The burden of the study is that Valentinian exegesis, which was denounced by the heresiologists—Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement, Origen—as "arbitrary," "contrived," or "irrational," was misunderstood by such "mainstream" anti-Gnostics, and furthermore has generally been misunderstood to this day. Hence Pagels tries to correct this long-term fault by offering an analysis of the Valentinian exegesis of John (especially that by Heracleon) in which she argues that the Valentinians were serious exegetes, that within their theological framework they were remarkably consistent, and that their theology arose from such exegesis as often as it was brought to it.

Chap. 1, on Jn 1:1-4 in Gnostic exegesis, is the key to much of the rest. Here Pagels argues convincingly, on the basis of several interpretations of Jn 1:3, that what was previously seen as arbitrary or contradictory in reality coheres under a threefold exegetical scheme which in turn corresponds to the three stages of the Valentinian myth of redemption: *pleroma, kenoma, cosmos.* The various exegetes, she argues, and sometimes the same exegete, interpret Scripture in each of the stages. Furthermore, interpretation in terms of the *pleroma* was intended for initiates, while interpretation in terms of the *cosmos* was intended for non-initiates. She concludes that Heracleon's commentary was intended for non-initiates—hence its differences from Ptolemy's.

On this base, the rest of the book offers an analysis of Heracleon's understanding of key passages in John to show that the various Valentinian theological positions derive from, or are consonant with, a consistent exegesis of the Gospel.

There is much that one may learn from this study. For those for whom Gnostic texts are still something of a mystery, a side-by-side reading of Heracleon and Pagels should prove an enlightening venture. But since a guide like hers is most surely needed in order to make sense out of Heracleon, one wonders whether her argument will hold that the commentary was intended for non-initiates.

For the beginner in Gnostic studies, the book is a major contribution to an understanding of Valentinianism. Not all will be as convinced of Heracleon's consistency as she (there seems to be a major shift in his view of the dwellers in Capernaum, who apparently are non-redeemable "hylics" in 2:12, but are "psychics" only linked with matter in 4:46ff.); nor will all be persuaded by her analysis of Valentinian anthropology in terms of a biblical theology of election. The Valentinian notion of election, which must deal with *three* "natures," still seems to this reviewer more deterministic with regard to the "pneumatics" and "hylics" than Pagels allows. Nonetheless this is a major study, one with which all further work on Valentinianism must reckon.

Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary   GORDON D. FEE
South Hamilton, Mass.

Robinson, John A. T. *The Difference in Being a Christian Today*. Philadel-
    phia: Westminster, 1972, 92 pp. $1.50.

Bishop Robinson presents us here with another provocative book which has
been preceded by works that dealt with the same aspects of the theme discussed
in the book under review: *On Being the Church in the World* (1960), *Honest
to God* (1963), *The New Reformation?* (1965), and *Christian Freedom in a
Permissive Society* (1970).

Robinson has popularized the changes taking place in theology and the
church by polarizing the new over against the old: the Ground of our
Being versus the God Up/Out There, the new versus the old morality, and
in this book the Christian humanist versus the religious Christian, the new
laity versus the old laity, and the new priesthood versus the old priesthood.

The traditional form of Christianity that Robinson wishes to overhaul is
described as peculiar and exclusive. It draws lines of demarcation between
itself and the non-Christian world in terms of "a body of doctrine, a code of
behaviour, a pattern of spirituality, a religious organization . . ." (p. 17).
His contention throughout the book is that "it would be truer to say that
we find our identity by losing it in identification, that we are *distinctive
precisely as we are not distinct*" (p. 17, emphasis his).

The Christian must first identify himself with all men. He cannot move
and have his being in his own exclusive circle. He must ally himself with all
the forces which seek to make life humane. Robinson affirms that there is
a difference between a Christian and a non-Christian even though the latter
is also found working together for the same end. Second, the truth must be
experiential. People are not asking, "Where may I find a gracious God?" but
"Where may I find a gracious neighbor?" The real danger is not the heresy
of docetic Christology as much as in docetic Christianity, a Christianity
absent from the arena of life.

Tomorrow's layman is not one who will spend all his time keeping the
machinery of the church running but one who will exercise his laymanship
more and more through secular rather than religious groups. Tomorrow's
priest is not one who stands opposed to the laity but one who serves as the
"focus and intensification of what it means to be a layman" (p. 76). He will
be a specialist in a secular calling (medicine, engineering, etc.), self-supported,
but ordained as one who "stands openly for a God of love in a place of
suffering" (p. 80).

Robinson is easy to read, always uses the appropriate quotation, and is
interesting. His ideas are not always original, he is quite repetitious and
lacks discipline in following through ideas to their proper end. As he wrote
in one of his books, "I am essentially a man of movement, of exploration.
I am usually thinking of my next book before I have finished the last." The
book is loosely put together. There is no real essential difference between
Chaps. 2 and 4, and Chaps. 5 and 6 could easily have been included in
the previous chapters. The whole could have been put together in one
chapter of less than 50 pages.

While Robinson needs to be heard, still in spite of his cautions he tends
to stress the lack of difference rather than the difference. One gets the feeling
that humanism as such becomes more important than Christian humanism.
The evangelical purpose of the church is toned down, and its social activity

emphasized to the extent that one wonders whether the church will not simply become another social organization and lose its distinctive function and identity.

Andrews University   SAKAE KUBO

The Translator's New Testament. London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1973. xi + 579 pp. $2.75.

The United Bible Societies (UBS) published their *Greek Text* in 1966 with translators primarily in view, especially in the format of the apparatus. *The Translator's New Testament,* based on this text, has the same objective, but is for those translators who must depend on English for access into the text of the NT. To fulfill this purpose the translation must be in a universal English familiar to those who translate into languages which have no translation or only poor ones. Nevertheless, there are no arbitrarily established vocabulary limits as in some versions for people with limited English background. Instead a more practical approach based on the experience of linguists was used.

This translation is the culmination of the work of thirty-five scholars including seventeen NT specialists and eighteen missionary linguists who began their work in 1954. Among those on the committee were W. D. McHardy, A. S. Herbert, and William Barclay.

The Glossary and Notes at the end are an important part of this publication. The former explains words and expressions, indicated by asterisks, which the committee felt would be helpful for the translators; and the latter deals with problems, indicated by daggers, which constantly arise in translating the NT. To illustrate the use of these two helps, we take examples from Mt 1. The words "messiah," "angel," and "people" are explained in the Glossary, the last because the same word is used to translate the Greek "hagioi" in this version. The words dealt with in the Notes are "husband" (v. 19) and "wife" (v. 20). The choice of these is obvious in this context.

While the UBS is generally followed, there are some deviations which definitely are not improvements. Some of these which have been noted in the major variants are: the inclusion of Jn 5:3-4 and Acts 8:37 in the text, with brackets without any notes, which UBS had relegated to the apparatus; the inclusion of "Ephesus" in Eph 1:1 without brackets, which UBS had included in brackets; the placing of Jn 7:53-8:11 in the traditional location, which UBS had placed at the end of the Gospel; the placing of the shorter ending of Mk in the footnotes, which UBS included after the longer ending in the text. This version follows UBS in adding "Jesus" within brackets in Mt 27:16-17, and in the note the translators regard it as authentic.

The translation itself is simple, direct, and clear. It is not as free as Phillips' or the NEB but is not without interpretive elements. These latter will be applauded or rejected depending on whether they agree with one's own interpretation of the passage. As examples of simplification, "scribes" is translated "those who taught them the Law" (Mt 2:4), and "justifies" is rendered "puts man right with himself" (Rom 1:17). Examples of interpretation are: "as a sign of your repentance" for "unto repentance" (Mt 3:11); "shared

his nature" for "the Word was God" (Jn 1:1); "one gift of grace after another" for "grace for grace" (Jn 1:16); "who is divine, who is closest to the Father" for "God which is in the bosom of the Father" (Jn 1:18); "Mother, why are you interfering with me?" for "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" (Jn 2:4); "his people" for "saints" (Rom 1:7, which, by the way, has been placed after v. 1); "God's glorious intention for them" for "the glory of God" (Rom 3:23); "spirits of the sky nor spirits of the abyss" for "nor height nor depth" (Rom 8:39); "irreligious people" for "sinners" (Mt 9:10-11).

Some interesting translations are: " 'You are Peter' (meaning Rock)" in Mt 16:18; "virgin companion" in 1 Cor 7:36; joining the last part of v. 3 with v. 4 in Jn 1 as in NEB; making a disjunction between Christ and God in Rom 9:5, again following NEB.

This translation with its glossary and translational notes will be a real boon to those translators for whom it is intended, yet one could have hoped that it had more faithfully followed the UBS text.

Andrews University   SAKAE KUBO

Yoder, John H. *The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster.* Grand Rapids,
    Mich.: Eerdmans, 1972. 260 pp. Paperback, $3.45.

The title of this book is misleading. Yoder's concern, in fact, is the relevance of a NT ethic of voluntary subordination for modern social ethics. Only by verbal legerdemain can one get this from the title.

Yoder has set himself an ambitious task. Utilizing the entire NT, he endeavors to establish the point that the NT sets forth a social ethic of voluntary submission. Further, he seeks to bridge the gap between the first century and ours, the second plank in his thesis being that this NT ethic merits consideration by ethicists in our time. And all this is attempted within the span of 250 pages!

Though Yoder claims to be aware of the hazards involved in his bold undertaking, it is not so clear that he has avoided them. We shall confine our remarks to a critique from the viewpoint of NT scholarship; it is likely that many more questions would be raised by students of social ethics.

It is regarding *method* that the most serious doubts are to be expressed. Yoder specifically disclaims any innovative NT interpretations. He sees his work as the gathering together of results from NT scholarship. But his approach leaves this reviewer distinctly uneasy on at least two counts: (1) He is not sufficiently aware of the difficulties involved in recovering the actual social ethic of Jesus. His case leans heavily on Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of God and the announcement of the Jubilee in the sermon at Nazareth (Lk 4). Yoder looks to Luke's account as his principal source; Matthew hardly gets a mention. His treatment justifies only a more modest claim such as "the social ethic of Luke." To emphasize continually—as he does—the social ethic of *Jesus* is a position that few NT critics will espouse. (2) His attempt to bring together the various strands of the NT into an overall synthesis is even more unsatisfactory. For instance, after considering the social ethics of "Jesus and Paul," he states: "There would be the thought of the author of Matthew or of the writer to the Hebrews; there would be the mind of Peter, of John,

of Jude, or of the seer of the Apocalypse. There is reason to trust that the reading there would confirm the orientation already sketched" (p. 233). But would it? This writer's study in Hebrews by no means supports Yoder's thesis. The ethic there is rather that of the *pilgrim*. Again, in the final paragraph of the book (p. 250), Yoder affirms that "we are left with no choice" but to hold that the General Epistles reflect the social ethic he has already found in the Gospels and Paul. But he has not even considered these epistles in his work!

These observations show that the treatment of the NT material is spotty and selective. Yoder gives the impression of a man who, having found a thesis, raids the text for examples of it.

If Yoder's work is at many points frustrating to the NT scholar, one must state that his basic thesis is exciting. For long it has been held that no significant social ethic is to be found in NT thought, hanging as it does beneath the expectation of the imminent Eschaton. Yoder, then, is taking on a fairly settled view—and he gives it a series of jolts. There is a great deal which is not only provocative but extremely suggestive here.

As a finished product, *The Politics of Jesus* is quite unsatisfactory. But as a sketch, as a stone cast into the waters of NT research, it may prove to be very significant. Obviously, there is a need for a comprehensive work on the social ethics of the NT (Why hold that only *one* view is to be found?). The announcement of the Jubilee, for instance, needs to be established or rejected. Such a base alone will fill in the gaps left by Yoder's approach. If the appearance of *The Politics of Jesus* sparks such a debate, it will have served a valuable purpose.

Spicer Memorial College   WILLIAM G. JOHNSSON
Poona, India

BOOKS RECEIVED

Titles of all books received which are at all related to the interests of this journal are listed in this section, unless the review of the book appears in the same issue of *AUSS*. Inclusion in this section does not preclude the subsequent review of a book. No book will be assigned for review or listed in this section which has not been submitted by the publisher. Where two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperback edition.

Armstrong, James. *Wilderness Voices.* Nashville and New York, Abingdon, 1974. 176 pp. Paperback, $3.50. A discussion of men who are speaking and have spoken words of protest, judgment, and renewal amidst the arid wastelands of modern society.

Baskin, Wade, ed. *Classics in Chinese Philosophy.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1972. 737 pp. $20.00. A chronologically arranged anthology of Chinese philosophical writings from Mo Tzu to Mao Tse-Tung.

Baskin, Wade. *Dictionary of Satanism.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1972. vi + 351 pp. $12.50. Provides short definitions on the occult for the casual reader.

Bedford, Mitchell. *Existentialism and Creativity.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1972. 376 pp. $12.50. A synthesis of Kierkegaard, Sartre, Buber, and Jaspers on the authentic life and its implication for education. Has all the appearance of unrevised dissertation.

Beegle, Dewey M. *Scripture, Tradition and Infallibility.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1973. 332 pp. Paperback, $4.95. Revised and lengthened version of his earlier

controversial *Inspiration of Scripture.* Updates earlier edition and takes a more affirmative position towards Scripture.

Chemnitz, Martin. *The Two Natures in Christ.* Translated by J. A. O. Preus. St. Louis and London: Concordia, 1971. 542 pp. $12.00. The classic statement of orthodox Lutheran Christology by the leading systematician of 16th-century Lutheran orthodoxy.

Cochrane, Arthur C. *Eating and Drinking with Jesus: An Ethical and Biblical Inquiry.* Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974. 208 pp. $9.00. A look at the Lord's Supper from an ethical point of view and as it relates to the whole of life. Answers the questions why, what, and how men may and must eat and drink with Jesus.

Fowler, James W. *To See the Kingdom: The Theological Vision of H. Richard Niebuhr.* Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1974. xii + 292 pp. $10.95. The first in-depth study of the development of Niebuhr's thought.

Hay, David M. *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity.* Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 18. Nash-

ville and New York: Abingdon, 1973. 176 pp. $5.00. A thorough treatment of the most frequently cited OT passage in the NT, especially in its reference to Christ.

Holmgren, Fredrick. *With Wings as Eagles: Isaiah 40/55, An Interpretation.* Chappaqua, N.Y.: Biblical Scholars Press, 1973. xi + 214 pp. Paperback, $4.95. Presents for the nonspecialist the new view of the contents of these chapters as nationalistic rather than universal.

Kaiser, Otto. *Isaiah 13-39.* Translated by R. A. Wilson. The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974. 412 pp. $12.50. Completes 3-vol. commentary on Isaiah in this series. Translation from the series Das Alte Testament Deutsch.

McClendon, James William, Jr. *Biography as Theology: How Life Stories Can Remake Today's Theology.* Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1974. 224 pp. $13.95/ $4.95. Explores a new emphasis in theology by looking at what accounts for the kind of life a person lives.

McCutcheon, W. J. *Essays in American Theology: The Life and Thought of Harris Franklin Rall.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1973. xii + 345 pp. $12.50. An analysis and exposition of the theology of one of the most influential professors of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

McNeill, John T., and Nichols, James Hastings. *Ecumenical Testimony: The Concern for Christian Unity Within the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches.* Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974. 320 pp. $10.00.

A historical treatment of the development of ecumenism in the Reformed and Presbyterian churches in Europe, Great Britain and the British Commonwealth, and the U.S.A. from the time of Calvin to the present.

Matsunaga, Daigan, and Matsunaga, Alicia. *The Buddhist Concept of Hell.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1972. ix + 152 pp. $4.95. Emphasizes the more profound meaning of hell in Buddhism rather than its understanding as a place of torment.

Oosterwal, Gottfried. *Modern Messianic Movements As a Theological and Missionary Challenge.* Missionary Studies, No. 2. Elkhart, Ind.: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1973. 55 pp. $1.00. Provides positive as well as negative evaluations of cargo cults and similar movements.

Papademetriou, George C. *Introduction to Saint Gregory Palamas.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1973. 103 pp. $5.00. A presentation of the theology of the great 14th-century Eastern Orthodox saint.

Runes, Dagobert. *Handbook of Reason.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1972. 200 pp. $6.00. A collection of thoughts on a wide range of topics from "Abstract" to "Zionism."

Schilling, S. Paul. *God Incognito.* Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1974. 207 pp. $5.95. Uncovers God's unrecognized presence where we have not usually sought for him.

Shires, Henry M. *Finding the Old Testament in the New.* Philadel-

phia: Westminster, 1974. 251 pp.
$7.50. A comprehensive treatment
of the OT in the NT, showing
the great extent to which the NT
is indebted to the OT.

Stockhammer, Morris. *Kant Diction-
ary*. New York: Philosophical Li-
brary, 1972. 241 pp. $10.00. Con-
cise dictionary of Kantian concepts
and of terms of his system.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

א	= $\ʾ$	ד	= d	י	= y	ס	= s	ר	= r
ב	= b	ה	= h	כ	= k	ע	= $ʿ$	שׂ	= $ś$
ב	= $\underline{b}$	ו	= w	כ	= $\underline{k}$	פ	= p	שׁ	= $š$
ג	= g	ז	= z	ל	= l	פ	= $\underline{p}$	ת	= t
ג	= $\underline{g}$	ח	= $ḥ$	מ	= m	צ	= $ṣ$	ת	= $\underline{t}$
ד	= $\underline{d}$	ט	= $ṭ$	נ	= n	ק	= q		

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

◌ַ	= a	◌ְ , ◌	(vocal shewa) = e	◌ֹ	= $ō$
◌ָ	= $ā$	יֵ , ◌ֵ	= $ê$	◌ֳ	= o
◌ֲ	= a	◌ִ	= i	וֹ	= $ô$
◌ֶ	= e	יִ	= $î$	◌ֻ	= u
◌ֵ	= $ē$	◌ָ	= o	וּ	= $û$

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	*Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.*
ADAJ	*Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan*
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AfP	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
AHW	Von Soden, *Akkad. Handwörterb.*
AJA	*Am. Journal of Archaeology*
AJBA	*Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.*
AJSL	*Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.*
ANEP	*Anc. Near East in Pictures,* Pritchard, ed.
ANEST	*Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures,* Pritchard, ed.
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts,* Pritchard, ed., 2d ed., 1955
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AcO	Acta Orientalia
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
ArO	*Archiv Orientální*
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgesch.*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AUM	Andrews Univ. Monographs
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BASOR	*Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BJRL	*Bulletin, John Rylands Library*
BQR	*Baptist Quarterly Review*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BRG	Biblioth. Rerum Germanicarum
BS	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CC	*Christian Century*
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CH	*Church History*
CIJ	Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum
CIL	Corp. Inscript. Latinarum
CIS	Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CT	*Christianity Today*
EQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ER	*Ecumenical Review*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
HJ	*Hibbert Journal*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
Int	*Interpretation*

JAAR	Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.	RechB	Recherches Bibliques
JAC	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum	RE	Review and Expositor
JAOS	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.	RelS	Religious Studies
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature	RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion	RHPR	Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. Rel.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology	RL	Religion in Life
JEOL	Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux	RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies	RQ	Revue de Qumrân
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies	RS	Revue Sémitique
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	RSR	Revue, Sciences Religieuses
JPOS	Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.	RSV	Revised Standard Version
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review	SANT	St. z. Alt. u. Neuen Test.
JR	Journal of Religion	SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism	SOr	Studia Orientalia
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies	SPB	Studia Postbiblica
JSSR	Journ., Scient. St.of Rel.	ST	Studia Theologica
JTS	Journal of Theol. Studies	TD	Theology Digest
Jud	Judaica	TEH	Theologische Existenz Heute
KJV	King James Version	TG	Theologie und Glaube
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly	TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
		TP	Theologie und Philosophie
MGH	Mon. Germ. Historica	TQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
MPG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca	TR	Theologische Revue
MPL	Migne, Patrologia Latina	TRu	Theologische Rundschau
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review	Trad	Traditio
NEB	New English Bible	TS	Theological Studies
NKZ	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift	TT	Theology Today
NPNF	Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers	TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Theologique	UF	Ugaritische Forschungen
NovT	Novum Testamentum	VCh	Vigiliae Christianae
NTA	New Testament Abstracts	VT	Vetus Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies	VTS	VT, Supplements
Num	Numen	WO	Die Welt des Orients
OC	Oriens Christianus	WTJ	Westminster Theol. Journal
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung	WZKM	Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.
Or	Orientalia	ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën	ZÄS	Zeitsch. für Ägyptische Sprache
PEFQS	Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.	ZAW	Zeitsch. für die Alttes. Wiss.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly	ZDMG	Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl.
PJB	Palästina-Jahrbuch		Gesellschaft
PRE	Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche	ZDPV	Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.
		ZHT	Zeitsch. für Hist. Theologie
QDAP	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.	ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
RA	Revue d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.	ZKT	Zeitsch. für Kath. Theologie
RAC	Revista di Archaeologia Christiana	ZNW	Zeitsch. für die Neutes. Wiss.
RAr	Revue Archéologique	ZRGG	Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.
RB	Revue Biblique	ZST	Zeitschrift für Syst. Theologie
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie	ZTK	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche