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SUNDAY IN THE PRE-REFORMATION DISPUTATIONS IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND

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Before the Protestant reformation triumphed in the territories of Vaud and Geneva, three important religious disputations, as they were called, were held, two in Geneva in 1534 and 1535 and one in Lausanne in 1536. The main theme of these debates was authority in matters of religion. Should it be the church as the Catholics affirmed or the Scripture only as the Protestants claimed? It is interesting to see that the defenders of Rome used Sunday-keeping to try to prove that the Protestants themselves recognized by their actions what they denied by their words; namely, that the church stands above Scripture.

1. *Spread of Protestantism to Southwestern Switzerland*

To understand the significance of these debates and the references to Savoy, Berne, et cetera, that must be made, one should keep in mind the major steps in the coming of Protestantism to that region.¹ On the eve of the reformation, Geneva was an imperial city, ruled by an ease-loving prince-bishop and several councils of the bourgeois. Astride the blue waters of the Rhone as it leaves the lake, the small city was the southwestern gate to the Swiss Plateau and derived considerable wealth from her favorable location on an important trade route. Her prosperity and the spirit of freedom within her walls made the town a favorable ground for the new ideas, but she also aroused the covetous eyes of her powerful neighbors, especially Duke Charles III of Savoy, the

¹ See especially C. Borgeaud, "La Conquête religieuse de Genève," in *Guillaume Farel*, ed. by Comité Farel (Neuchâtel, 1930), pp. 298-337; Henri Naef, *Les Origines de la réforme à Genève*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1936-68).

uncle and ally of Francis I of France.² This duke, who held territories not only south of the lake but also to the north of it, was in a position to exercise formidable pressure on the small city. To a large degree the early path to reform was determined by the struggle between the bourgeois and their bishop and the resistance of the Savoyard peril.

The economic and political pressures of Savoy led the bourgeois of Geneva to seek closer and closer bonds with the Swiss confederates, especially with Fribourg and Berne, which since the Burgundian wars had steadily expanded in her direction. The treaties of *combourgeoisie* with those cantons signed in 1526 marked the virtual independence of the bourgeois from their bishop, whose spiritual authority had been previously the main bulwark of their freedom. Shortly afterwards, the General Council, which could only be convoked by the bishop was replaced by the Council of the Two Hundred that became the main organ of the rebellion against the episcopal rule.³ The years 1528-30 saw several Savoyard aggressions against Geneva that strengthened the bonds with Berne even more and led to the stationing of Bernese troops within her walls. The reformation had just triumphed in Berne in 1528 and the presence of soldiers from that canton gave new momentum to reforming currents. From that time on, the cause of Protestantism and Bernese influence were very closely intertwined. As early as 1529 both the pope and Emperor Charles V felt the need to warn the Genevans against heresy.⁴

In June 1532 Pope Clement VII's proclamation of a sale of indulgences aroused violent emotions among the sympathizers of

² The duke had a high reputation for piety, and Luther wrote him in 1523 to ask his protection for those who preached the gospel in his states. A. L. Herminjard, ed., *Correspondance des réformateurs*, 9 vols. (Geneva, 1866-97) 1: 153. After Charles' victory over Francis I at Pavia, the Duke cast his lot with the victor and became a vigorous opponent of heresy.

³ Naef, *Origines*, 1: 10-11.

⁴ Borgeaud, *Conquête*, p. 300.

reform. Meanwhile, a schoolmaster who had begun reading the Gospels in his schoolroom was ordered by the Council of the Two Hundred to cease such exercises, but in the same edict of June 30, 1532, the General Vicar was ordered to preach the gospel in the churches according to the truth, without any mixture of fable or human inventions.⁵ Thus in the edict the major theme of the Geneva reformation had been stated: the pure Scriptures without any human addition, and that concept was proclaimed more and more loudly by Farel who arrived in Geneva late in September 1532 and by others who joined him shortly afterwards.⁶ The bishop had not the least intention to follow these instructions and in a speech to the General Council he solemnly stated that "no one should read in the French Bible or New Testament under penalty of banishment from the city."⁷ The Council replied by the command to preach "nothing that could not be proved by the Scriptures."⁸ However, to the wrath of the bourgeois, the bishop repeated on January 1, 1534, his prohibition of the reading of the Bible and the gospels.⁹

2. *The Disputation Between Farel and Furbity*

It was in that atmosphere of controversy about the use of Scriptures that the Vicar General invited a Dominican from Chambéry, Guy Furbity, doctor of the Sorbonne, to preach the

⁵ "Ad veritatem nullis mixtis fabellis- nec aliis inventionibus humanis praedicare." *Registres du Conseil* (hereafter cited as *RC*), June 30, 1532; see Naef, *Origines*, 2: 327-328.

⁶ The bishop immediately opposed their presence and after a stormy meeting Farel and his companions were banished from the city on October 5, 1532.

⁷ Naef, *Origines* 2: 44. On the prohibition of Bible reading by the laymen see *ibid.*, 2: 287-288, and *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, s. v. "Bibelverbot" by G. Rietschel. Shortly afterwards, the bishop, Pierre de la Baume, became involved in a plot against the leaders of the bourgeois party and left Geneva for good during the night of July 14, 1533. From that time on, the Catholic party identified completely with Savoy, while evangelicalism became synonymous with independence.

⁸ *RC*, Oct. 24, 1533.

⁹ *RC*, Jan. 1, 1534.

Advent sermons in Geneva in December 1533.¹⁰ The monk used his pulpit to hurl invectives against the Lutherans and their Bernese protectors. The latter, infuriated by the insults, used their power to force the councils to hear a religious debate between Furbity and Farel, who had returned to Geneva on December 20, 1533, under Bernese protection. The central issue of the discussion was to be "whether the prelates of the church can properly command anything which is not contained in the Scriptures."¹¹

At first the Dominican was confronted with assertions that the Bernese had found insulting. He quickly denied any intention of offending the Bernese people since he had preached only to the Genevan people, and he apologized readily. But then the Bernese pressed for a full discussion of the theological issue: the doctrinal authority of the church.¹² Furbity turned immediately to the text in Dt 17 to the effect that if there was a very difficult case, the people should go up and ask the priest to settle the matter. "In the same manner," he asserted, "the pope today is the final arbiter in questions of faith and conduct."¹³

¹⁰ Naef suggests that he was the same man who at Easter 1530 had conducted a very successful campaign against Lutheranism at Geneva. *Origines*, 2: 240-241.

¹¹ We have a record of the proceedings, perhaps the very notes of the secretary of the council, Claude Roset: *Letres certaines daucuns grandz troubles et tumultes, advenuz a Geneve, avec la disputation faicte Van 1534. Par monsieur nostre Maistre frere Guy Furbiti, de l'ordre de S. Dominique du couvent des freres prescheurs de Montmellian, alencontre daucuns quon appelle predicantz qui estoient avec les Ambassadeurs de sa Seigneurie de Berne [1535]*. It appears that the booklet was due to Farel, although it was written ostensibly by a partisan of Furbity. See Herminjard, *Correspondance*, 3: 293-294, on the authorship of the pamphlet. Since the author does not identify the spokesman of the reformers, we shall refer to him as "the preacher."

¹² "Si les prelatz de l'eglise peuvent ordonner licitement aucune chose, qui ne soit tenuee et commandée en la sainte Escripiture, a quoy ils obligent sur peine de peché mortel." *Letres*, p. 24D. I use the pencil numbering of the pages on the copy of the Library of the University of Geneva. To facilitate verification of the statements, I indicate by *A* a statement found in the upper fourth of the page, by *D* a statement found in the lower fourth of the page, by *B* the fourth above the middle of the page, and by *C* the fourth below the middle of the page.

¹³ "Par quoy il appert, que nostre Seigneur a laissé sur la terre prestres et judges, ausquelz fault obeyr et quil y a en l'eglise qui sont pour decider des

It was easy, however, for the preacher to remind Furbity of the fact that the priest was to give the answer completely on the basis of the law found in the Scriptures, a practice which the pope did not follow. If that was true in the days of the shadows of the law, how much more so should it be true now in the days of the light of the gospel! Asserting that he was a doctor of theology and knew whereof he spoke, Furbity retorted that he had proved that just as in OT times one had to obey the Levitical priest, so now one had to obey the Christian priest whom the Levitical priest prefigured.

As the discussion continued, eventually it came to the matter of Jesus' submission to his Father's will, the preacher concluding that it was clear that man may not introduce any ordinance in the church.¹⁴ At this point Furbity replied: "I am going to prove beyond question that St. Peter and the Church have the authority to make ordinances that must be held, although God did not command it and that they can change and transform the commandment of God."¹⁵ God ordered the Jews to keep Saturday as the Jews still do, he went on, "but the church through the power given to her has changed Saturday into Sunday because of the resurrection of the Lord. And we celebrate Sunday because of a commandment and law of the church, not because of the commandment of God, because if you follow God's command literally you should rest on Saturday."¹⁶ This celebrating of Sunday would be wrong were it not for the authority of the church to pass ordinances.

grandz affaires, soit de la foy, ou des meurs, comme est le pape a qui fault obeyr et tenir sa sentence." *Ibid.*, p. 26B.

¹⁴ "Parquoy assez est clair que nous devons tenir a ce que Jesus nous a laissé: qu'il n'est loysible a homme de faire autres ordonnances en l'Eglise de Dieu quelque prelat ne pasteur qu'il soit." *Ibid.*, p. 33A.

¹⁵ "Je vous prouve expressement que S. Pierre et Leglise ont puissance de faire ordnances qu'il faut tenir, combien que Dieu ne l'aye point commandé: et qu'ils peuvent changer et muer le commandement de Dieu." *Ibid.*, p. 47D.

¹⁶ "Mais Leglise a par la puissance qui luy a este donnee a change le Samedy au Dimenche a cause de la resurrection de nostre Seigneur. Et fait on feste

The preacher, in his answer, stated that all days are equally sacred and that Christians sanctify them all. They rest on Sunday to hear the Word of God and to give rest to their neighbor.¹⁷ Furbity pressed him again, saying that if it were sufficient to keep one day out of seven, then one could rest any day of the week, leading thus to a dreadful confusion. He reasserted that the text irrefutably commands to keep a specific day, Saturday, and that Sunday is kept on no other ground than the authority of the church. The preacher now answered that God wants agreement in the church and that individuals are therefore forbidden to set their own day of rest. Finally he repeated that Christians do not keep days but gather together for charity's sake.¹⁸ At that point the dinner bell rang and the discussion adjourned to the next day, when a new topic was considered.¹⁹

3. *The Disputation of Rive*

During the months that followed, the partisans of the old order resorted to many riots, but the reformed ideas gained numerous supporters. Meeting in private homes, in public squares and even in gardens, these latter advertised their meetings by stating that there the gospel was preached without the addition of any human invention.²⁰ On March 1, 1534, the crowd carried Farel

le Dimanche par le commandement et ordonnance de Leglise, et non point par le commandement de Dieu. A la lettre il faudroit soy reposer le Samedy." Ibid., p. 48A. As a Dominican, Furbity was faithful to the teaching of Thomas Aquinas, who stated in the *Summa*: "In the New Law the keeping of Sunday supplants that of the Sabbath, not in virtue of the precept of the law (*non ex vi praecepti legis*) but through determination of the Church and the custom of the Christian people (*sed ex constitutione ecclesiae et consuetudine populi Christiani*)." 2a. 2ae. 122, 5 (*Summa Theologiae*: vol. 41, *Virtues of Justice in the Human Community*, tr. and ed. T. C. O'Brien [New York, 1972], p. 309).

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 49A.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 50C.

¹⁹ Furbity was eventually sentenced to apologize for his statements in the cathedral, but once he was in the pulpit he refused to say anything like that and was thrown in jail. Ibid., p. 92C.

²⁰ Borgeaud, *Conquête*, p. 318.

to the Dominican convent where a large sanctuary was available. Soon iconoclasm set in. From his refuge at Gex, the bishop condemned the majority of the members of the Council of the Two Hundred for heresy and rebellion and called for the confiscation of their possessions. Soon after, he excommunicated the Genevans. The city was now under direct attack by Savoy, and houses on the outskirts were razed to build stronger walls while even the preachers were standing guard. At the elections of February 1535, magistrates who favored the break with Rome were elected. The time seemed ripe for the evangelicals to finalize the religious change. They were eager for a public disputation that would lead to a formal decision to abolish the mass, as had been done at Zürich (1523), Basel (1524), and Berne (1528). A former gatekeeper of the convent of Rive, Jacques Bernard, challenged the Catholics to a debate. Under the supervision and guidance of the Council the meeting began on May 30, 1535, and lasted until June 24. The Protestant debaters were Farel, Viret and Bernard, with Pierre Caroli and Jean Chappuis holding forth for Rome.

The full record of the debate has unfortunately not been preserved. We must depend upon the summary that Farel prepared, in which he provides us with only the arguments used by the spokesmen of the reformed camp.²¹ The nun Jeanne de Jussié does provide us with an account of the dispute from a Catholic standpoint in her *Levain du Calvinisme* but gives no information on the words of the defenders of her faith.²² It is in the reformers' reply that we seek some insight into the proceedings of the debate.

J. Bernard had submitted five theses, the second of which proclaimed that the church must be ruled by the pure Word of God. It must have occupied a large part of the dispute since most of Farel's opusculum is concerned with that thesis. The Protestants attacked the five commandments of the church which in the liturgy follow the reading of the ten commandments and which

²¹ *Un opusculum inédit de Farel*, ed. Théophile Dufour (Geneva, 1885).

²² (Geneva, 1865), pp. 124-129.

enjoin attendance at mass on Sundays and holidays, yearly confession before a priest, weekly and yearly fasts, and the like. The Protestants had to recognize that Moses and Elijah had fasted and that our Lord had commended secret fasting but, admittedly, without reference to sacred seasons. The concluding plea of the preachers was that one should not go beyond Jesus and proclaim a law that he has not given.²³

It is in that context of refusing to observe any law not coming from God Himself that the discussion on Sunday-keeping arose. The argument used against Furbity was repeated by the spokesman of the reformers: Sunday is not kept because it is a greater day, since all days are equal for the Christians; but it is celebrated for the convenience of common worship and also to insure rest for all. From the effort made by the reformed party to show that Sunday rest was not a commandment of the church but a commandment of God one may well deduce that the Catholic speakers, like Furbity, had tried to force the Protestants to admit that they were observing a religious ceremony for which no basis could be found in the Scriptures.

An interesting argument was introduced by the preachers: When the church states, "Rest on the seventh day," this is no more a command of the church than are the words of someone telling somebody else to help his neighbor who is experiencing great necessity. In both cases, according to the reformers, we have a command of natural law, hence a command of God.

For Rive, the evidence is somewhat more indirect than for the debate involving Furbity. But there is nonetheless rather clear indication that once again the Protestants were accused, because of their Sunday observance, of not following consistently their principle of *sola scriptura*.

²³ "Et pourtant ne fault soy eslever sur Jesus Christ ne donner loy ou il n'en a point donné." *Opuscule*, p. 24.

4. *The Lausanne Disputation of October, 1536*

From this point onward, events occurred rather quickly. In spite of a cruel Savoyard blockade, the people of Geneva on May 21, 1536, voted to live "according to the gospel and the Word of God" and to put an end to the masses and other papal practices in their territory.²⁴ Calvin arrived in the city two months later.

Up till 1536 Berne had never gone beyond warnings and remonstrances when Savoy had threatened Geneva; but on January 16 of that year it declared war on the Duke, whose armies were blockading Geneva. The campaign was completely successful and by February 2 the Bernese soldiers had broken the Savoyard ring. During the operation, much Savoyard territory located north of Lake Geneva and also the bishopric of Lausanne fell into Bernese hands. Inasmuch as the inhabitants of that region were still deeply attached to their ancient religious traditions, Naegeli, the Bernese general, gave assurance that no one would be disturbed for his religious opinions as long as no hindrance would be placed to the preaching of the pure gospel.²⁵ Berne, however, soon discovered that freedom and religious education did not bring about any quick surge of reforming spirit, and a public debate was called at Lausanne for October 1, 1536. To be sure that the local population would not be misinformed by their priests regarding the disputation, provision was made for lay representatives from all parishes.²⁶

A large crowd filled the cathedral when Farel opened the convention by a speech stating the purpose of the meeting. Then the first thesis was read: "Holy Scripture teaches no other justifica-

²⁴ RC, May 21, 1536.

²⁵ C. Gilliard, "Le Triomphe de la réformation dans les contrées romandes," in *Guillaume Farel*, ed. by Comité Farel (Neuchâtel, 1930), pp. 338-347; H. Vuilleumier, *Histoire de l'église réformée dans le pays de Vaud*, vol. 1: *L'âge de la réforme* (Lausanne, 1927).

²⁶ Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 150.

tion than that which comes through faith in Jesus Christ, offered once for all, so much so that the virtue of Christ's work is lost by any offer of remission of sins through satisfaction, oblation and purgation."²⁷ The chapter of the cathedral stood to protest the whole undertaking. Such public disputation of the Catholic faith, they announced, was prohibited by canon law and by imperial doctrines. Rather than trust dogma to such incompetent judges they preferred to refer the decision to the coming general church council. Farel countered with Scriptural examples of public discussions of doctrine.

Somehow, a Dominican, Dominique de Monbouson, who had preached the last Lent, was drawn into the joust; and immediately Pierre Viret, who had already crossed arms with him, asked for the opportunity to face him. The monk quickly came to the heart of his argument: The church is before and above Scripture, so that Scripture would have no authority if it were not approved by the church.²⁸ As could be expected, Viret denied that thought vehemently and stated that since the church is made up of believers, believers come before the church; moreover, belief comes before believers, and the Scriptures before belief.²⁹ Scripture, therefore, does not owe its authority to the church but comes by the judgment of the Holy Spirit, who distinguishes between truth and error. The remark of the Dominican, that the church made many decisions long before the NT was written, led Viret to assert the perfect unity of the Old and New Testaments.

²⁷ *Les Actes de la Dispute de Lausanne 1536*, ed. Arthur Piaget, vol. 6: *Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel* (Neuchâtel, 1928), p. 16. Several studies have been devoted to that dispute, including Charles Subilia, *La Dispute de Lausanne* (Lausanne, 1885); and G. Bavaud, *La Dispute de Lausanne: Une étape dans l'évolution doctrinale des réformateurs romands* (Fribourg, 1956).

²⁸ "L'église est devant l'écriture et par dessus elle, tellement que l'écriture n'aurait point d'auctorité si elle n'estoit approuvée de l'église." *Actes Lausanne*, p. 43A.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44B.

At that point Dominique de Monbouson went on to challenge the Protestant representative as follows:

If the church has no authority and can make no ordinance beyond and outside of Holy Scripture, then why do you observe Sunday and not Sabbath, as God commanded through Moses? For if you refuse to make any change in Scripture and must stop at the words and the letter, you ought to keep Sabbath like the Jews!³⁰

He concluded that if the church had the power to change the Sabbath to Sunday on her own authority, without the authority of the Scripture, she can make other rules and ordinances. Thus it is revealed that the church is above Scripture.³¹

Viret attempted to show, first of all that Sunday-keeping is not merely a church institution but that it has a biblical basis. Christians keep only a spiritual rest, the Sabbath described in Heb 4. As for a physical rest, all God commanded was to rest on the seventh day; he did not designate Monday, Tuesday, or Saturday. From Monday till Sunday there are seven days, and thus Christians keep the seventh day. In the second place, said Viret, all the days are holy for Christians and they must rest every day from their former wicked activities, letting the Spirit work in them. Thus the Jewish Sabbath is fulfilled spiritually for them. Besides, he continued, the Sabbath is kept outwardly since Christians rest in order to assemble together to hear the Word of God and celebrate the sacraments of the church and also to make sure that servants and workers will have a chance to rest, thus keeping the command to love the neighbor. The church,

³⁰ "Si l'eglise n'a point d'auctorité et ne peult rien constituer ne faire aucune ordonnance oultre et hors la sainte escripture pourquoy observez vous donc le dimenche et nonpas le sabbat, comme Dieu l'a commandé aux Juifz en la loy de Moyses" Car si vous ne voulez rien muer ne changer de la sainte escripture, mais vous arrester seulement aux motz et a la lectre, il faudroit donc que vous feissiez le sabbat comme les Juifz." Ibid., p. 47D.

³¹ "Parquoy je dyz que si l'eglise a eu la puissance de changer le sabbat au dimenche de son auctorité, sans l'auctorité de l'escripture, comme nous l'observons trestous, que aussy bien peut elle faire des aultres ordonnances et constitutions, combien qu'elles ne soient pas contenues en la sainte escripture. Et par ainsi je concludz que l'eglise est par dessus et qu'elle n'est pas subjecte a la sainte escripture." Ibid., p. 48.

therefore, does nothing but what is drawn directly from the Scriptures. The reformer then went on to challenge the monk to show how the ceremonies that are called the ceremonies of the church are founded likewise on Scripture and are not contrary to its authority. He ended by disclaiming that his opponent had shown that the authority of the church stands above that of the Bible.³²

Viret had asserted that a spiritual observation was more important than a literal observation and that practical considerations (need of time to assemble together, duty to provide rest for the labors) could be taken into account in justifying a practice that did not agree fully with the words of the law. But the Protestants were not altogether consistent in admitting this kind of interpretation of the commandments. When it came to images, for instance, which the defenders of Rome argued were set up only to facilitate a spiritual worship and provide a simple and practical means to communicate some religious notions to the uneducated people, or even when it involved the fasts and Lent which were intended to curb sensuality, they objected. They could not grant what another Catholic participant, the physician Blanchefflore asserted, "Whatever is done to honor God is well done."³³ To this Farel replied that "whatever is done to honor God is well done," a sentence that is continually on the lips of the priests, is a perverse doctrine, truly repugnant to the law and commandments of God. He continued:

Therefore it is not enough to say, "I do it with a good intention, I do it for the sake of the honor of God." God must have commanded it, otherwise you waste your time and offend our Lord. If it were enough to mean well and to try to honor the Lord, all that would be needed in the way of commandments would be: "Seek good intention and go where your good intention leads you." You suggest to do all things for the honor of God, but God had clearly forbidden that we do what we think good, wanting us to do only what he commands without going to the right or to the left.³⁴

³² Ibid., pp. 48, 49.

³³ Ibid., p. 368C.

³⁴ "Parquoy n'est assez dire: je le fay a la bonne intention, je le fay en

5. *Conclusion*

Sunday-keeping presented a unique problem for the Protestant leaders who upheld what is commonly known as reformed Protestantism. Committed as they were to a radical biblicism, they not only wanted to discard customs that contradicted the teaching of the Bible, as Luther did, but also to abandon the ceremonies that were not clearly commanded in the Word. Thereby, they opened their flank to the accusation that in keeping Sunday they were totally inconsistent in the application of their principle since they could not provide a clear biblical command for Sunday observance, a matter which their Catholic opponents pointed out to them repeatedly. They said that all days are equally holy, which claim was countered as being contrary to what the commandment states. They argued that God meant one day—any day—which follows six days of work. This made them appear inconsistent because of their efforts to enforce strict Sunday observance. The Protestants also justified the keeping of the first day of the week on the utilitarian grounds of providing rest for servants, but they were unwilling to grant the same latitude to Rome for other practices such as images, that had grown out of well-intentioned efforts to solve practical problems of popular piety.

All in all, when it came to the question of Sunday-keeping, the Protestant representatives in the disputations had to remain on the defensive, arguing acceptance because of custom and suitability to the social environment rather than on the basis of Scriptural authority.

l'honneur de Dieu. Il fault que Dieu l'aye commandé et ordonné. autrement l'on pert son temps, et l'on offense Nostre Seigneur. S'il fust assez d'avoyr bonne intention et de faire la chose en l'honneur de Dieu, il ne failloit point d'autre commandment que dire seulement: "a la bonne intention, et fays ce que ta bonne intention porte." Fays ce que tu feras en l'honneur de Dieu. mais Dieu a expressement a defendu que ne faisons ce que nous semble bon. voulant que faisons seulement ce qu'il nous commande sans tirer n'a la dextre n'a la senestre." Ibid., p. 370C.

TOWARDS A MONISTIC PHILOSOPHY OF MAN

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Two conceptual approaches to the mind-body problem have been prevalent throughout history. One view sees man as split into two or more divisions, while the other sees man as a basic unity. The present article will give consideration to these differing views and their implications for a Christian philosophy of man. Also, arguments for a thorough-going monistic view of man will be presented.

1. *Dualism Versus Monism: The Mind-Body Problem*

The *dualistic* view sees man as composed of mind and body—the mental and the physical (in ancient anthropological terms, “soul and body” or “spirit and body”). This “ghost-in-the-machine” model has a long history, dating from Plato and other early Greek philosophers. In modern times, the outstanding success of the field of medicine in conquering disease has reinforced a kind of “mind-plus-plumbing” conception of man. Although the mind and the plumbing are thought to interact, there seems to be an implicit belief that man is composed of *psyche and soma*, as the term “psychosomatic medicine” suggests.

In its strongest form, dualism suggests that man is mind *and* body. In a somewhat weaker, but more subtle form, it implies that mental events are *correlated* with physical events, or that the mind influences the body. But to speak of correlation is to imply that there are two factors or two entities involved, for one cannot correlate something with itself. It is precisely this kind of interactional or correlational dualism which is probably adhered to by many Christians who reject the more direct and overt theory of mind-body dualism.

The *monistic* model rejects any splitting of man into parts and views him as a unified organism of great complexity and varied functioning. This view rejects the notion that he is composed of a mind and a body which interact (a weak form of dualism), but rather emphasizes man's absolutely basic unity. To use an analogy from modern physics, we know that a flash of lightning is an electrical discharge. There are not two things, the flash *and* the discharge. There is just one thing; the flash *is* the electrical discharge. These are but two different ways of characterizing the same event. Similarly, according to the monistic theory, there do not exist mental events which are correlated with physiological events; rather, a "mental" event is also a "physiological" event. The terminology simply represents two ways of characterizing the selfsame event.

The monistic view of man as a complex but unified person reflects Aristotle's revolt against Plato's dualism. More importantly, however, antedating these Greek philosophers, the ancient Sumerians and Egyptians had a unitary view of man. To the Egyptians, immortality was unthinkable without a body. Similarly, OT Hebrew thought was not dualistic in any Platonic sense.¹

Interestingly, although some Christians today have a clearly-articulated monistic philosophy for discussing the state of the dead, when they begin to consider man as a living functioning organism they often lapse into a kind of dualism where man is seen to be composed of mind and body. In this essay, I first survey some of the common causes for "compartmentalization of man," indicating that the philosophical bases for dualism are questionable. Then I cite modern research, which raises further doubts about the validity of a "mind-body" split. And finally, I call attention to the fact that the model of man presented in the NT is monistic, and endeavor to set forth some theological implications of a monistic philosophy in contrast to a dualistic one.

¹J. E. Royce, "Does Person or Self Imply Dualism?," *American Psychologist* 28 (1973): 883-891.

2. *Common Causes for the Compartmentalization of Man*

The basic unity of man, which is the major premise of the monistic model, is often overlooked simply because of the fact that man is a complex being, possible to view from various perspectives. Further, the common every-day ways of talking about man—with references to both his subjective feelings and his observable behavior—tend to imply some sort of basic division. Additionally, various theological and philosophical writers describe man by using terminology such as “body and mind,” or “body and soul,” or even “body, mind, and soul.” In advocating the monistic model, I am suggesting that all of these various divisions, compartments, and fractions are apparent, not real, and that there are no compelling grounds for believing in any substantive divisions within man.

Let us now look more closely at some of the reasons which lead us to compartmentalize, fractionize, and divide man. First of all, the complexity of man allows for many descriptions—each unique, incomplete, and not reducible to the terms of another system. If one were making a speech, for example, a biochemist could write chemical equations describing changes taking place in the muscles controlling the vocal cords, a neurologist with the aid of an electroencephalograph could record electrical activity at the cortex, a speech analyst could observe variations in the speaking, and a journalist could comment on the literary quality of the production. Each specialist would have his own unique view and his own particular “bag of tools,” but all would be describing the same unified person. It is only our *study* of man that is broken down into separate fields; man himself functions as a unified whole.

Unfortunately, some scholars have succumbed to the “nothing-butism” syndrome, fervently proclaiming that their particular logical system and vocabulary is the only relevant way to analyze man. Thus, man has variously been proclaimed to be nothing but a product of conditioning,² nothing but a vast and complex

² Cf. B. F. Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (New York, 1971).

series of chemical reactions, nothing but a naked ape. Humanists and theologians have reacted by saying that man is more than chemicals, more than a product of conditioning, more than an animal. When confronted with how he is more than chemicals, etc., they have presented physical scientists with an entirely different language and system of logic, and very little real communication has occurred.

The solution to this communication barrier seems to reside in understanding that physical scientists and theologians have differing but complementary systems. An introspective mentalistic, spiritual, or ethical description of a human activity does not rival, but rather enhances, a description in physical terms. It is an illustration of the complexity of man that he can be simultaneously described as a rational being, a moral agent, and a living biological organism. These apparently opposing descriptions are a result of how we choose to analyze man, but they in no way reflect any substantive divisions. Confusion results when the vocabulary of the theologian, for example, is mixed with that of the physical scientist.

Another factor which contributes to a compartmentalized view of man is the fact that he is both a doer and an observer. He experiences in a personal, subjective way what others observe in him from a distance. This has resulted in the development of two languages—the experiential language of the doer and the descriptive language of the observer. Writers, philosophers, and theologians often focus on man's subjective experiences, speaking of thoughts, will power, motives, decisions, etc. They use metaphors, analogies, and mentalistic constructs. The term "mind," for example, is a broad metaphor, subsuming a large number of mentalistic constructs. In contrast, physical scientists, psychologists, and others interested in an objective description of observable behavior have eschewed terms like "mind"; they use, instead, such terms as "brain," "central nervous system," and the like, to describe the organism and its interactions with the environment.

It is confusing to mix the logic and vocabularies of the subjective and objective frames of reference. The language of introspective reports is different from the language of material processes, and follows a different logic. "Mind" is a word which belongs to a different logical vocabulary than "brain." There is no problem in using the metaphorical language involving terms such as "mind," as long as we recognize that we are using abstractions. Often, however, we attribute concreteness and reality to these mentalistic constructs, treating them as if they exist in a material sense. We should either talk about the brain, nervous system, etc., and how these relate to other aspects of the organism, or we should use the internal metaphorical language of mind, thoughts, decisions, and the like; but to mix the language of these two systems produces confusion.

Regardless of which system we are using, it should be clear that we are talking about a single unified organism. Because of these dual language systems, it is easy to subscribe to the dualistic view of man, but such a division is simply a peculiarity deriving from our language usage, and does not reflect any substantive division.

In summary, then, although man is complex and although we tend to view him from a number of perspectives, the "divisions" merely represent ways of talking about man, and the fractionization is only apparent, not real. Further, our use of subjective and objective language systems seems to imply that man is a dualistic creature with an inner life and an external body; but again, such a split is simply an illusion created by our usage of language. In reality, man is a unified whole.

3. *Recent Experimental Findings*

The "ghost-in-the-machine" view of man has further been perpetuated by the fact that we have almost no vocabulary with which to describe our internal processes. Our language simply lacks words to describe clearly how the "insides" of our bodies feel. Moreover, inasmuch as in the past there have been few ways

to observe such internal activities and even fewer ways to control them, most people have not been overly disturbed by the lack of a precise vocabulary; and thus they have settled for a more metaphoric and subjective language—all this seemingly adding support to the dualistic notion of a kind of mystical, subjective, inner “ghost” within men.

Recently, however, the use of biofeedback techniques has tended to alter this situation.³ It has now become possible for persons visually to observe their own heart rate, blood pressure,⁴ or even the electrical activity of their brains.⁵ Using this technology, it has become possible to train people to control these activities within certain limits. Much of this research has been carried on by Russian psychologists, who have for some time been interested in developing control over internal activities. In this country, psychologist Neal Miller and his associates have been able to train rats to control contractions of their stomachs, the volume of blood in their ears, and even urine formation in their kidneys.⁶ Other researchers have used biofeedback methods to demonstrate that a human can learn to control his sweat-gland activity, blood pressure, heart rate, and various other processes formerly thought to be involuntary. A Russian psychologist described a person who could alter his heart rate over a range of forty beats per minute merely by visualizing himself as asleep or as vigorously active. This same person could elevate the skin temperature of his right hand by imagining it was on a hot stove while simultaneously lowering the temperature of his left hand by imagining he was holding an ice cube.⁷ Although such dra-

³ M. Karlins and L. Andrews, *Biofeedback: Turning on the Power of Your Mind* (Philadelphia, 1972).

⁴ D. Shapiro, “Effects of Feedback and Reinforcement on the Control of Human Systolic Blood Pressure,” *Science* 163 (1969): 588-590.

⁵ J. Kamiya, “Conscious Control of Brainwaves,” *Readings in Psychology Today* (Del Mar, California, 1972).

⁶ Neal E. Miller, “Learning of Visceral and Glandular Responses,” *Science* 163 (1969): 434-445.

⁷ P. J. Lang, “Automatic Control,” *Readings in Psychology Today* (Del Mar, California, 1972).

matic changes have not been obtained with most subjects, it has been clearly demonstrated that internal processes are not mystical and uncontrollable events.

Although philosophical issues are never settled by scientific experiments, recent evidence is certainly consistent with a monistic view of man. It does not surprise the monistic theorist to discover that man can control the electrical activity of his brain. This is simply another way of saying that he can control his thoughts. There are not two things—electrical activity and thoughts—; rather, these represent but two ways of looking at the same event.

As new research evidence accumulates, man emerges more and more as a total, unified organism, and the concept of a “ghost” within the “machine” is less tenable; there seems to be no substantive split between mind and body, and the distinction between thinking and doing appears to be artificial. In reality, thinking *is* doing. For example, in my own research, designed to help people stop smoking, I have found this to be true. If two matched groups of smokers are given different treatments—subjects of one group actually puffing on a cigarette while receiving a mild electric shock, and subjects in another comparable group imagining smoking while receiving the shock—, superior results occur with persons in the group that *imagines* smoking.⁸ To the addicted smoker, imagining smoking is in some respects more “real” than actually smoking. Conceivably, he could smoke a cigarette “absent mindedly” (that is, without thinking about it); but when he vividly imagines engaging in such behavior, it becomes very real.

We may conclude that a monistic view of man seems most consistent with current philosophical and scientific thinking.

4. Theological Implications of a Monistic Philosophy

As must be implicit in the previous remarks, I object to the

⁸ J. M. Berez, “Modification of Smoking Behavior through Self-administered Punishment of Imagined Behavior: A New Approach to Aversion Therapy,” *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 38 (1972): 244-250.

Greek dualistic notion that man is “mind” and “body.” Even in the more subtle form that mind *interacts* with or influences the body, such thinking is misleading. The Greek model of man begins with the erroneous basic premise that man is dualistic, and then attempts to put him back together with the glue of a “holistic” philosophy. Unfortunately, many Christians have accepted this erroneous basic premise. As a result they often break man down into a dichotomous or trichotomous being, consisting of body and mind, or of body, mind, and soul. This is unnecessary in the light of current knowledge.

A monistic viewpoint is, I believe, reflected in the NT as well as OT. If one keeps in focus the fact that NT writers were trying to communicate in a culture profoundly influenced by Hellenistic thinking, their apparent references to a dualistic nature of man can be seen to result from their use of language. The substantive content of their writings is clearly consistent with a monistic view of man.

For example, in using such terms as “flesh” and “spirit,” Paul was not using them in the dualistic Greek sense as a contrast between man’s lower passions and his reason, but rather he was illustrating an ethical contrast. This is clearly articulated, for example, by W. D. Stacey, who writes as follows:

From a superficial point of view, flesh and spirit are antithetical. In Greek thought, they represented the tangible and the intangible, the base and the lofty, the contaminated and the pure, the bound and the free. This contrast is fundamental in Platonism, Orphism, and Hellenistic thought generally. To the Hebrew mind, the contrast would not be so evident and would concern different aspects of the one person. . . .

He [Paul] did not regard the flesh as separate from man as a whole, and it is certain that he never discussed spirit as a substance. . . . Paul’s contrast was between man as a human being seeking to live a godless life, and man as a child of God seeking fellowship with Him. . . .

A constructive statement must begin by recalling the meaning Paul gives to the two terms. Spirit stands for the divine life and power as manifested to men. Its end is to bring men to God, to give rise to virtues, and to impart eternal life. The flesh stands for the weakness and frailty of man which entertains evil and so

separates from God and leads to death. . . . The contrast between these two is not a metaphysical distinction.⁹

Stacey quotes from J. A. T. Robinson that Paul "is not referring to the conflict, familiar to Greek ethics, between man's reason and his passions" and then goes on to add his own further comment that Paul rather is "being practical and ethical, in the true Hebrew tradition. He is always thinking, either of his own experience, or that of his converts."¹⁰

In addition to exploring Paul's use of the words "flesh" and "spirit," Stacey also analyzes how Paul used expressions such as "soul," "body," "heart," "mind," "conscience," and "inward man." After a thorough exploration of these various terms, Stacey draws the following conclusions:

The Hebrew did not see man as a combination of contrasted elements, but as a unity that might be seen under a number of different aspects. Behind each aspect was the whole personality. Platonism, Orphism, and the Greek view generally, provide the opposite point of view. In this matter, Paul was in the Hebrew tradition. Every word in Paul refers to the whole man. . . .

Man as a unity could have a hundred different aspects, and a hundred different words to describe them. If some overlapped and became confused, it was of no consequence. In any case, each included all, so some confusion was inevitable. The one fact that remained clear was that man, with all his diversity of aspects, was an integral unity.¹¹

Without a clearly-articulated monistic philosophy of man, we are likely to make false distinctions between "mind and matter," or between "thinking and doing"; we are prone to assume that "thoughts" occur in the isolated privacy of our craniums, and that "thinking" is somehow less real than "doing." Thus, we are likely to miss the meaning of Christ's statement in Mt 5:28 that to lust for a woman is to commit adultery *already*, because what happens in our brain and other parts of our organism when we "lust" is similar to what would occur if we were to engage overtly in the behavior about which we fantasize. There

⁹ W. D. Stacey, *The Pauline View of Man* (New York, 1956), pp. 174-178.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

is research which clearly demonstrates this.¹²

A monistic philosophy emphasizes the idea that although we can talk about man from either a theological or a physiological perspective, one viewpoint is not more "real" than the other. Terminology of either perspective could conceivably be used in theological discussion itself, depending upon the particular aspect of truth and reality on which we wish to focus.

Moreover, it may be well to point out that many of the false dichotomies which arise in theological discussions are directly related to the dualistic language we use in talking about man. The "faith versus works" issue is a case in point. Faith is often seen as being exercised in the arena of the mind. Thus there is a kind of mystical, nonreal quality about it. Works, on the other hand, are viewed as being carried out by the body, and hence appear to be less mystical in nature. Therefore, when a thoroughgoing monistic view of man is espoused, the issue of faith versus works is more likely to be seen in its unified sense: Faith is real behavior, and works also are real behavioral acts. Those more private behaviors which occur primarily in the brain, we are likely to label as having to do with faith; those behaviors which we observe overtly as skeletal movements, we are more likely to label as works. Monistic philosophy sensitizes us to the fact that we are not dealing with a dichotomy, but rather that we are using different words as labels for equally "real" points of a behavioral continuum.

5. Conclusion

I would suggest that a monistic view of man seems most consistent with current thinking in the behavioral sciences and with the biblical viewpoint. Since man is tremendously complex, many different theoretical perspectives and vocabularies are utilized in describing him. Each system gives a partial picture and focuses on different aspects. It is our language systems and theories which create the illusion of man's being made up of various "parts," but man himself is an integral unity.

¹² W. H. Masters and V. E. Johnson, *Human Sexual Response* (Boston, 1966).

RIOTS AS A MEASURE OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

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The English break with Rome in the 16th century was accomplished without the violence and war that characterized the Reformation elsewhere in Europe. This is not because Englishmen were mild men with shallow religious experiences or men with a natural bent towards toleration. It was the strength of the Tudors and the cautious, latitudinarian settlement of Elizabeth that enabled the English to escape the terrors of civil war, while the Narrow Sea protected them from the armies of the Counter Reformation. But if the English Reformation was quiet by Continental standards, it was by no means peaceful. Protestants and Catholics died legally for their faith, and widespread, lawless violence destroyed much life and property.

And this violence, associated with the Reformation, did not end with the stable years of Elizabeth. The Reformation left a legacy of hatred that erupted into civil war in the 17th century and continued to create great public disturbances until the end of the 18th century. It is the violence of these centuries, specifically the urban riots, that I propose to examine. I believe that they are a significant indicator of the gradual subsiding of the religious intolerance that so marked the period before 1660.

1. *Definitions*

Before we can examine these urban riots it is necessary to define a few terms. I am defining "riots" as *activity by three or more people acting in a non-military capacity, publicly and consciously endangering life and property, and directing their efforts*

*against de facto governmental authority or against other members of the same political community.*¹

For this period of English history there is no difficulty in separating riots from other forms of urban violence—mutiny, insurrection, or revolution—but rather in distinguishing urban riots from rural uprisings. My definition makes no distinction between the two, though rural uprisings were normally directed against the high price of grain, turnpikes, landlords, or some other oppressive force; and urban riots were more frequently directed against other members of the community: during the 17th and 18th centuries usually Catholics, Dissenters, or political opponents. It is for this reason that I have selected urban riots rather than rural uprisings as a measure of religious conflict.

I propose to limit myself further to only those riots that I would consider primary. Secondary riots I would define as the endless minor battles that so characterized pre-industrial society throughout Europe. These riots were often no more than street-corner brawls, usually involving only scores of people and usually directed against some specific insult, real or imagined. Max

¹ One modern dictionary defines riot as “wild and turbulent conduct, especially of a large number of persons, as a mob; uproar; tumult; fray.” The legal definition is only a little more helpful. Riot is defined as “a tumultuous disturbance of the peace by an assemblage of three or more persons who, with intent to help one another against any one who opposes them in the execution of some enterprise, actually execute that enterprise in a violent and turbulent manner, to the terror of the people.” The definition I have proposed enables us to exclude large gatherings of people protesting against something with peaceful intent (though such gatherings can easily become a riot), civilian defense of a city against hostile armies, civil war, mutiny, and insurrection. Insurrections, we may note, often include riots, but an insurrection is something more. It is a rebellion against established authority, usually by armed men, with the intent of destroying permanently that authority. An insurrection becomes a revolution when it succeeds or when the people involved seek a new authority or new basis of order. For this see R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: The Challenge* (Princeton, 1959), p. 198. The attack on the Bastille is a good example of a riot that became an insurrection and eventually part of a revolution. The uprising in Detroit in 1967 was clearly a riot, and the Nat Turner revolt of 1831 was an insurrection.

Beloff² has described riots at this level in almost all places over almost every conceivable issue: apprentices fighting among themselves or with outsiders; food riots, election riots, enclosure riots, excise riots; riots at executions, fairs, and houses of ill fame; riots over recoinage, military recruiting, smuggling; riots between soldiers and civilians, students and townsmen.

The great urban crises that occasionally brought to a halt normal urban life I call primary riots. Though these riots always broke out in response to some immediate provocation or opportunity, they always grew out of long-cherished hatreds against some religious, national, or occupational minority, or a "tyrannical" government. They tended to be ideologically based, i.e., based not simply on poverty or frustration, but on a conviction that someone or some group threatened the traditional way of life. Primary riots usually involved thousands of people, sometimes a sizable fraction of the inhabitants of the city, and often continued for several days. Perhaps the most precise distinguishing mark of a primary riot was that the mob controlled the city, or whatever part of the city it chose, and could defy the attempts of the magistrates to restore order. Only professional soldiers could subdue these mobs.³

² *Public Order and Popular Disturbances 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1938).

³ Riot was and is an indictable misdemeanor at common law. But not until 1714 did a statute define offenses of riot attended by circumstances of aggravation. An act of that year required the justice of the peace, sheriff, mayor or other authority, when twelve or more persons assembled together unlawfully to the disturbance of the public peace, to read a proclamation requiring all such persons assembled to disperse immediately. To obstruct the reading of the riot act or to continue together unlawfully for one hour after the proclamation was a felony. When the hour had passed the magistrate could act without liability for injuries caused. The law required all subjects, both civilian and military, to cooperate with the magistrate in the restoration of order. Usually the militia, or in London the train-bands, would be sufficient. But the only force sufficient to quell a primary riot was a professional military force, usually the household cavalry and foot guards, or regular army detachments. Since English magistrates, especially after the struggles with the Stuarts, were sensitive to the popular fears of a standing army—a threat to the liberties of Englishmen—and reluctant to call in troops unless absolutely necessary, some secondary riots were allowed to become primary for lack of a prompt show of force.

These are the riots that I wish to study as measures of religious conflict in 17th and 18th century England. I believe that they are valuable indicators of the level of religious intolerance that remained in England for 250 years following Henry's break with Rome. The violent legacy of the Reformation lingered on till the industrial revolution made class divisions more important than religious ones.

2. Primary Riots of the 16th and 17th Centuries

Knowing of the violence that marked the English Reformation one might expect to find the 16th century filled with numerous primary riots. But this is not the case. The only primary riot in 16th century England was in 1517, the evil May-Day Riot of that year directed against foreigners.⁴ The lack of primary riots is surprising; for secondary riots, especially food riots, occurred with regularity throughout the century, and rural uprisings were frequent through the reign of Mary Tudor.⁵

Perhaps the absence of primary riots can be explained by the iron grip the Tudors had on London and other urban centers; or perhaps the changes in religion and economic organization found their greatest resistance in the country. Perhaps the explanation is that in England monarchs imposed the Reformation from above, making it necessary for those in opposition to organize on a military footing to strike back, as did the Pilgrims of Grace in 1536 or Sir Thomas Wyatt's Gentlemen of Kent in 1554. In Scotland, where the Reformation came from below, primary riots were frequent. Those wanting change were not kings anxious to preserve order, but common people bent on creating disorder if

⁴ Martin Holmes, "Evil May-Day of 1517: the Story of a Riot," *History Today* 15 (September 1965): 642-650.

⁵ Food riots broke out in 1527, 1551, 1587, 1599, 1622, 1623, and 1630 (Beloff, p. 56). The major rural uprisings were the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536; Kett's rebellion in Norfolk in 1549; the rising in Cornwall in 1549; and Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion in 1554. Many of these risings did spill over into London and some of the country towns, but the urban violence that resulted does not fit within my definition of riot, because these forces were organized

that was necessary to purify the faith.

Religion did provoke primary riots in the 17th century, the century of the Civil War.⁶ This war, I believe, should be considered the War of the English Reformation. The strong Tudors had given way to the weak Stuarts, and the Reformation which the Tudors had kept under control now erupted with full fury. Of course, the English, by postponing their civil war 100 years, changed its nature greatly. Instead of the war being between Catholics and Protestants, it was between moderate Protestants and radical Protestants. And, of course, many constitutional and some economic issues were added. But until 1660 the Anglican settlement was not complete. With the Restoration of the Stuarts and the entrenchment of the Anglican gentry the English Reformation was finished. To the previous proscriptions against Catholics were added the Clarendon Codes, restricting the free exercise of left-wing Protestantism.

The Anglican Church, though it remained moderate, was no longer latitudinarian, but its monopoly of political power was secure. Only one serious threat remained: an attack from the right, launched by Charles II and James II. But James was de-

in a military fashion and behaved as armies, albeit not with the discipline one expects from a formal military organization. One must recognize, however, that even battle veterans often lose much of their discipline when assaulting a city. G. R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London 1955), p. 59, tells us that in the Tudor period men were too quick to draw weapons, and riots were common. Hundreds of small affrays and riots year by year were one of the most pressing problems of government.

⁶A riot in 1626 in which a mob killed Dr. John Lamb, a creature of the hated Duke of Buckingham, and another riot caused by the arrest of a man on Fleet Street are civic disputes that cannot be considered part of the Civil-War violence. The first of the riots associated with the Civil War occurred in 1640. Lambeth Palace, the residence of the hated Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, and St. Paul's, where the High Commission was sitting, were the targets of mobs numbering up to 2000. The train-bands with some difficulty restored order. Late in the same year a mob numbering perhaps 6000 threatened the residence of the Spanish ambassador and other places where papists were thought to be gathered for mass. For these riots see William Thornton, *The New, Complete, and Universal History, Description, and Survey of the Cities of London, Westminster, etc.* (London, 1784), pp. 180-181.

feated, and with the Glorious Revolution the supremacy of Parliament and Anglicanism was secured. This, of course, is hindsight. Contemporaries could not be so certain that the political and religious settlement was safe. The urban riots that had always been a regular feature of English life, took on a marked religious tone as the Anglican establishment continued to strike out against imagined threats, primarily from Dissent, but also from Catholicism.

Let us now examine these primary urban riots, commencing with two riots that illustrate the hostility many of London's lower class felt towards the new Puritan establishment.

In 1647 and 1648 London was the scene of almost constant rioting. The hardships of war: no trade, no money, many industries closed, and numerous deserters, all created ideal conditions for riot. In late July of 1647 apprentices petitioned for the restoration of the King and protested against the militia ordinance of July 23. This ordinance replaced the existing militia committee, selected by the corporation and favorable to the King, with one selected by the army. On the 26th a huge mob frightened the Parliament into revoking the hated ordinance and remained in control of the city till August 6 when Sir Thomas Fairfax entered the City with a large part of the parliamentary army.⁷

The greatest riot of the Civil War, the "mutiny" in London in 1648, seems to have been a reaction against the moral zeal of the Puritans and the instability of a country without a king. On March 27, in celebration of coronation day, mobs lit great bonfires in the city and forced all passing through the streets to shout for King Charles. This royalism and profanation of the Sabbath called forth a response from the puritan authorities. The Lord Mayor and the justices of the peace in Middlesex determined to effect a reformation, beginning on Saturday, April 8. All went well the first day, but on Sunday morning the train-bands for

⁷ Sir Walter Besant, *London in the Time of the Stuarts* (London, 1904), pp. 55-58; *London During the Great Rebellion . . .* (London, 1648), p. 34.

Middlesex, evidently on patrol to enforce Sabbath observance, found some young men playing "cat" and drinking. After exchanging shouts, the train-band fired, using only powder, in an attempt to scare them off, but the crowd returned stones. In the battle that erupted, the train-bands captured two and drove off the rest. Soon the mob rallied and began to drive the train-bands back towards the City. The forces of authority fired again, this time using lead, and this time slaying one, but the mob marched on. At Whitechapel some seized the colors of a train-band company; others marched into Smithfield breaking open houses and plundering money, plate, and anything else they could carry off. The largest part of the mob marched to Whitehall, but was dispersed by troops in the mews.

During the night the mob controlled the city. Prisons and magazines were opened and looting was widespread. In one armourer's shop the rioters seized money and plate valued at £100 and 400 weapons. Morning found the committee of militia, guarded by a force from the train-bands and two field pieces, under attack at the Lord Mayor's house. After a short parley, the mob, shouting "Fall On! Fall On!" surged forward, capturing one gun before being driven off. Two of the rioters and one of the defenders lay dead. From here the mob marched to Newgate and Ludgate, beating drums for the raising of forces. The crowd of supporters, and perhaps of the curious, who followed the 500 armed men grew to huge proportions. Everywhere they cried "For God and King Charles!" From here the mob divided into two main bodies and several subdivisions. One group held the gates and forced the country people to hold a market at Smithfield, Holborn, and other places without the gates. The other marched to the Royal Exchange with the gun. During the day, horse and foot from Lord Fairfax's army (he succeeded to the title in March) gathered under the command of several officers and about 7:00 in the evening gave chase to the main party of rioters. After a short pursuit the opposing forces engaged in Leadenhall.

The soldiers charged, despite the firing of the gun, and scattered the mob. Isolated firing continued from the windows, but the resistance had been broken. Both sides suffered many dead and wounded, and many more were later executed.⁸

What happened in London had its counterpart elsewhere in 1648. Both Bury St. Edmunds and Norwich had similar riots where men crying for King Charles attempted to take control of the city.⁹ The primary riots of the Civil War period might be considered part of the war, but though arms were used, the rioters acted as individuals. No military leader emerged, and the pattern of looting and property damage, at least in London, clearly marks this violence as a riot. We should note, however, that indiscriminate looting was not the usual activity of an English mob. When directed against specific minorities, riots were, as we shall see, quite disciplined, but in this riot the enemy was established authority, and thus all wealth was fair game.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688, though peaceful compared with the Civil War of the previous generation, did occasion numerous great riots. The fear and hatred of papists found expression in public attacks even before the Stuart power was broken.¹⁰ And

⁸ *The Rising and the Routing of the Mutineers in the City of London on the 9th and 10th of April 1648* (London, 1648); *An Act and Declaration of the Common Council of the City of London Touching the Late Insurrections*, etc. (London, 1648); *A Full Narration of the Late Tumult within the City of London . . . Presented to the House of Peers 13 April 1648* (London, 1648).

⁹ For the riot in Bury see *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies Journall in Parliament* and *Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament*. For Norwich see *A True Relation of the Late Great Mutiny which was in the City and County of Norwich, April 24, 1648*, etc. (London, 1648); *A True Answer of the Parliament . . . Likewise a Letter from Norwich . . . of blowing up the Magazine There*, etc. (London, 1648).

¹⁰ In May 1686 a large anti-papist mob—the word mobile had become fashionable in the 1660's, and Bishop Burnet of Salisbury had shortened it to mob—paraded in Bristol and resisted the soldiers sent to restore order. A mob in Norwich on December 7, 1687, destroyed a Catholic chapel and sacked many houses belonging to Catholics. Not till the next day did the trainbands disperse them. John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (Bristol, 1900), p. 439; *The History of the City of Norwich, from the Earliest Records to the Present Time* (Norwich, 1869), p. 261.

a primary riot broke out in London when James II, convinced that all his subjects were turning to William, fled London in the early morning hours of December 11. By leaving the city without a government, James abandoned his friends to the fury of his enemies. The hatred of the populace was directed against Catholics. Despite the attempts of the leading peers to secure peace in the metropolis, unrest swept the city as news of James' departure became known. Crowds of several thousand began to gather and attack Catholic chapels, the homes of Catholics, and any house where they believed either priests or papists were hiding. That night and again the next day the mob had possession of the city. On the evening of the 12th, numerous train-bands, bodies of horse and foot, and cannons stationed at strategic points in the city brought the mobs under control. The destruction in London was great. Besides many private dwellings, the rioters had destroyed four Catholic chapels, three residences of foreign ambassadors, and one printing house. Despite the length and destruction of the Revolution riots in London, I have seen only one record of a death—the accidental shooting of an officer by one of his command.

3. *Pattern of the Riots of 1688 and 1710*

The pattern of the riot of 1688 is of great interest. The mobs apparently had leaders of their own choosing and attacked only property of Catholics or Catholic sympathizers. The rioters did not burn the buildings, for to do so would have threatened the other structures in the row; rather they pulled all the trimmings into the street—furniture, books and pictures, and all movable property, along with doors, window frames, interior paneling and even some of the beams—and burned them in great bonfires. Of course, all this was associated with much shouting, parades, and the breaking of windows that did not illuminate. Though some rioters undoubtedly looted, the general pattern was to destroy rather than carry away. Bishop Burnet said: "None were

killed, no houses burnt, nor were any robberies committed. Never was so much fury seen under so much management."¹¹

In 1710 mobs attacking the opposite religious body, the Dissenters, displayed the same discipline. The impeachment of the popular Dr. Henry Sacheverell, a Tory partisan and chaplain of St. Savior's Southwark, for a sermon denouncing the Whigs, condemning toleration and occasional conformity, and even implying that the Glorious Revolution had been rebellion against divine-right monarchy, led to riots against Dissenters. They were thought to be behind this plot against the divine who dared to speak so boldly against false brethren within the Kingdom. Many believed that the Church was in danger.

On the first day of his trial, February 27, a crowd of butchers, sweeps, watermen, disbanded soldiers, servants, and artisans attended the doctor to his trial at Westminster Hall. On the second day the members of the crowd did not content themselves with

¹¹ The most complete accounts of the Revolution riots are in Beloff, pp. 40-44; and Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, chapter 10 (any edition). Beloff and Macaulay cite the primary accounts. The most valuable are *The Ellis Correspondence: Letters Written during the Years 1686, 1687, 1688, and Addressed to John Ellis, Esq., Secretary to Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue in Ireland . . .*, ed. Hon. G. J. W. Agar-Ellis, Lord Dover (2 vols; London, 1829), 2: 349-357; *A Brief Historical Relation of the State of Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* by Narcissus Luttrell (6 vols.; Oxford, 1857), 1:485-487. See also *Bishop Burnett's History of His Own Time . . .* (6 vols.; Oxford, 1823), 3: 329-330.

The violence was not confined to the city. The fury spread into most parts of England, especially in the Southern and Midland counties, "where the Catholick houses were generally plunder'd and gutted (as they then termed it) by the neighbouring Rabble." The wording of this in the life of James II (*The Life of James II . . . Collected out of Memoirs Writ of His Own Hand . . . Published from the Original Stuart Mss. in Carlton House*, ed. J. S. Clarke [2 vols.; London, 1816], 2: 257) is significant. The words plundered and gutted referred specifically to the method of destroying the houses without setting them afire and thus endangering neighboring houses. The method we observed in London was the pattern throughout the country. There is specific evidence for riots at Reading, Bristol, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Westmorland, and of course Edinburgh. For these see Beloff, *The Life of James II*, and Macaulay.

The population of London in 1688 was approximately 300,000.

escorting their favorite, but amidst shouts for "High Church and Sacheverell!" and "The Church is in Danger!" assaulted bystanders who would not doff their hats for the doctor. That night mobs began to pull down Presbyterian meeting houses. The rioting continued the next night. In all, nearly 10 meeting houses plus houses of prominent Dissenters and enemies of the doctor were attacked. The second night the prompt dispatch of the horse guards helped keep the destruction from spreading, and the next morning, March 2, a show of force in the streets—train-bands, horse, and foot—reduced the crowds and restored quiet.

The rioters followed the same pattern as in 1688. Mobs consisting mainly of apprentices, ex-colliers, and men from the artisan class attacked only the buildings of those they hated. Specifically they pulled down the churches, burning the pews, pulpits, cushions, hymn books, doors, window frames, and flooring in the streets. There was no looting. Not by accident did the other houses remain untouched by fire. The mobs were consciously trying to limit their destruction. No evidence supports the assertion of some contemporaries that gentlemen encouraged and directed the mobs. The mob activity was in fact a politically conscious, if bigoted and violent, expression of opinion.¹²

¹² The most complete and accurate accounts of the Sacheverell riots are in Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, . . . (London, 1722), pp. 416-418; Abel Boyer, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne Digested into Annals* (11 vols.; London, 1703-1713), 9: 197-202. A long, but confusing, description is in Walter Thornbury, "London Riots: The High Church Riots of Queen Anne's Time (Trial of Dr. Sacheverell)," *The Anti-Quary* 4 (August 1873): 49 ff. *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, pp. 425, 430-431, has opinions on the causes, but little on the riots themselves. See also Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of My own Life*, . . . 1671-1731 (2 vols.; London, 1829), 2: 227-228. For an extensive account of the entire Sacheverell affair see John Hill Burton, *A History of the Reign of Queen Anne* (3 vols.; Edinburgh, 1880), 3: 179-296.

A committee of the House of Commons reported in 1711 that there were within the cities of London and Westminster and the suburbs thereof 88 meeting houses for Dissenters.

There were no more primary riots directed against Dissenters until the Birmingham riots in 1791, but secondary disorders continued with frequency for at least another six years and appeared occasionally throughout the

century. In the autumn of 1710, High Church mobs turned out to help Harley's new Tory ministry secure a large majority in the general election. Once again Whigs and Dissenters found themselves the objects of attack. Bishop Burnet said the violence went beyond anything he had ever known, and Daniel Defoe wrote of swords and staves as well as stones and brickbats. Even the Civil War, he said, "was not carried on with such a spirit of fury." Serious disturbances occurred at Chester, Marlow, Whitechurch, Coventry, Chippenham, Newark, Southwark, St. Albans, Westminster, London, and elsewhere. For these riots see William Thomas Morgan, "An Eighteenth Century Election in England," *Political Science Quarterly* 37 (December 1922): 585-604. In November of 1714 the coronation of George I sparked further anti-Dissent riots—the ones that brought about the strengthening of the law regarding riots. These were particularly bad at Bristol. Again at the general election in May of 1715 riots were frequent. For these see Beloff, p. 55.

(To be continued)

THE NEW TESTAMENT GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES

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This is the third and concluding article reviewing the text-critical studies that have been done in the Catholic Epistles in recent years. The first appeared in *AUSS* 12 (1974): 103-111, and dealt specifically with the studies on the regular Greek text during the past 75 years; the second appeared in *AUSS* 13 (1975): 261-272, and dealt with the relatively recent studies on the Greek lectionaries, versions, and patristic citations.

In this issue we want to complete the series by providing a list of the MSS which contain at least part of the Catholic Epistles that may be found in the United States and Canada on *microfilm* and indicate which MSS have been collated in at least one of the seven Catholic Epistles. We shall indicate where the microfilm is located as well as the location of the collations. In addition to this information we shall add a general list which includes by Gregory numbers *all* of the extant MSS which contain the Catholic Epistles.

For the location in the United States and Canada of the microfilm of NT Greek MSS containing the Catholic Epistles we have relied on the "Checklist of Collections of Biblical and Related Manuscripts on Microfilm in the United States and Canada" by John L. Sharpe III. Sharpe's work appeared in 1971 in vol. 25 of *Scriptorium*. We have selected only the MSS from his lists that contain the Catholic Epistles. Although some holdings may have been enlarged since Sharpe's work was published, I know, however, only of the increased holdings at Andrews University, where the collection has more than tripled since 1971.

The sources for the names given in the "collator" column are as follows: (1) Muriel M. Carder, "An Enquiry into the Textual

Transmission of the Catholic Epistles" (Th.D. dissertation, Victoria University [Toronto], 1968); (2) Kenneth W. Clark, *Eight American Praxapostoloi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); (3) Sakae Kubo, *P⁷² and the Codex Vaticanus*, Studies and Documents, vol. 27 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), and additional personal copies at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich.; (4) Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, eds., *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts*, Harvard Theological Studies, vol. 17 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), pp. 160-167; (5) W. L. Richards, "The Textual Relationships of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles: Establishment and Classification of the Manuscript Groupings" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1974), and additional personal copies at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich.; and (6) Frederick H. Scrivener, *Codex Augiensis* (Cambridge, England: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1854), pp. 453-469.

We have not included the published collations of MSS such as Codex Sinaiticus which are easily accessible, nor have we included the MS evidence that is given in the critical apparatuses of NT Greek texts.

Gregory Number	Location of Microfilm in the United States or Canada ¹	Epistles Collated ²	Collator(s)
P ⁹		1 John	Richards
P ⁷²		1 Peter	Carder
		1-2 Peter, Jude	Kubo
P ⁷⁴		1-3 John	Richards
		All	Kubo
01		1-3 John	Richards
02	Claremont	All	Kubo
		1-3 John	Richards

¹ Andrews = Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich.; Claremont = Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, Calif.; LC = Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Trinity = Trinity College, Toronto, Canada.

²All indicates that each of the seven Catholic Epistles has been collated except where there is a lacuna; lacunæ are not indicated.

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Location of Microfilm in the United States or Canada</i>	<i>Epistles Collated</i>	<i>Collator(s)</i>
03	Andrews, Claremont	<i>All</i>	Kubo
04		<i>All</i>	Kubo
05	Andrews, Claremont		
020	Andrews	1-3 John	Richards
044	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
		<i>All</i>	Kubo
		1-3 John	Richards
049	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
		<i>All</i>	Kubo
0142	Claremont		
1	Andrews, Claremont		
2	Claremont		
4	Claremont		
5	Claremont	<i>All</i>	Kubo
6	Andrews, Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
33	Andrews, Claremont		
38	Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
51	Andrews		
69	Andrews, Claremont		
81	Claremont		
97		1-3 John	Richards
104	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
131	Claremont		
177	Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
181	Andrews	1-3 John	Richards
201	Claremont		
203	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
205	Claremont		
206	Andrews		
209	Andrews, Claremont	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
216	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Scrivener
223		<i>All</i>	Clark
226	Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
256	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
263	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Location of Microfilm in the United States or Canada</i>	<i>Epistles Collated</i>	<i>Collator(s)</i>
307	Andrews, Hartford Seminary	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
319		<i>All</i>	Scrivener
323	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo
330		1-3 John	Richards
337	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
356		<i>All</i>	Scrivener
363	Claremont		
383	Andrews		
385	Andrews		
393	Duke		
424	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
440			
455	Claremont		
462		1-3 John	Richards
467	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
479		<i>All</i>	Scrivener
480	Claremont		
483		<i>All</i>	Scrivener
489	Claremont	<i>All</i>	Scrivener
491	Andrews		
498	Andrews		
517	Andrews, Claremont	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
547	Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
582		1-3 John	Richards
614	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo
618	Claremont		
623	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Kubo
635		1-3 John	Richards
637			
642	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Scrivener
643	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Scrivener
699	Trinity		
794		1-3 John	Richards
796	Claremont		

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Location of Microfilm in the United States or Canada</i>	<i>Epistles Collated</i>	<i>Collator(s)</i>
824	Claremont, Princeton		
876		<i>All</i>	Clark
917		<i>All</i>	Kubo
920		<i>All</i>	Kubo
927	Andrews, LC	1-3 John	Richards
928	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
945	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
959	Andrews, Claremont, Trinity, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
999	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1-3 John	Richards
1022		<i>All</i>	Clark
1073	Claremont		
1100	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1175	Andrews, Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
1240	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
1241	Andrews, Claremont, LC	<i>All</i>	Kubo, Richards
1242	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1243	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
1244	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1245	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1-3 John	Richards
1247	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1248	Andrews, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
1249	Andrews, LC		
1250	Andrews, LC		
1251	Andrews, LC		
1270	Claremont		
1311		1-3 John	Richards
1315	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
1319	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
		1-3 John	Richards
1352a	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1354	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1359	Claremont		
1404	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1424	Andrews, Claremont	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Location of Microfilm in the United States or Canada</i>	<i>Epistles Collated</i>	<i>Collator(s)</i>
1433	Toronto		
1448	Claremont		
1503	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1505	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1522	Andrews	<i>All</i>	Scrivener
1548	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1563	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1573	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1594	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1597	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 John	Richards
1610	Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
1611	Andrews, Claremont	<i>All</i>	Kubo
1628	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1637	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1642	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1646	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1719	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1720	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1724	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1725	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1727	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1730	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1732	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1734	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1735	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1738	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1-3 John	Richards
1739	Andrews, Claremont, Trinity, LC	<i>All</i> 1-3 John	Lake Richards
1751	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1768	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1780	Claremont		
1799		<i>All</i>	Clark
1827	Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
1828	Claremont		
1829	Claremont	1-3 John	Richards

<i>Gregory Number</i>	<i>Location of Microfilm in the United States or Canada</i>	<i>Epistles Collated</i>	<i>Collator(s)</i>
1835		1-3 John	Richards
1836	Claremont		
1837	Claremont		
1845	Andrews	1-3 John	Richards
1854	Andrews, Claremont, Trinity, LC		
		1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
1855	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1867	Claremont		
1872		1-3 John	Richards
1873		1-3 John	Richards
1874	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John <i>All</i>	Carder Kubo
1876	Andrews, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
1877	Andrews, LC		
1880	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1881	Andrews, LC		
1888	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John 1-3 John	Carder Richards
1889	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1 Peter, 1-3 John	Carder
1890	Andrews, LC		
1891	Andrews, Claremont, LC	1-3 John	Richards
1892	Andrews, LC		
1893	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1894	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1895	Claremont		
1896	Andrews, LC		
1897	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
1898	Andrews, Claremont	1-3 John	Richards
1900	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
2085	Andrews, LC		
2086	Andrews, LC		
2138	Andrews	1-3 John	Richards
2143		1-3 John	Richards
2186	Claremont		

Gregory Number	Location of Microfilm in the United States or Canada	Epistles Collated	Collator(s)
2191	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
2197	Claremont		
2288	Claremont		
2289	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
2298	Andrews	All	Kubo, Richards
2303	Andrews, LC		
2356	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
2401		All	Clark
2404	Claremont		
2412	Andrews	All	Clark
2423	Claremont		
2492	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
2494	Andrews, Claremont, LC		
2495	Andrews, LC		
2501	Andrews, LC		
2502	Andrews, Claremont, LC		

The following list of 624 extant MSS (8 papyri, 28 uncials, and 588 minuscules) which have at least some of the Catholics is taken from Professor Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste* and its supplement.³ The Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung at Münster has a copy of all of the following MSS on microfilm *except* those with an asterisk beside the Gregory number.

PAPYRI		UNCIALS					
P ⁹	P ⁷²	01	08	044	0142	0203	0246
P ²⁰	P ⁷⁴	02	014	048	0156	*0206	0247
P ²³	P ⁷⁸	03	018	049	*0157	0209	0251
P ⁵⁴	P ⁸¹	04	020	056	0166	0232	
		05	*025	093	0173	0245	

³Kurt Aland, ed., *Materialien zur Neutestamentlichen Handschriftenkunde, I, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1969), pp. 22-29. In these lists a MS containing the Acts and the Catholics is indicated by the siglum *a*. There is, however, no way of knowing from the lists whether or not a MS does indeed contain the Catholics. A few MSS do not. Furthermore, some of the MSS are now known to be duplicates.

MINUSCULES

1	141	309	432	*536	633	913
2	142	312	436	547	634	914
3	149	314	437	567	635	915
4	172	319	440	582	636	916
5	175	321	441	592	637	917
6	177	322	442	601	638	918
18	180	323	444	602	639	919
33	181	325	450	603	640	920
35	189	326	451	604	641	921
36	197	327	452	605	642	922
38	201	328	453	606	643	927
42	203	330	454	607	644	928
43	204	*336	455	608	656	935
51	205	337	456	610	664	941
57	205 ^{abs}	339	457	*611	665	945
61	206	356	458	612	676	956
62	209	363	459	613	680	959
69	216	365	460	614	699	*986
76	218	367	462	615	712	996
81	221	368	463	616	720	997
82	223	378	464	617	743	999
88	226	383	465	618	757	1003
90	228	384	466	619	794	1022
91	234	385	467	620	796	*1040
93	*241	386	468	621	801	1058
94	*242	390	469	622	808	1066
97	250	393	479	623	*823	1067
*101	254	394	480	624	824	1069
102	*255	398	483	625	832	1070
103	256	400	489	626	876	1072
104	*257	404	491	627	886	1073
105	263	421	496	628	901	1075
110	296	424	498	629	909	1094
122	302	425	506	630	910	1099
131	307	429	517	631	911	1100
133	308	431	522	632	912	1101

1102	1359	1599	1730	1780	1861	1903
1103	1360	1609	1731	1785	1862	1904
1104	1367	1610	1732	1795	1863	2005
1105	*1382	1611	1733	*1799	1864	2009
1106	1384	1617	1734	*1809	1865	2080
1107	1390	1618	1735	1827	*1867	2085
*1108	1398	1619	1736	1828	1868	2086
*1109	1400	1622	1737	1829	1869	*2088
1115	1404	1626	1738	1830	1870	*2093
1127	1405	1628	1739	1831	1871	*2115
1140	1409	1636	1740	1832	1872	2125
1149	1424	1637	1741	*1834	1873	2127
1161	*1425	1642	1742	1835	1874	2130
1162	*1433	1643	1743	1836	1875	2131
1175	1448	1646	1744	1837	1876	2136
1240	1456	1649	1745	1838	1877	2137
1241	1482	1652	1746	1839	1880	2138
1242	1490	1656	1747	1840	1881	2143
1243	1495	1661	1748	1841	1882	2147
1244	1501	1668	1749	1842	1883	2175
1245	1503	1673	1750	1843	1884	2180
*1246	1505	1678	1751	1844	1885	2186
1247	1508	1702	1752	1845	1886	2191
1248	1509	1704	1753	1846	*1887	2194
1249	*1518	*1706	1754	1847	1888	2197
1250	1521	1717	1757	1848	1889	2200
1251	*1522	1718	1758	1849	1890	2201
1270	1523	1719	1759	1850	1891	2218
1274 ^b	1524	1720	*1760	1851	1892	2221
1277	*1525	1721	1761	1852	1893	*2225
*1287	1526	1722	1762	1853	1894	*2233
1292	1548	1723	1763	1854	1895	*2239
1297	1563	1724	*1764	1855	1896	2243
1311	1573	1725	1765	1856	1897	2249
1315	1594	1726	*1766	1857	1898	2255
1319	1595	1727	1767	1858	1899	2261
1352 ^a	1597	1728	1768	1859	1900	2279

1354	1598	1729	1769	1860	1902	2288
2289	2378	*2461	2495	2554	2627	2712
2298	2385	2464	2501	2555	2628	2716
2303	2400	2466	2502	2556	2652	2718
2306 ^d	2401	*2473	*2505	2558	2653	2723
2310	2404	2475	2508	*2566	2674	2731
2318	2412	2483	2511	2576	2675	2733
2344	2423	2484	2516	2587	2691	2736
2356	2431	2488	2527	2619	2696	2737
*2357	2441	2492	2541	2625	2704	2741
2374	*2448	2494	2544	2626	2705	2746

All of the MSS of the Catholic Epistles that are on microfilm at Andrews University are now being collated, and compilations of these collations will appear in *AUSS* by individual epistle (2 Peter being the first) as they are completed.

(Concluded)

BOOK REVIEWS

Léon-Dufour, Xavier, S.J. *Resurrection and the Message of Easter*. Trans. by R. N. Wilson. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975. xxii + 330 pp. \$9.95.

For many Catholics, concern with the Bible has long been a Protestant phenomenon. No longer so. Since 1943, when Pope Pius XII officially authorized exegetes to apply the method of "form criticism" to the biblical text, and more particularly in the decade since Vatican Council II, Catholic biblical scholarship has enjoyed a remarkable development.

Among persons whom Catholics can thank for this transformation is the French Jesuit, Xavier Léon-Dufour. In the tradition of L. de Grandmaison, M.-J. Lagrange, Alfred Loisy, and Maurice Goguel, Léon-Dufour has for some 30 years been pioneering Catholic biblical studies in Europe. And in this recently translated book, he has dealt with a most fundamental topic: the Resurrection of Jesus.

This publication is no "popularization." It is serious biblical scholarship of a very high order, directed toward the "educated layman." Yet, there is little arid or dusty about this balanced and closely argued study.

The author has no intention to answer the ultimate issue—Did Jesus rise or not? He begins with the existential question: What meaning can the Resurrection of Jesus have for me today? What does "resurrected" mean? What was the Easter experience of Jesus' disciples, and what is its significance for me, two millenniums later? Probing the nature of that experience is what the book is about. It is also concerned with the question of language: Can the Easter message be uttered in any other language than that of "resurrection," and, while intelligible to our contemporaries, remain within the authentic Christian tradition?

With his usual care and patience, the author leads us through the stages that went to form the gospel text as we have it today. The task is arduous, conjectural at times, and bound to disturb the thought habits and feelings of more than a few Roman Catholics. First, Léon-Dufour leads us through the earliest oral traditions, with their fundamental themes of the resurrection and the exaltation of Jesus Christ (chaps. 1-3). He then attempts to identify the origins of the various narratives of Christ's appearances after the Resurrection (chaps. 4-6). In the third stage, he discusses each of the gospel accounts on its own, and turns to explain the different ways in which each author contributed to the Christian understanding of the Easter message (chaps. 7-10). Finally, he enters the hermeneutical issue, the problem of "translating" and communicating that message into a language intelligible today (chap. 11): What principles of preaching shall one isolate from the numerous ways of presenting the message of Christ's Resurrection

adopted 1900 years ago? What part shall be accorded to the historical fact itself? Here Léon-Dufour's position is conservative, and the author remains wary of current "gnostics" who propagate a doctrine which, while inspired by the gospel, has cut itself off from its historical roots. By way of example, an appendix suggests a few models of a way of preaching the Easter message on the basis of the gospel narratives (pp. 250-261).

A short bibliography, a useful glossary, and an index add to the scope and usefulness of this important work, a model of clarity and order. Léon-Dufour, however, seems to have been badly served by his translator and publisher. I have unfortunately not been able to lay my hands on the French original. But, besides all too frequent misprints, the text is rather incoherent on p. 236; the last complete sentence on p. 242 is intelligible only if the "not" is removed; and the last sentence on p. 243 only makes sense if a "not" is added at the beginning.

My recommendation? Read the book, but preferably in French.

Andrews University

RAOUL DEDEREN

Longenecker, Richard N. *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1975. 246 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

In this solid piece of work, the author first sets forth the principles of Jewish hermeneutics in the first century. Then, beginning with Jesus himself and moving on throughout the NT, he deals with the treatment of the OT in the NT. After Jesus, he discusses early Christian preaching, Paul, the Evangelists, Hebrews, and the rest of the NT books. The orientation of the book is conservative but with an awareness of the spectrum of views current today.

Since Christianity arose out of Judaism, it is natural to look for Jewish hermeneutics for points of contacts. Characteristic of Jewish hermeneutics are literalist, midrashic, peshet, and allegorical interpretations. The Qumran sectaries especially employed peshet interpretation, while Philo was the champion of allegorical interpretation. All of these types of interpretation are found in the NT in varying degree, but the important difference between Jewish and Christian interpretation is the latter's Christocentric perspective, which found its origin in Jesus himself and continued after his ascension through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

While there is this dominating hermeneutical key throughout the NT, there are still differences in emphasis and patterns. In the distribution of OT quotations, a clear pattern emerges. Those writings which are addressed to Jews or Jewish Christians are understandably rich in quotations, while the writings addressed to a non-Jewish audience generally lack OT quotations. Within certain books both of these phenomena appear, such as Mark and Luke, since while they address non-Jewish audiences, they include the sayings of Jesus. The editorial comments lack quotations, but where they report Jesus' sayings these quotations naturally appear. And this is somewhat true with Paul's writings, depending on the kind of audience to which he is writing.

Another difference is in the use of peshet interpretation. This type of interpretation is limited exclusively to Jesus and his immediate disciples. These saw in Jesus Christ the great goal to which the OT pointed and thus sought to show the correlations between him and the OT. This type of exegesis began with Jesus himself, and the disciples simply developed it further. But this approach is not characteristic of the material attributed to those outside of this group. Paul, for example, has closer affinity to the rabbinical modes of interpretation.

The question that inevitably arises in exegetical and hermeneutical questions is, How does this relate to us? Are we obliged to follow the pattern of exegesis used in the NT? Longenecker goes into this question at the end of his book. His answer unfortunately is too brief. He answers "No" and "Yes." "Where that exegesis is based upon a revelatory stance, where it evidences itself to be merely cultural, or where it shows itself to be circumstantial or *ad hominem* in nature, 'No.' Where, however, it treats the Old Testament in more literal fashion, following the course of what we speak of today as historico-grammatical exegesis, 'Yes.' Our commitment as Christians is to the reproduction of the apostolic faith and doctrine, and not necessarily to the specific apostolic exegetical practices" (p. 219).

He also leaves too many questions unanswered. Does the matter of relevant exegetical practice for us include the exegetical practice of Jesus Christ, since the apostles based their practice on his? Is there any validity to the peshet approach in Scripture, or is it the same as the Qumranic use? Without a fuller elaboration of exactly what the author means, it would have been better if this topic had not been treated at all.

This does not, of course, invalidate the basic structure of the work, even though one does not agree with every point made.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

McHugh, John. *The Mother of Jesus in the New Testament*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1974. xlvii + 510 pp. \$12.50.

Modern Roman Catholic Christology has been increasingly concerned with the human life of Jesus. Since the close of Vatican II, Catholic writers have not hesitated to tackle primary and central problems such as the miracles of Jesus or his claim to be the Messiah and the Son of God. Using the tools of modern biblical scholarship to lay bare the roots of the Marian tradition, John McHugh has contributed to this reexamination a detailed study of *The Mother of Jesus in the New Testament*.

The prominence of Marian doctrine in Catholic theology and the widespread uneasiness felt over attacks on the historical value of the Infancy Narratives must have recommended this topic. Besides, a book about Mary in the NT does have real interest for those who wonder how a Catholic can accept the modern methods of biblical criticism and still retain full confidence in the teaching of his church concerning the Virgin Mary.

The book is divided into three main parts: "Mother of the Saviour" (pp. 3-153) analyzes the sources, the literary form and the theology of the first

two chapters of the Gospel of Luke. "Virgin and Mother" (pp. 157-347), by far the longest examines more particularly the NT witness to the virginity of Mary, its origins, development, and religious significance. This section concludes that Christians have "every reason for accepting . . . the historicity of the virginal conception" (p. 329). Finally, "Mother of the Word Incarnate" (pp. 351-432) studies Mary's role in Johannine theology, where she is essentially "the prototype and exemplar of faith" (p. 403).

McHugh addresses himself to the nonspecialist who wants to know where the consensus of Catholic scholarship on Marian doctrine lies. He also addresses the scholars for whom most of the footnotes and 13 Detached Notes (pp. 433-471) are intended. The pace set is leisurely. The chapters are short, independent units rarely more than 15 pages long, allowing one to select and focus on those topics he finds most attractive. I personally found the discussion on the birth of Jesus, the literary form of Lk 1-2, and the brothers of Jesus to be of special interest.

As a whole, the book reveals moderate attitudes of mind. McHugh can show that the Lucan infancy is "midrash" (pp. 11f, 22), but more specifically "a Christian meditation on the birth of Jesus, in which the author expounds in quasi-midrashic form the message for which all Israel had waited so long..." (p. 36). In other words, fact and event are never far below the surface of the narrative. Thus, while the author regards the annunciation narrative as "a theological composition written long afterwards," and although he considers the mystical experience it depicts and the figure of the angel Gabriel a mere "literary convention" (pp. 192, 128-130), it does not follow that this episode should be dismissed as "unhistorical." The same is true of the story of the virginal conception of Jesus to whose historicity McHugh devotes five chapters (pp. 278-329). The author considers that the pure legend of these narratives can be largely discounted because, for one thing, the basic factual content came originally from Mary herself (p. 149).

But it is precisely the invariable way in which McHugh's exegesis never fails to come firmly down on the side of later Catholic doctrine that gives rise to the question as to whether he has the relationship between his exegetical task and the discipline of doctrinal history quite right. It is somewhat disconcerting when the typical argument appears to run as follows: Since the gospel narrative can be shown to be a Christian midrash, "The interpreter is therefore justified in looking for a deeper message beneath the apparently simple narrative" (p. 20). On this basis, the exegete finds himself able to show that the finished construction, as currently understood, is already somehow there in his material. But then what are we to make of the immaculate conception and the bodily assumption of Mary? These doctrines can hardly be explained along these lines, and, not surprisingly, McHugh has little to say about them. It seems as though all too frequently the texts are being solicited to come up with useful doctrinal information which, on the basis of a strictly exegetical or historical inquiry, they would or could not impart.

So this book has its limitations. All the same, it deserves to be widely read. It will stand as a landmark in English-speaking circles, especially as it establishes a basis for discussion of the theological developments that followed the NT period in an area where the Catholic and Orthodox tradi-

tion is probably more widely divided from the Reformed than in any other in the whole field of Christian doctrine and devotion.

Andrews University

RAOUL DEDEREN

Oosterwal, Gottfried. *Modern Messianic Movements As a Theological and Missionary Challenge*. Elkhart, Ind.: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1973. 55 pp. Paperback, \$1.00.

The Institute of Mennonite studies has begun publication of a series of missionary studies of which this book by Oosterwal is the second. The author, who by academic training and field study of "cargo cults" in South-east Asia is well equipped for the task to which he has set himself, adds another work to the increasing number of books and articles on religious cultic movements that have appeared since Bishop Sundkler's classic *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948). The sympathetic attitude that Oosterwal takes toward the "messianic movements" says something about the distance covered by missiology since Sundkler's caution: "The syncretistic sect becomes the bridge over which Africans are brought back to heathendom" (one suspects that Sundkler himself would have reflected differently today). The attitude now is less cautious, more open, and, the reviewer thinks, probably more honest toward these movements, displaying a greater willingness to listen to what they are trying to say to the Christian churches.

The essay before us is divided into four parts, the first of which asks a great number of far-reaching questions about the eschatological motif in these movements, the ground of their "revelation" and the role of their "prophets," the extent to which so-called "parallels" to Christianity are in fact parallels and not distortions of or reactions against the Christian hope.

From where do they get their vitality, and what can Christianity learn from them? The questions are such that one could not possibly expect the next 35 pages to answer them. Nor do they entirely do so. But then, that is not necessary in order to legitimize the raising of the questions. The dynamics of the "messianic movements" are so intense, and the change from one such movement to another so considerable, that it would be difficult to find answers with any degree of universality. It is the *questions* that must be kept sharply in focus, and Oosterwal does keep them so in an admirable way in this study.

Oosterwal finds the eschatology (what he calls the "creative center") of these movements particularly intriguing. Both their widely held belief that the end will come suddenly and that it will come in our days, and, therefore, that evil habits of life that defile the body (smoking, drinking, and eating of some foods, e.g., pork) are to be abandoned, must have had a familiar ring to the author's ear. In being served this cross-section of a "common" eschatology, the reader cannot but ask questions about commonness in revelation and norms for verifying that commonness. While the author is not forthright on this point, he manages, nevertheless, to leave his reader under the impression that there is a distinct continuity in revelation between the

movements that he has in mind and Christianity. His questions about the causes for the break-away of these para- or post-Christian movements are important: "Why did these leaders reject the church? ... Did these people perhaps hear or see something in a dream or a vision for which there was no room in the church? And, does not the Bible itself mention even false prophets who were inspired by God to reveal truth, ... to guide and direct His people?" (p. 35).

One could have wished that the author had suggested how *he* verifies any continuity in *revelation* between Christianity and "messianic movements." (That there are similarities and continuity in needs and functions and in the various ways in which cultures meet them, is not being questioned.) In appealing to Jesus Christ as the only norm, Oosterwal is on safe ground. However, the reader may feel that his application of that norm is vague and is in danger of disappearing into the existential "mist." He says that "to be a valid criterion, that norm must be a lived Truth," and "it is not doctrines or some Christian truth that are a valid criterion, but 'the Truth'" (p. 31). Is there any tension between truth and "the Truth"? (Notwithstanding the fact that the sum of a certain number of doctrines will never equal *truth*, the norm must nevertheless be such that the *mind* can come to grips with it.)

One final point: Oosterwal's study, which has been well received by a number of scholars in Europe, may be using the term "messianic" in a wider sense than these scholars commonly do. Hence he finds himself in disagreement with one scholar (Beyerhaus), but the reviewer suspects that semantics is partly to blame.

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JAN PAULSEN

Pawley, Bernard, and Pawley, Margaret. *Rome and Canterbury through Four Centuries*. New York: Seabury, 1975. xii + 419 pp. \$13.50.

The Malines Conversations in the 1920s and Vatican II's *Decree on Ecumenism* were not the first efforts at Anglican-Roman Catholic rapprochement since the Reformation. In fact, no generation has passed since that period without contacts between the two Churches, sometimes political, sometimes ecclesiastical, and all interesting.

Those who have followed the intricate maneuvers attendant upon this rapprochement during the last twenty years are familiar with the authors of this fascinating study. Bernard Pawley is presently Archdeacon of Canterbury. He was the first representative of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in Rome (1960-65), and was one of the official Anglican observers at Vatican II. Margaret Pawley, a trained historian, read history at Oxford.

The Pawleys are genial, remarkably knowledgeable and definitely sympathetic to all ecumenical endeavors. They give us a well-researched Anglo-Catholic overview of relations between Rome and Canterbury from the 16th century to the present day. They have compressed this vast amount of material into 18 chapters.

The first three hundred years of division from 1530 to 1830 are dealt with in general terms, ending with a description of the long drawn out debate on the restitution of limited political and civil rights to Roman Catholics under the Emancipation Act of 1829. The authors are at their best in narrating events and trends during the 19th century. Half of the book deals with this period which begins with the Oxford Movement and progresses through the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy, the dreams and schemes of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, and the Roman policy during the long pontificates of Pius IX and Leo XIII. It deals also with the ecumenical pioneers Charles Lindley Wood, Viscount Halifax and Abbé Fernand Portal. There is, as well, an excellent chapter on the Malines Conversations, and a sober treatment of the *Apostolicae Curae* affair. This American edition contains an appendix by Episcopalian Bishop Arthur Vogel that provides a summary of current Anglican-Roman Catholic relations in the United States. All of this is most interesting reading, written in a very lucid style.

It is a pity, however, that no attempt is made to start with the pre-Reformation relationship, and that the few pages on the 16th century are largely inadequate. In the initial chapters on the Reformation in England the Pawleys assert that the English Reformers were only Renaissance men, and the break with Rome was really rooted in this cultural movement, not in a sympathy with the religious convictions of the continental Reformers. In the light of contemporary historical scholarship on the religious ideals of the Renaissance the Pawleys' thesis is an unhelpful oversimplification. One wonders whether the authors had access to the work of Kristeller, Trinkaus, and O'Malley.

Just as difficult to understand is the Pawleys' almost complete silence regarding the rich diversity that characterizes the worldwide Anglican communion. Except for Bishop Vogel's chapter on the past decade in the United States and perhaps a score of sentences elsewhere in the book there is no attempt to describe the significant relationships between Roman Catholics and Anglicans in Canada, Latin America, Australia, and the pioneering developments in some provinces of Africa.

In spite of these flaws and an excessive number of typographical errors, the volume is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on Anglican-Roman Catholic relations. There will be few scholars who will not learn much from this remarkable work of investigative research.

Andrews University

RAOUL DEDEREN

Payne, J. Barton. *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy: The Complete Guide to Scriptural Predictions and Their Fulfillment*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973. 754 pp. \$19.95.

This *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy* is the first serious attempt by conservative evangelical Protestantism to synthesize the promises and predictions of all the books of Holy Scripture. J. Barton Payne has put us all in debt by

this truly comprehensive and helpful study. The survey of the biblical prophecies of the OT and NT, and the listing of their references and specific passages, together with their respective fulfillments in redemptive history, comprises 475 pages. An introduction that is prefixed to each particular book gives its structure, key verse, and basic statistics.

This main section is preceded by a 143-page Introduction on the interpretation of biblical prediction, wherein the *nature* of predictive prophecy, its identification, and the limitations are discussed. Also given here is an extensive outline of the identification of *fulfillment* in its diverse periods and developments, again together with limitation of fulfillments. A summary of basic principles for the interpretation of prophecy concludes this large and instructive introductory section.

The *Encyclopedia* contains further specific summaries on the order of the fulfillments of biblical predictions, on prophecies concerning foreign nations, on Messianic prophecies, and on biblical types. It closes with a statistical appendix, a bibliography, and indexes on biblical predictions, words, and phrases. Interspersed are 14 tables on predictive cycles in various biblical books.

It will be in order here to make a few observations regarding Payne's interpretational stance and its implications. First of all, Payne's own definition that the "normal" interpretation assigns to Scripture "its original, divinely intended meaning" (p. 43) is correct as far as it goes. However, this divine intention cannot be expected to be explicitly stated in each specific instance or isolated prediction, but must be sought in the complete and comprehensive plan of redemption as revealed in Christ from Genesis to Revelation. The part is constantly explained more fully from the whole, and vice versa. This is the recognized "hermeneutical circle" which underlies a fully and legitimately developed Christological interpretation. It is true that "context is the best key for clarifying ambiguities" (p. 32), but Payne fails to utilize fully that hermeneutical circle which unites dynamically the immediate and the wider contexts of Scripture in Christ. This becomes evident in his somewhat confusing use and application of the terms *allegorizing* (for "allegorism," as rightly distinguished from the literary form of allegory), *spiritualization*, and *Christian typology* (pp. 43-47).

While Payne interprets the Kingdom of God as "God's spiritual rule in a man's heart" (p. 45), he states that this application does not deny "the more literal kingdom elsewhere, particularly in the OT's and NT's age to come" (p. 46). From this line of reasoning it seems that Payne accepts for the kingdom prophecies three kinds of dimensions: an OT national kingdom of Israel, a NT spiritual-universal rule of God in the regenerated believers in Christ, and again a literal national kingdom of God on earth in the future, the so-called millennial kingdom. However, Payne then introduces his concept of an "augmented inclusiveness" of the idea of Israel (p. 46), by which he means that the NT's "spiritualization" is "primarily a matter of augmentation rather than of replacement" (p. 46). Does the author mean that the church as "the true Israel" (p. 46) continues the ancient *nation* of Israel or only the faithful remnant of ancient Israel? In the last case, did the church as the true Israel not "replace" the Christ-rejecting Jewish nation? Payne remains unclear on all this.

Yet on the matter of a sound hermeneutic with regard to the name "Israel" hinges, in my view, the whole interpretation of all eschatological prophecies, in particular those of Daniel, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Revelation. Confusion or lack of clarity concerning "Israel" in biblical prophecies has repercussions on the interpretation of all other terms, like Mount Zion, Babylon, Euphrates, Har-Mageddon, etc. With respect to the term "Babylon" Payne virtually rejects the "allegorical" interpretation (p. 46) because he does not want to "revoke" the "meaning of the prophetic message." However, he states that a legitimate biblical "allegory" has a meaning which was "intended by the author" (p. 43, n. 72). When Payne deals with the fall of "Babylon" in the Apocalypse of John (Rev 14:8; 16:19, 17:5; 18:10), he takes Babylon to mean "the Roman harlot" and the fulfillment to be "the fall of the Roman empire, A.D. 476" (p. 622). But how does Payne arrive at his conclusions? He evidently accepts an allegorical interpretation of the term "Babylon" here, by his application of Babylon to the ancient Roman Empire. But why is this allegorical application of Babylon legitimate here? Why is it not an "ecclesiastical Babylon"? Apparently, Payne does not follow the time-honored hermeneutic that the apocalyptic terms of the last book of the Bible ought to be connected with the same terms in the OT as the wider context so that the intended Christological typology may be established. Not allegory, but a type-antitype relationship, is the basic substructure of the Apocalypse.

By failing to apply this fundamental hermeneutic of typology, Payne's *Encyclopedia* suffers a great loss, in spite of his instructive treatment of the biblical "type" on pp. 22-25, 51-53. *Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen* (1939, 1966) by Leonhard Goppelt is helpful in showing how biblical typology is rooted in the gospel message that Christ is the One who fulfills and completes the OT redemptive history. The OT types are expressions of a relationship with the God of the OT, Yahweh, whereas the NT antitypes are defined by their relationship with Christ.

"Babylon" in type, e.g., must first be religiously characterized in relation to the God of Israel and his covenant people, as it manifested itself in the OT; and the prophecy and historical fulfillment of the fall of ancient Babylon must be reconstructed in its relation to the covenant people of Yahweh (Isa 44-47; Jer 50-51; Dan 5). Only then can the essentials of this redemptive history be related to Jesus Christ and his true Israel in a fundamental structural analogy. (See further the excellent essay by S. Uhlig, "Die typologische Bedeutung des Begriffs Babylon," *AUSS* 12 [1971]: 112-125.)

The foregoing criticisms do not take away my sincere appreciation for the great amount of helpful instruction given in Payne's *Encyclopedia*. The information on four different positions regarding the 70 weeks of Dan 9:24-27 (see Table 9, pp. 384-385), for instance, will prove beneficial to all readers, especially in answering the dogmatic exegesis of Dispensationalism (see pp. 383-389).

While Payne on the whole places himself decidedly on the side of preterism in his apocalyptic interpretations, and although he continually criticizes Dispensational positions, he seems to be quite influenced by the futurism of Dispensationalism in regard to the millennium; for he states that during the millennium many Jews will be converted on earth (p. 626). The Seventh-day

Adventist position on the millennium is, as usual, completely ignored and omitted. Also, amillennialism is only occasionally mentioned.

Andrews University

HANS K. LARONDELLE

Spriggs, D. G. *Two Old Testament Theologies*. Studies in Biblical Theology, 2d Series, 30. London: SCM, 1974. 127 pp. £3.00.

This book based on the author's doctoral dissertation, criticizes the OT theologies of Eichrodt and von Rad by concentrating on their explicit arguments. Its intent is threefold: to shed some light on the main issues in the current debate about the validity of the approaches involved in these theologies, to keep an eye open to the practical difficulties of writing an OT theology, and to serve as a critical guide to these two OT theologies.

Chap. I contains a critical discussion of the methodologies and structures of the two theologies along with suggestions by Spriggs, particularly concerning the structuring of the two works. Chap. II discusses Eichrodt's covenant theology, pointing out the importance of the covenant concept for the work, and concludes that by "covenant" Eichrodt really means the divine-human relationship found in the OT accounts of the covenant at Sinai. Spriggs points out that Eichrodt has not paid sufficient attention to the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants; and if he had, says Spriggs, his theological position would have been enriched rather than destroyed. Chap. III attacks von Rad's *Heilsgeschichte* theology. Spriggs finds von Rad very confusing, stating that the major functions von Rad attributes to *Heilsgeschichte* cannot be justified, and therefore most of von Rad's reasons for developing his theology the way he did are unacceptable. Chap. IV takes up the comparative issues between Eichrodt and von Rad. There is a basic similarity between their views of the OT, but the greatest difference between them lies in their understanding of the nature of OT theology. In general Spriggs finds Eichrodt's idea of the purpose and function of OT theology more adequate than von Rad's. In Chap. V, the conclusion of the book, we find Spriggs reflecting on the two works he has just criticized. His final remarks concern the nature of OT theology: Eichrodt receives considerable approval, yet Spriggs would invert Eichrodt's initial revelational presupposition and the structure of his theology. Spriggs feels that his own approach will provide a truly scientific way of doing theology in contrast to Eichrodt's, which, instead of utilizing the general approach to provide materials which could be cited to substantiate the belief that the OT claims to be revelational, begins with this assumption.

This book is rich in insights and criticisms; however, by analyzing only explicit arguments, it is neither as satisfactory nor as helpful in understanding these works fully as it would be if, in addition, these arguments were related to the specific theological and philosophical traditions from which they emerged and to which they speak. Perhaps von Rad would not seem quite so confusing if the traditions governing German theological scholarship,

von Rad's in particular, were given more attention. Von Rad's understanding of the historical-critical method and the influence of the dialectical tradition both shed some light on his apparently contradictory statements about history and *Heilsgeschichte*. In addition, the philosophy of W. Dilthey can illuminate how von Rad understands *Heilsgeschichte* in other places and even the ideas of R. Otto are helpful for grasping what von Rad is doing.

At one point Spriggs cites evidence which he feels suggests that von Rad does not himself know what he means by *Heilsgeschichte* (p. 36). One wonders if this criticism is actually valid. In view of the flexible way von Rad uses the word *Heilsgeschichte*, one wishes that Spriggs had, at greater length, analyzed all the statements about *Heilsgeschichte* independently and more in context instead of mainly cataloging these ideas for comparison. Furthermore, it would be helpful to analyze how von Rad conceives of the *Heilsgeschichte's* being initiated and brought to a halt where such an idea is mentioned. Von Rad's statements relative to *Heilsgeschichte* in Ecclesiasticus do seem perplexing; but von Rad uses *Heilsgeschichte* with multiple meanings. Like the word *democracy* in different contexts it means different things, and our task is to grasp what he means in each case, even where contradictions appear and we become confused.

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A. JOSEF GREIG

Uniting in Hope, Accra 1974. Faith and Order Paper No. 72. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1975. vii + 144 pp. \$6.15.

One Baptism, One Eucharist, and a Mutually Recognized Ministry. Faith and Order Paper No. 73. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1975. 61 pp. \$5.90.

In the summer of 1974 the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches gathered for two weeks at the University of Ghana, Legon. Two main themes were on the agenda: (1) "Giving account of the hope that is within us," and (2) the issues directly related to the unity of the Church. *Uniting in Hope* is a collection of 13 documents, addresses, and reports reflecting the discussions and findings of the meeting.

Three documents are more particularly significant: (1) Lukas Vischer's "Report of the Secretariat to the Commission" (pp. 21-23). This is a retrospective appraisal of the Commission's activities in recent years, and an attempt to analyze the "discernible tendency towards a certain mistrust of the ecumenical movement," along with the suggestion that "a new approach and new methods" are required to do the ecumenical thing. (2) The report on the Commission's study on "Giving account of the hope that is within us" (pp. 25-80). The decision to initiate such a study was made three years earlier at the FOC meeting in Louvain, Belgium. From the beginning, the emphasis was not on formulating an agreed-upon statement of faith, but on attempting to reflect together on the meaning of the

Gospel in the contemporary world. There has been a wide response on the part of the Churches, and, as this report indicates, the Accra meeting provided for a confrontation between vastly differing approaches to the expression of the Christian faith. Obviously, the study is not yet completed, and it will remain a major concern of Faith and Order for several years. (3) A document providing four approaches to the question, "How can the unity of the Church be achieved?" (pp. 95-137). This document testifies to the fact that the patient work towards theological agreement continues to go on.

During the last three years a good deal of energy has gone into the production of documents dealing with baptism, the Eucharist, and the ministry. They represent the results of an extensive study process, and have been published as separate pieces in *One Baptism, One Eucharist, and a Mutually Recognized Ministry*. The first two were presented to the Commission in Accra, and have been revised in the light of the comments received then. Both have been sent to all Churches for consideration. The document on the ordained ministry is essentially a new text. It leaves many questions unanswered, and there was a widespread feeling in Accra that this was not the last word on the subject. It says nothing, for instance, about the magisterium in the Church. Still, how will Faith and Order present to the Churches the consensus already achieved with some confidence that they will respond? Will it be able to clear the way for the first stage of a mutual recognition and carry forward a debate that is essential for the future of the ecumenical movement?

These two publications under review do not contain all the documents from the Accra meeting. Those interested in the detailed proceedings should consult a third volume containing, in addition to the minutes, several important addresses and documents, *Minutes of the Faith and Order Commission, Accra 1974* (Faith and Order Paper No. 71. Geneva: WCC, 1974).

The theme of unity was, of course, very much present at Accra. In the case of Vischer's "Report," however, it was more than that. It was the very substance of the document. In its introductory remarks, the document affirms that Christian unity is at the origin of the Faith and Order movement, and that the Commission's aim remains the same: "to render visible, ever afresh, the unity which, according to the Creed, belongs to the very essence of the Church" (p. 12). This goal, assigned to the Commission by its Director, corresponds only in part to the one indicated by the new "Draft By-Laws for the Faith and Order Commission" approved in Ghana. These by-laws state that the aim of the Commission "is to proclaim the oneness of the Church of Jesus Christ and to call the Churches to the goal of visible unity." This seems to be more than a minor difference. It was not without effort that the Eastern Orthodox representatives in particular, with the backing of Catholic participants, obtained this new formulation, i.e. to proclaim that there is only one Church, and that this Church is one, a oneness expressed "in one faith and one eucharistic fellowship." In this case the Commission's objective is plain: the visible unity, although marred, exists, and must be restored. It is not simply a matter of rendering it visible, "ever afresh."

Does Vischer consider his formulation a genuine expression of the aim and function of the Faith and Order Commission? If so, how will he reconcile it with the Orthodox and Catholic teaching regarding Christian unity? In the reviewer's opinion, Vischer's interpretation is no accident. It expresses a dichotomy which appears in several of the Accra documents and which needs to be dealt with.

Andrews University

RAOUL DEDEREN

Wilson, Jerry B. *Death by Decision: The Medical, Moral, and Legal Dilemmas of Euthanasia*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975. 208 pp. \$7.50.

The problem of euthanasia has become acute since medical technology is now able to prolong life indefinitely, and it is complex because it involves medical ethics, law, religion, and economics.

The author begins his discussion with a historical survey of the practice of euthanasia from the time of ancient Greece to the present. He then sets the stage for his further discussion by presenting four levels of moral discourse, based on the expressive-evocative, the moral, the ethical, and the post-ethical. The first is the unreflective spontaneous emotional reaction. The second deals with practical problems of conduct based on moral rules and regulations. The third evaluates and challenges the moral rules and regulations, especially when two rules conflict or when the application of these rules causes great inconvenience or suffering. These evaluations are based on ethical principles rather than rules. The post-ethical level deals with the validity of the ethical principles which have a metaphysical or theological basis. Obviously the problem of euthanasia should not be approached from the first level. In general practice it is dealt with on the second level. The author urges the discussion to go on to the ethical and post-ethical levels. He shows that because of conflicting standards, necessity forces us to deal with it on the ethical level. Here the conflicting positions are based on what one feels demands the priority—the value of life *per se* or the dignity of life: "Advocates of euthanasia emphasize the quality of life over its quantity and insist that the value of life is destroyed when it is accompanied by severe restrictions or suffering. Opponents of euthanasia emphasize the sanctity of life *per se* and claim that life always has value, regardless of its quality" (p. 52).

After dealing at length with conflicting religious views, medical dilemmas, and legal problems, Wilson presents what he considers should be the new requirements of care for the dying. What in practice goes on, that is, a furtive practice of euthanasia, is, he feels, unacceptable. While the courts tend to be lenient in cases involving mercy killing or euthanasia, there is no assurance that such will be the case. In practice both medically and legally there is tacit agreement that the patient not only has a right to live but also the right to die. Building on what he calls theocentric faith, Wilson urges a patient-centered (not life-oriented) and responsible medical care. He sees death not as the enemy of life but as one of the processes of life

created by God. He calls for a social-systems model instead of the conventional pattern of private practice in emergency situations. To make decisions in such situations, he suggests a committee of five including two physicians in fields related to the patient's illness, a representative of the hospital, a counselor or psychiatrist, and a chaplain or the patient's rabbi, priest or minister. The patient himself should be permitted to make his own decision concerning voluntary euthanasia when capable, but if not, the family or guardian assumes responsibility. He lays down specific guidelines concerning defective infants and the aged; and also legal guidelines. In the latter he calls for the legalization of voluntary euthanasia when the request is made by a competent patient, or by the nearest relative or legal guardian when the patient is not competent, in cases which are terminal. The committee of five functions to "evaluate his condition, verify his desire to die, and decide whether active or passive euthanasia is warranted" (p. 194). All of these should be indicated on appropriate legal forms. Such a death should not affect insurance benefits or survivorship rights.

Wilson has set forth the issues on this problem clearly and his suggestions make good sense. However, the book shows some signs of originating as a dissertation; it is not written as clearly as it might have been. There is a tendency to be overly precise in the breakdown of categories so that there is much repetition of material and overlapping of ideas. In his last chapter there needs to be more elaboration of his ideas regarding theocentric faith and its implications. Death is described as one of the processes of life, but how this is so in view of the Bible's conception of death is not explained. Affirmations are made without support. There is nevertheless much value in this book on a timely subject.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

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.

- Baum, Gregory. *Religion and Alienation: A Theological Reading of Sociology*. New York: Paulist, 1975. 296 pp. Paperback, \$6.95. A theologian's view of sociology in which the humanistic passion is considered the central dimension of sociologists.
- Beck, Madeline H., and Williamson, Lamar, Jr. *Mastering New Testament Facts*. Books 1-4. Atlanta: John Knox, 1973. Paperback, \$3.50 each. A self-study course on the content and structure of the New Testament.
- Brueggemann, Walter, and Wolff, Hans Walter. *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1975. 155 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Shows how the Pentateuchal traditions operated in their time and how they teach the church today to deal with the crises of faith.
- Duncan, George B. *The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit in the Life of the Believer*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1973. 87 pp. Paperback, \$2.95. A well known Scottish preacher sets forth a lucid presentation concerning the gifts, fruit, and baptism of the Holy Spirit as they relate to the life of the believer.
- Gratsch, Edward J. *Where Peter Is: A Survey of Ecclesiology*. New York: Alba, 1975. xvii + 283 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. A historical survey of Catholic ecclesiology from the NT to the present.
- Lussier, Ernest, S.S.S. *Living the Eucharistic Mystery*. New York: Alba, 1976. xix + 208 pp. \$5.95. Sequel to his earlier book dealing with the doctrine of the Eucharist. Deals with the application of the doctrine to the daily life.
- Ridderbos, Herman. *Paul: An Outline of His Theology*. Trans. by John Richard de Witt. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1975. Seeks to understand Paul on the basis of "the saving activity of God in the advent and the work, particularly in the death and resurrection of Christ."
- Roetzel, Calvin J. *The Letters of Paul: Conversations in Context*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1975. 114 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. An introduction to Paul and his letters for non-specialists.

Taylor, Michael J., S.J., ed. *A Companion to Paul: Readings in Pauline Theology*. New York: Alba, 1975. xiv + 245 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. A selection of periodical articles dealing with Pauline theology written by Catholic scholars with the exception of F. F. Bruce.

Tracy, David. *Blessed Rage for Order: The New Pluralism in Theology*. New York: Seabury, 1975.

xiv + 271 pp. \$12.95. Accepting pluralism in present theology as a truism, the author sets forth five basic models in contemporary theology: orthodox, liberal, neo-orthodox, radical, and revisionist. Assuming that it is possible in the new situation to learn from other traditions, he formulates a new "revisionist" model which he then applies to basic questions in contemporary theology.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

KENNETH A. STRAND

Editor

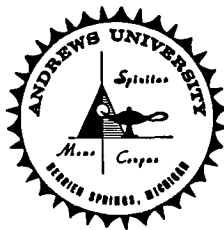
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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ֶ = <i>a</i>	ׁ, ׃ (vocal shewa) = <i>e</i>	ֹ = <i>o</i>
ֶֿ = <i>ā</i>	ׂ, ׄ = <i>ē</i>	ֻ = <i>o</i>
ִ = <i>a</i>	ִֿ = <i>i</i>	ֶֿ = <i>o</i>
ֵ = <i>e</i>	ֵֿ = <i>i</i>	ֹֿ = <i>u</i>
ֶֿ = <i>ē</i>	ֶֿֿ = <i>o</i>	ֹֿֿ = <i>ū</i>

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

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