

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY  
SEMINARY STUDIES

VOLUME XVII

SPRING 1979

NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

*Doukhan, Jacques*, The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9: An Exegetical Study ..... 1

*Gane, Erwin R.*, The Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Anglican Preachers: Latimer, Jewel, Hooker, and Andrews ..... 23

*Neuffer, Julia*, "Ptolemy's Canon" Debunked? ..... 39

*Pardee, Dennis*, Literary Sources for the History of Palestine and Syria. II: Hebrew, Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite Inscriptions .. 47

*Platt, Elizabeth Ellen*, Jewelry of Bible Times and the Catalog of Isa 3:18-23, Part I ..... 71

*Strand, Kenneth A.*, From Sabbath to Sunday in the Early Christian Church: A Review of Some Recent Literature. Part II: Samuele Bacchiocchi's Reconstruction ..... 85

*Wilson-Kastner, Patricia*, Macrina: Virgin and Teacher ..... 105

Book Reviews ..... 119



ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS  
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary  
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan

KENNETH A. STRAND

*Editor*

JAMES J. C. COX, RAOUL DEDEREN, LAWRENCE T. GERATY,  
GERHARD F. HASEL, LEONA G. RUNNING

*Associate Editors*

SAKAE KUBO, WILLIAM H. SHEA

*Book Review Editors*

GERHARD F. HASEL

*Circulation Manager*

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES publishes papers and short notes in English, French, and German on the following subjects: Biblical linguistics and its cognates, textual criticism, exegesis, Biblical archaeology and geography, ancient history, church history, theology, philosophy of religion, ethics, and history of religions.

The opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring and Autumn of each year. The annual subscription rate is \$6.00. Payments are to be made to Andrews University Seminary Studies, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, USA.

Subscribers should give full name and postal address when paying their subscriptions and should send notice of change of address at least five weeks before it is to take effect; the old as well as the new address must be given.

The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: Book Reviews of the Month; Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus (Biblica); Index to Religious Periodical Literature; International Bibliography of the History of Religions; Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete; New Testament Abstracts; Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; Orient-Press; Religious and Theological Abstracts; Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index; Subject Index to Periodical Literature—Mosher Library; Theologische Zeitschrift; Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

## THE SEVENTY WEEKS OF DAN 9: AN EXEGETICAL STUDY\*

JACQUES DOUKHAN  
Séminaire Adventiste du Salève  
Collonges-sous-Salève, France

The problems regarding the exegesis of Dan 9: 24-27 are of two kinds. They have to do with (1) the difficulty of the text and (2) the multiplicity of the interpretations raised.

As for the first problem, the density of the passage, the extreme singularity of its words and expressions, and the complexity of its syntax constitute rather serious obstacles. Moreover, the important divergences between the two basic versions as represented in the LXX and Theodotion do not permit us to draw any definitive conclusions regarding the text. The Theodotion version is clearer here, and its text tends to support the MT; yet where it diverges from the latter (e.g., in the punctuation regarding the counting of the weeks), it is the *only* witness in opposition to the MT. As for the Peshitta, it seems to have been revised on the basis of the LXX at many points, and I hesitate therefore to consider it as an independent witness along with the LXX. (At any rate, the text appears to be altered in this particular passage of the Peshitta, for we can note differences from both the LXX and the MT.)

Regarding the second kind of problem, the variety of theological applications may be roughly divided into three categories:<sup>1</sup>

1. *The Symbolical Interpretation.* Primarily because of the references in the passage to the particular numbers 7, 3, 70, etc., the prophecy has been viewed by some scholars as being a mere poem mainly concerned with a *Heilsgeschichte* divided into three steps. The first part (7

\*Material herein was presented as a paper to a meeting of the Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, held in December, 1977, in Angwin, California. Appreciation is expressed to this organization for financial support toward publication of this article, and to William H. Shea of Andrews University for reading and editing the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup>For a survey of these interpretations see J. A. Montgomery, "A Commentary on Daniel," *ICC*, pp. 390-401; and G. F. Hasel, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9: 24-27," *Ministry*, May 1976, pp. 1D-21D.

heptads<sup>2</sup>) starts at the coming of Cyrus (538 B.C.) and leads to the first Advent; the second part (62 heptads) leads to the second Advent and covers the history of the visible Church; and the last part (1 heptad) covers the time of tribulation and is concerned with the invisible church.

2. *The Dispensationalist Interpretation.* Dispensationalist theologians have also viewed the prophecy as a salvation history divided into three parts. Their first part comprises 69 weeks which are understood as weeks of years. Some interpret this to mean a period of 476 years from the second decree of Artaxerxes in 445 B.C. to A.D. 32, alleged as the year of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem and of his death.<sup>3</sup> Others, with a different beginning point, suggest a period of 483 years terminating in A.D. 26, the date accepted for Jesus' baptism.<sup>4</sup> In either case, the last week has been moved ahead to the end-time, in conjunction with Christ's second advent. The church era comes in between.

3. *The Historical-Critical Interpretation.* Adherents of this position hold that Daniel's prophecies describe the events of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and were written after the events as a record, not as a prediction. The time span covered by this "prophecy" is reckoned in terms of weeks of years and is divided into three parts. A typical example of the chronology in this view is that the first 7 weeks (49 years) start at the fall of Jerusalem (587/6 B.C.) and lead to the fall of Babylon at the decree of the "Messiah" Cyrus (539/8 B.C.); then follow the 62 weeks (434 years), which reach to the murder of Onias III (171/0 B.C.); and finally comes the last week (7 years), which is concluded by the rededication of the Temple desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes at the middle of this week.

4. *The Historical-Messianic Interpretation.* This is considered as the traditional Christian interpretation. It has been advocated by the Church fathers and is still supported today by Protestant and Catholic scholars.<sup>5</sup> The first two divisions of the seventy weeks (7 + 62) start in the 7th year of Artaxerxes and terminate in the year of the baptism of Jesus. The last week is divided into two parts, the first one ending at Christ's

<sup>2</sup>So, on the basis of the LXX, which uses the word *heptomades*—perceived as pointing to the symbolism of the number 7 and not to a real week—, and also on account of the use of the plural masculine form of *šabu'im* instead of the feminine *šabu'ot* (the regular plural for "weeks").

<sup>3</sup>See R. Anderson, *The Coming Prince* (London, 1895), pp. 119-122.

<sup>4</sup>See L. Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1976), p. 253.

<sup>5</sup>See the list of Hasel, p. 20D, nn. 126-132.

crucifixion and the last one at the stoning of Stephen. (Dates given by some scholars for these events are 457 B.C. and A.D. 27, 31, and 34, respectively.)

This situation of a complicated text, plus such a diversity of interpretations, has led me to a new investigation which utilizes recent advances in the study of ancient literary forms. In this investigation I pay close attention to the literary data of the text itself.

In the present analysis, I shall proceed from within the text, first taking into account the *contextual setting* or situation of the entire book of Daniel as well as chap. 9. Next I shall analyze the *literary structure* in order to follow the flow of the discourse and to grasp the specific nuances of thought. Then I shall note and discuss some of the most significant *words and expressions*. And finally, I shall attempt to draw out some of the *theological dimensions* of this 70-week passage of Dan 9. Along the way, I shall occasionally allude to the interpretations that have been mentioned above, in order to indicate the extent to which they are related to the exegesis that textual analysis has allowed us to build. Yet these references will usually be only incidental, permitting the reader to draw the specific inferences.

### 1. *The Contextual Setting*

From a theological, literary, and even linguistic point of view, this prophecy is one of the most important foci in the book of Daniel. The passage echoes many themes scattered throughout the book, yet it has its own immediate context within chap. 9.

#### *The Setting in the Book of Daniel*

In looking at the book of Daniel—at least the prophetic part concerned with a distant future—we are struck by the number of common patterns. The connections between chaps. 2, 7, 8, 10 and 11 are immediately evident. That they deal with the same concerns can be seen by identifying their similar motifs: the four kingdoms—the first (2: 32a, 37, 38; 7: 3-4), the second (2: 32b, 39a; 7: 5; 8: 3, 20; 11: 2a), the third (2: 32c, 39b; 7: 6; 8: 5, 21-22; 11: 3-15), and the fourth (2: 33, 40; 7: 7, 19; 8: 23-25; 11: 16-22)—followed by persecution of the people of God (7: 25; 8: 24; 11: 31-34, 35), a time of end (2: 45; 7: 26; 8: 19, 25; 11: 35, 45), etc. Referring to similar motifs as these chapters do, we may expect them to employ similar language. This phenomenon gives evidence of the strong unity of the book and the

interrelationship between its parts,<sup>6</sup> and it provides a point of reference from which to conduct exegesis.

Dan 9:24-27 is connected with the rest of the book most directly through its relationship to Dan 8. Chap. 8 is, in fact, the only chapter which partakes of patterns common to all the visions of Daniel, including those of chaps. 9 and 12. (Compare, e.g., 8:3, 20 with 2:32b, 2:39a, 7:5 and 11:2a; 8:5, 21-22 with 2:32c, 2:39b, 7:6, and 11:3-15; 8:23-25 with 2:33, 2:40, 7:7, 7:19, and 11:16-22; 8:25 with 11:22; 8:11 with 11:32 and 12:11; 8:13 with 12:7; 8:24 with 12:8; 8:26 with 12:9; etc.)

It is significant that most of the words and expressions in our passage which occur elsewhere in Daniel are found only in chaps. 8, 10, 11 and 12; this is an indication that these chapters constitute a specific unit. Besides the common wording and motifs, we may also notice an internal and significant bridge between chaps. 8 and 9. One of the most remarkable and characteristic expressions in this part of the book appears through the use of the verb *bîn* and its derived form *hēbîn* ("to understand" and "to cause to understand"). It occurs for the first time in chap. 1, regarding the ability of Daniel to "understand" the vision.<sup>7</sup> Then we must wait until chap. 8 for its next occurrences. From that point on, it is used repeatedly until the end of the book.

But the way this word is used in chaps. 8 and 9 is striking: It appears first as a participle in 8:5, just before the mention of the goat, where it has a positive connotation since Daniel understands the meaning. It occurs next as a noun in vs. 15 as part of a question, where Daniel asks for understanding (*bînāh*). The next two uses belong to the same event. A voice calls out to Gabriel: "Make this man understand" (*hābēn*), in vs. 16. Then as an echo, Gabriel addresses Daniel with the same imperative form (*hābēn*): "Understand, O son of man, that the vision is for the

<sup>6</sup>For the unity of the book of Daniel, see A. Jeffery, "Daniel: Introduction," *IB* 6: 346; R. D. Wilson, "Book of Daniel," *ISBE* 2: 784-786; and H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament* (London, 1952), pp. 237-268.

<sup>7</sup>Vss. 4, 17, 20; in vss. 4 and 20 Daniel and his fellows are included, and the word means here the general ability to understand. But when the verb is applied only to Daniel (vs. 17), it is directly related to "vision" (*hāzôn*). It is not accidental that this word patterns exactly the same as *hēbîn* (it occurs for the first time in chap. 1 and reappears only from chap. 8 on). Nor is it accidental that these two words are two key-words of chap. 8 (seven occurrences of *hāzôn* and six of *hēbîn* in that chapter). Thus the shift of the language (Hebrew to Aramaic) is not the main reason for this linguistic phenomenon. The sudden shift from no appearances of these two words in chaps. 2-7 to their greatest frequency in chap. 8 cannot be interpreted as an accident.

time of the end.” Thus the answer of the angel is limited. Daniel asks to understand the *vision*. And the angel says: “Understand [only] that this vision is for the time of the end.” But the key to the vision is not given. The vision is a riddle (*hîdāh*). Is it accidental that the following use of *hēbîn* (see 8:23) is related to this very word “riddle”? This particular association here seems significant.

In view of the foregoing, it is not surprising that the next, and final, use of *mēbîn* in chap. 8 is a negative one: “I do not understand.” Chap. 8 closes with these words.

### *The Setting in Dan 9*

The way Dan 9:1 uses the same word is also significant: “In the first year . . . I Daniel understood [*bîn*].” In this way the thread of thought is taken over from chap. 8, with the last verb of chap. 8 being also the first one in chap. 9. But chap. 8 finishes with a negative tone—“I did not understand,” hence in expectation. Now the tone is positive—“Daniel understood,” as if what will be dealt with in Dan 9 has to be placed in conjunction with Dan 8 as its continuation, i.e., its answer.

This first occurrence of *hēbîn* or *bîn* in chap. 9 is used to show that Daniel was seeking in the books to “understand” the prophecy of the 70 years of Jeremiah. Then the next use comes in vs. 22, announcing the revelation of the 70 weeks. This usage suggests a kind of internal bridge, not only between the two prophecies mentioned in Dan 9 (70 years and 70 weeks<sup>8</sup>), but also with Dan 8. Moreover, it is significant that the last verb which is used by the angel in 9:23 to introduce the prophecy of the 70 weeks is the same imperative form (*hābēn*) as in 8:17, where the angel introduces his answer to the question of Daniel concerning the precise time of the 2300 evenings and mornings.<sup>9</sup> It is as if the use in reference to the 70 weeks intentionally places that prophecy of the 70 weeks directly into the same perspective and context as Daniel’s preceding and “incomplete” revelation, the prophecy of the 2300 evenings and mornings in chap. 8.

If the first revelation (the *hābēn* of 8:17) points to the time of the end of this particular period, then *hābēn* (vs. 23), which introduces the

<sup>8</sup>This phenomenon of echo between the introduction and the conclusion of Dan 9 will be treated below.

<sup>9</sup>Daniel’s question arises immediately after the mention of this time. The way the dialogue is articulated prepares for the question: “*wayyōmer*” (“and he said”); the angel turns towards Daniel and gives him the period of time, “*wayehi*”; and “then [waw consecutive] as Daniel saw that . . . he asked to understand.”

prophecy of the 70 weeks,<sup>10</sup> suggests the idea of a complementary datum which was missing in chap. 8 and which left Daniel *'ên mēbîn* ("not understanding")—namely, the *starting point* of this period.

If the prophecy of Dan 8 (*ḥāzōn*) points to a time of end, and if the prophecy of the 70 weeks indicates its starting point, then the period of the 70 weeks—which does not reach the end—must be understood as a smaller segment than the first one. In this way we may interpret the *hapax legomenon* *ḥtk* as a cutting off, a portion from something else.<sup>11</sup> Thus the period in Dan 9 is part of a whole. In this way the contextual data must be taken into consideration here.

The first words in Dan 9 point to a historical context which is quite precise: namely, the first year of Darius, 538 to 537 B.C. At that time Daniel is concerned with the end of the captivity, which appears to be at hand. He consults the books and seizes upon the fact that according to the word of the Lord to Jeremiah "seventy years must pass before the end of the desolations of Jerusalem" (Dan 9:2).<sup>12</sup> The end of this period is near and one can understand, therefore, Daniel's tension and interest in this subject.

The introduction and conclusion to this chapter (vss. 1-4 and 20-27) relate to the same inquiry: The first is concerned with the time involved, and the other deals with the same number, "70." The fact that this same number is used at the beginning and at the end of the chapter is striking. One may see an internal relation between the two in this usage, as does the French exegete P. Grelot, who understands the number as

<sup>10</sup> 8:27 also places the mention of the 2300 evenings and mornings far in the future. As for the expression of vs. 19, it refers to a "relative" end—i.e., the end of the *mō'ēd* (a specific time, namely the period of the indignation; cf. 11: 27).

<sup>11</sup> This meaning is supported by rabbinic literature which uses the word in the *niph'al* with the sense of "amputated" (cf. *m. Hul.* 4: 6). Moreover, most of the rabbinic usages of this root express this idea of amputation, related to slaughtering, etc. The denominative *ḥatīkāh* from the verb means only piece, portion (cf. *b. Hul.* 31b, *b. Ker.* 17b, etc.). See also the cognate Hebrew words *ḥtr* (Ezek 8: 8) and *ḥth* (Ps 52: 7), which contain the same connotation of cutting off, piercing, etc.

In cognate languages, the situation is not clear. Akkadian attests *hatakum*, translated "entscheiden" in *AHW*, s.v. "*hatakum*," 1: 335. Ugaritic attests the form *ḥtk* in the sense of father and son (see C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* [Rome, 1965], s.v. "*ḥtk*," p. 399, no. 911). In Arabic, we find the most interesting witness in connection with our concern: *hatak*, "to walk fast, with short steps; to cut off, scrape or shave off; emaciated, slender" (see W. Lane, ed., *Arabic-English Lexicon* [New York, 1956], s.v. "*hatak*," bk. 1, pt. 2, p. 510, col. 3).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jer. 25: 11 and 29: 10. The period may be reckoned from 605 B.C. to 536 B.C. inclusively. (See, e.g., *SDA Bible Commentary*, 3: 90-92, 94-97, for a discussion of this 70-year period.)



referring to the sabbatical year (7 x 10) and to the Jubilee (7 x 7 x 10), respectively.<sup>13</sup>

Grelot bases his interpretation upon 2 Chr 36:20-22, where the 70-year prophecy of Jeremiah is interpreted in terms of the levitical principle of the sabbatical year. This passage quotes Lev 26:34, 43, the common theme word being *šmm* ("desolate"). It is also significant that this word is one of the key words of Dan 9, appearing five times in the chapter (once each in vss. 17, 18, 26; twice in vs. 27).

Up to this point, Grelot's exegesis is sound. The three passages of Chronicles, Jeremiah, and Daniel clarify each other. But when Grelot comes to the interpretation of the 70 years, he stumbles on the number 70 itself, or 7 x 10. The symbolic meaning leads him to an exclusively symbolic interpretation.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, Grelot is right, I believe, in pointing out the profound meaning hidden in the use of this particular number, namely 7 x 10 as a reference to the sabbatical year.<sup>15</sup>

If the introduction and conclusion of Dan 9 deal with the same

<sup>13</sup>Cf. "Soixante-dix semaines d'années," *Bib* 50 (1969): 169. Cf. also J. Steinmann, *Daniel, Témoins de Dieu*, 12 (Paris, 1950), pp. 133-135; and A. A. Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (London, 1892), p. 146.

<sup>14</sup>Here we diverge from Grelot, who understands the reference to 70 as symbolical. For him this number expresses the idea of a certain time of desolation followed by the visitation of God. This interpretation, however, is hardly supported by the Bible and the ancient Near Eastern literature as well. Indeed, the only passages to which Grelot refers, namely, Zech 1: 12 and Isa 23: 15-17, might in fact be concerned with the same historical period as the one which is mentioned in the prophecy of Jeremiah. They cannot therefore be used as distinctive indications of the general symbolic usage of the number 70 (see D. Winton Thomas, "Exegesis of Isa 23: 15-17," *IB* 5: 1062; G. W. Wade, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* [London, 1911], p. 155; and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, BCOT [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1960], 1: 414).

The argument Grelot draws from the only witness of the inscription of Esarhaddon is not decisive at all. This document alludes to an oracle of Marduk pronounced against Babylon when Sennacherib destroyed it in 689 B.C.: "Having (on the tables of the destiny) written 70 (7 <) years of desolation [for Babylon], suddenly the god Marduk became quiet and reversed [the numbers]; hence 11 (< 7) years" (J. Nougayrol, "Textes hépatoscopiques d'époque ancienne," *RA* 40 [1945]: 65). Now if Esarhaddon indeed rebuilt the city of Babylon 11 years after its destruction by Sennacherib, as is attested by history and as Grelot recognizes (cf. Nougayrol, p. 70, and Grelot, p. 174), there is strong reason to think that the number 70, which is obtained by reversing the cuneiform sign of the number 11, is purely accidental. It would scarcely have been chosen intentionally on account of its symbolism.

<sup>15</sup>Noldeke and Bevan think that Jeremiah is a midrash of Lev 26:34-35; notice the "7 times" of vs. 28 (cf. Montgomery, p. 360; see also Bevan, *Commentary on Daniel*, p. 146). This reference to the number 7 as a key to the 70 weeks may also explain the distribution into weeks (62 weeks), 1 week (= 7 days). The number 7 is cut off at the beginning and at the end of the period. The fact that the system is applicable to any number shows that the number 70 has been chosen on account of its reality, not merely on account of its symbolic content.

concerns—the salvation of Israel and the number 70—it follows that the two periods of time (70 years in the introduction, and 70 weeks in the conclusion) must belong to the same essence. Both are historical, and both point to the levitical principle. The second one refers to the Jubilee (7 x 7 x 10), as the first refers to the sabbatical year (7 x 10).

Furthermore, the use of the unit “weeks” in Dan 9 supports this indirect reference to the levitical principle. “The notion of a ‘week’ seems to have been suggested implicitly on the basis of the seven-day and seven-year periods culminating in a ‘Sabbath’ (Lev 25:2-4; 26:33ff.)”<sup>16</sup> It follows that just as Jeremiah predicted the 70 years of desolation from the perspective of the sabbatical year, Daniel sets forth his prophecy from the perspective of the Jubilee. Moreover, since Daniel places his prophecy in the perspective of an extension of Jeremiah’s historical prophecy, it means that Daniel also refers to an historical event.

This conclusion has important implications in terms of history and theology: (1) The seventy weeks’ prophecy must be interpreted with regard to *history* in as realistic a way as Daniel did for the prophecy of Jeremiah.<sup>17</sup> (2) The event to which the 70 weeks point receives a *theological* dimension; it has something to do with the Jubilee, just as the prophecy of Jeremiah had something to do with the sabbatical year.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the introduction and conclusion of chap. 9 express the same basic concern, relating to the levitical meaning of the number 7. Between the two, however, the author places a prayer which reveals his main thought.<sup>19</sup> Daniel is concerned about the sin of his people, which he relates to the exile (Dan 9:5, 7, 16). He cries out to God and asks him to intervene in his mercy and to forgive. He prays for Jerusalem—hence for the Sanctuary—that it may recover its meaning and its glory of old (9:17-19).

<sup>16</sup>Hasel, “Seventy Weeks of Daniel,” p. 6. See also R. H. Charles, *The Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh, n.d.), p. 104; Montgomery, p. 373.

<sup>17</sup>This stands against the symbolical interpretation.

<sup>18</sup>This stands against the historical-critical interpretation.

<sup>19</sup>Many commentators have argued that Dan 9: 4-20 was a late interpolation; for the unity of chap. 9, including the prayer and the prophecy of the 70 weeks together, see the excellent article of B. W. Jones, “The Prayer in Daniel 9,” *VT* 18 (1968): 488; see also O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (Gütersloh, 1965), p. 135; A. Jeffery, “Daniel: Exegesis,” *IB* 6: 484; N. W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 136.

This prayer of "confession" and "supplication" (9:20) God answers by means of Gabriel: "At the beginning of your supplications a word went forth, and I have come to tell it to you, for you are greatly beloved; therefore consider the word and understand the vision" (9:23).

Thus the elements in God's answer come as a direct response to Daniel's particular sorrow. Is Daniel concerned with the sin of the people? God makes known to him that within a certain time sin will be atoned for and justice will be brought in forever (9:24). Is Daniel concerned with the destiny of Jerusalem? God answers that within a certain time a word will be pronounced on behalf of the erection of the City and that afterwards it will be destroyed and devastated by a war (vss. 25, 26).

If the coming of a Messiah, an anointed one, is perceived in the same vision, it is because he has something to do with those two answers: (1) The role he plays in the atonement of sins is referred to in a very significant way: He appears directly in the first act of the vision, which concerns the atonement; and thus the coming of the Messiah elucidates the reference in vs. 24 to the atonement of the sin and to everlasting justice. (2) Regarding the destiny of Jerusalem, the question becomes one of providing an indication by which the dates of the Messiah's coming and of his death in history can be determined. The destiny of Jerusalem is used in this connection as a point of reference (vss. 25-26).

It is in this context that one should understand the first words of the prophecy: "70 weeks are decreed concerning your people and your holy city." The vision has two sides: The first concerns the people; it is on the level of man, and it will speak of atonement and salvation. The second concerns the holy city, Jerusalem; it is on the level of space and history, and it will speak of building and destruction. Both have something to do with the same measure of time: 70 weeks.

Moreover, the prayer of Daniel was concerned with the people and Jerusalem. It is to be expected, therefore, that the message of Gabriel sent by God should be related to them. This leads us next to a consideration of the literary structure in Dan 9:24-27.

## *2. The Literary Structure*

From a literary point of view, one is struck by the fact that there is in this passage a seesaw between two poles—namely, (1) the people and their sins, and (2) Jerusalem with its sanctuary. This twofold nature of

this prophecy is apparent in the prelude (vs. 24), as well as in the body of the vision itself (vss. 25-27).

### *The Prelude*

The dual nature of the subject of this prophecy is suggested in the prelude by the following combinations as determined by their parallelism:

#### A Totality of 70 Weeks is Separated<sup>20</sup>

Concerning your people <i>'al-'ammekā</i> (2 words)	Concerning your holy city <i>we'al 'ir qoḏšekā</i> (3 words)
(1) to finish the transgression <i>lekallē' happeša'</i> (2 words)	(1) to bring in everlasting righteousness <sup>21</sup> <i>ūlehāḇi ṣeḏeq 'ōlāmim</i> (3 words)
(2) to seal ( <i>htm</i> ) sins <i>ūlehātēm hattā'ōt</i> (2 words)	(2) to seal ( <i>htm</i> ) both vision and prophet <i>wetahtōm hāzōn<sup>22</sup> wenāḇi'</i> (3 words)
(3) to atone for iniquity <i>ūlekappēr 'āwōn</i> (2 words)	(3) to anoint holy of holies <i>welimsōah qōḏeš qoḏāšim</i> (3 words)

The two themes of the poem are first stated: "Concerning your people and concerning your holy city." The first three stichs come in the rhythm of two words each.<sup>23</sup> The thought is concerned with the sin and the forgiveness, notions which Daniel related to the people (vss. 5, 7, 17). Then the following three stichs are developed in the rhythm of three words each. The thought here is concerned with the theme of the holy city and hence with the sanctuary; the thought is cultic, involving

<sup>20</sup> Cf. p. 6, above.

<sup>21</sup> The relationship "finish-everlasting" should be noted.

<sup>22</sup> The word *hāzōn* is here placed in the same cultic perspective as in Dan 8:13-14. There, this word is indeed used in association with the significant motifs of *sdq* ("righteousness"), *qḏš* ("holy"), *tāmīq* ("perpetual"), *pš'* ("sin"), *šmm* ("desolation"), which undoubtedly belong to the Jerusalem sanctuary terminology.

<sup>23</sup> Our observation takes into account the number of words rather than their accents (meter) for two main reasons: (1) Because of the nature of the accent and the role it plays in the recitation, only the word is sure. (2) The consideration of accent as a means of expression of the Hebrew rhythm comes from premises which are mainly rooted in the confusion that in a "primitive" expression Hebrew poetry stresses rhythm; that is, the rhythm precedes the conscious thought. In fact, in Hebrew poetry, word and meaning precede the rhythm, for poetry is above all a message. In addition, "It must always be borne in mind that there is no intrinsic evidence for meter in the Hebrew of the Old Testament" (R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969], p. 971; cf. also for the same opinion R. C. Culley, "Metrical Analysis of Classical Hebrew Poetry," *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World*, ed. J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford [Toronto, 1970], pp. 12-28).

the specific ideas of everlasting righteousness,<sup>24</sup> anointing holy of holies, etc.

It can be seen that there is a synthetic parallelism between the stichs themselves, in that the second element completes the first: The first part has a negative connotation; the second has a positive connotation. Thus:

1. "To finish the transgression" is in parallelism with "to bring in everlasting righteousness." The transgression is finished or "closed," and there follows an everlasting righteousness.

2. "To seal [*htm*] sins" is in parallelism with "to seal [*htm*] both vision and prophet," with *htm* being common to the two stichs.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the seal of the prophecy—i.e., its fulfillment—is related to the seal of the sins—i.e., their forgiveness.

3. "To atone for iniquity" is in parallelism with anointing a holy of holies. Here the relation is not evident from the outset. Moreover, the expression "holy of holies" is obscure. Does it refer to the most holy place or to a person? The position of this stich—i.e., on the side of Jerusalem/Sanctuary—excludes the latter possibility. On the other hand, the absence of the article before "holy of holies" does not yield the interpretation "most holy place" (in the Sanctuary), which occurs regularly with an article in the OT. Yet, it may designate the holy things which belong to the Sanctuary service, or the whole Temple.<sup>26</sup> However, this usage of the expression "holy of holies" does not help us to understand the meaning intended in the present parallelism.

It is highly significant that the same association of these three notions—atonement (*kpr*), anointing (*mšh*), and holy of holies (*qōdēš qodāšim*)—is found in Exod 29:36-37, the *only* other biblical reference to use these expressions in conjunction. This passage deals with the consecration of Aaron and his sons to their high priesthood (the earliest consecration of an Israelite priesthood). It is significant that this ceremony consisted of an anointing of a "holy of holies" which was marked by the number 7: The ceremony was to last 7 days.

<sup>24</sup>For the association *sdq* and the sanctuary, see esp. Dan 8: 14 and Ps 4: 6; Ps 51: 21; Ps 132: 9; Isa 61: 3. This notion is also commonly associated with the city of Jerusalem (cf. Isa 1: 26; and see F. L. Horton, Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition* [London, 1976], p. 42-45).

<sup>25</sup>In fact, the *qerê* indicates for the first stich *htm*, not *htm* as it is in the text. Whatever it is, the meaning is slightly nuanced ("to bring to an end"), and the play on words is conserved.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. Exod 29: 37; Ezek 43: 12. The expression occurs 39 times, always in reference to the whole Tabernacle or Temple.

The accumulation of common patterns and wording between the prophecy of 70 weeks and this passage in Exodus is most striking indeed. We may now see the relationship expressed in the parallelism between atonement and the anointment of a "holy of holies," i.e., the consecration of a new high-priesthood.

### *The Vision*

In Dan 9:25, the angel goes on: "Know therefore and understand." In Hebrew, these two words stress the importance of the passage which follows, and they introduce the explanation. According to the same principle of parallelism, the message is developed in three phases. The next three verses can be organized as in Diagram 1 (p. 13) so that we may grasp their symmetrical character.

The same twofold picture is present here also. But the extension of the theme "people" is discerned in the figure of a Messiah, while in the line of the theme "Jerusalem" the historical destiny of the city is described in more precise detail as to its end and the end of its sanctuary.

The distribution depicted here is not artificial but is required on account of the double current which crosses the whole chapter: (1) people-sin, and (2) Jerusalem-Sanctuary. It is also justified by identifying each stich addressed to its fellow member by means of a common expression: Thus the 3 stichs concerned with Jerusalem ( $B_1, B_2, B_3$ ) have the word *hrš* in common, whereas the 3 stichs concerned with the Messiah ( $A_1, A_2, A_3$ ) refer regularly to a time expressed in terms of weeks. This regularity of using a common key-expression, three times on each side of the prophetic outline, indicates strongly that the 62 weeks (of A) should be connected with the Messiah rather than with Jerusalem. Thus, the break should take place *after* 62 weeks, not before it as the MT has suggested, but rather in the way it has been punctuated in the LXX, in the Peshitta,<sup>27</sup> and at Qumran.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup>The state of these sources allows us to use them only as a support and not as a direct argument (cf. my Introduction).

<sup>28</sup>Qumran attests only the exegesis of the Essenes and does not ascertain the existence of the present punctuation (see "Exhortation, *Damascus Document*, MS A, 1: 4-11; cf. also A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Ecrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte* [Paris, 1968], p. 137).

Diagram 1. Chiastic Structure in Dan 9:25-27.

<p>A<sub>1</sub> (vs 25a) <i>construction of the city</i>          (From the going forth of the word to restore and build Jerusalem)<sup>1</sup> to the coming of "the"<sup>2</sup> Messiah Prince there shall be 7 weeks, 62 weeks;</p>	<p>B<sub>1</sub> (vs. 25b) <i>construction of the city</i>          it shall be restored and built, with squares and moat (<i>hrs</i>), but in a troubled time.</p>
<p>A<sub>2</sub> (vs. 26a) <i>destruction of the Messiah Prince</i>          After the 62 weeks, "the" Messiah shall be cut off without any help,<sup>4</sup></p>	<p>B<sub>2</sub> (vs. 26b) <i>destruction of the city and the sanctuary</i>          and the people of the Prince<sup>3</sup> the aggressor<sup>5</sup> shall destroy<sup>6</sup> the city and the sanctuary. Its end will be in a flood, and until the end of a decree (<i>hrs</i>) there will be war; it will be a desolation.</p>
<p>A<sub>3</sub> (vs 27a) <i>cessation of sacrifice and offering</i>          And he shall have success<sup>7</sup> with the covenant with many<sup>8</sup> for one week; and in the midst<sup>9</sup> of the week, he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease forever;<sup>10</sup></p>	<p>B<sub>3</sub> (vs. 27b) <i>destruction of the People of the Prince</i>          and on the side of abominations, desolation will be until the end, [until] what is decreed (<i>hrs</i>) will be poured out on the desolation.</p>

<sup>1</sup> Dealing with the motif of Jerusalem, this sentence should be classified on the other side. And the repetition of its two words "restore and build" in B shows that it belongs in fact to the same phase of action, hence to the same literary portion. I have put it in A in parentheses for the sake of clarity.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 18-19.

<sup>5</sup> I think that this present use of *habbā'* ("the coming") has to be understood in the sense that it receives in chap. 11. There the word is always used to describe an army in aggression, with no time reference to the future. Chap. 11 uses this verb seventeen times, always with that particular connotation. See esp. the same form *habbā'* in 11:16; also similar usage of the same verb in the book of Ezekiel (cf. 1:4; 7:5; 20:29; 30:9; 33:3, 6; etc.).

<sup>6</sup> The subject of *yašbīt* ("destroy") is undoubtedly *'am nāgīd* ("people of the Prince") in the light of Dan 8:24, which is concerned with the same problem, which uses the same form, and which has as its subject not the saints but the evil power (the little horn).

<sup>7</sup> The *hgbīt* ("success") does not merely imply the idea of strength, but above all it implies the idea of struggle and of victory (the *gibbōr* is the hero who has succeeded in the war). Dan 11:32-33, which deals with the same concern, clearly suggests this struggle by opposing the *maršī'ē berīt* ("the wicked ones of the covenant") and the *maškīlē 'am* ("the instructors of the people") who make the *rabbīm* ("many") understand (the two words *berīt* ["covenant"] and *rabbīm* are common with Dan 9:7).

<sup>8</sup> We may notice here that the *rabbīm* has in a messianic passage a universal dimension (see Isa 53:12). It is significant that it is used by the prophets mostly for peoples or nations in reference to worship towards God. In Dan 11:2 the connotation of universality is clear; in this verse both the good and the wicked are included.

<sup>9</sup> When *hāšī* ("midst") is in *status constructus* with a period of time (here weeks), it means always "midst" and not "half" (see Exod 12:29; Josh 10:13; Judg 16:3; Jer 17:11; Ps 102:25; Ruth 3:8). The context of our passage does not yield the meaning of "half." It is concerned with a definite action (*yašbīt* ["cause to cease"] in the imperfect). This is, according to the structure, related to *yikkāret* ("cut off"), implying the idea of suddenness. The nature of this act (sudden destruction) points therefore to a specific moment in time (midst of the week) rather than to a duration of time (half of the week).

<sup>10</sup> The word *yašbīt* implies a definitive effect (cf. Deut 32:26). It is significant that this word is used mostly to designate an eschatological cessation (see esp. its usage in the book of Ezekiel, which contains most of the biblical occurrences (cf. Ezek 7:24; 12:23; 16:41; 23:27; 23:48; 26:13; 30:50; 34:10; 34:25; etc.).

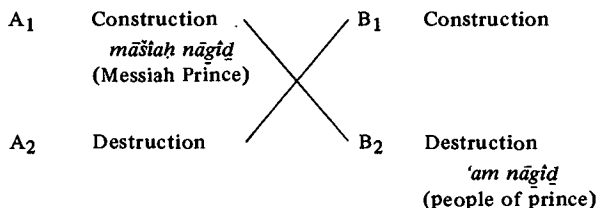
The two motifs of *Messiah* and *Jerusalem* are used alternately, giving this section its interwoven composition:

A <sub>1</sub>	Messiah
B <sub>1</sub>	Jerusalem
A <sub>2</sub>	Messiah
B <sub>2</sub>	Jerusalem
A <sub>3</sub>	Messiah (here implied) <sup>29</sup>
B <sub>3</sub>	Jerusalem

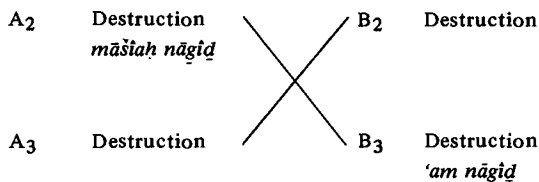
We may notice also the beautiful thematic chiasmus between the members. This structure points out a remarkable dialectic in terms of construction-destruction, as indicated in Diagram 2:

Diagram 2. The "Construction-Destruction" Dialectic in Dan 9:25-27.

The first chiasm:



The second chiasm:



<sup>29</sup>This small paragraph must be related to the Messiah on account of the following observations: (1) the presence of the theme of the weeks, the key-word related to the Messiah; (2) the principle of the interwoven composition (Messiah-Jerusalem-Messiah-Jerusalem-Messiah-Jerusalem); and (3) the notions of covenant and of cessation of the offerings which borrow the notions expressed in the verb *krt* (cut off) of the preceding messianic paragraph (A<sub>1</sub>). These last are one more token according to which A<sub>2</sub> lies on the same level as A<sub>1</sub> and follows it. Indeed, the word *krt* is an allusion both to a covenant (*krt* is the technical term which expresses the process of the covenant; cf. Exod 24:8; 34:27; Jos 9:15; Hos 2:20; Jer 34:13; etc.) and to a cessation. The word *krt* conveys already in A<sub>1</sub> the two theological meanings of the death of the Messiah which we find again explicitly mentioned in A<sub>2</sub>—namely, the *covenant* by his sacrifice, hence the *end* of the sacrifices.



The prophet wanted to communicate his message through the beauty of poetic structure. Martin Buber is right in noticing that in Hebrew here the *Wie* ("How") and the *Was* ("What") are confused.<sup>30</sup>

### 3. Words and Expressions

The words and expressions which will be treated here have been selected especially because of the important role they play in the interpretation of the passage and because their meanings are still debated on account of their obscurity.

Min *mōšā'* *dāḅār*, "from the going forth of the word"

Min *mōšā'* *dāḅār* may refer to the *yāšā'* *dāḅār* ("went forth a word") of Dan 9:23, as though there is an internal relationship between them. In fact, the first *dāḅār* ("word") is undoubtedly from God; it belongs to the vision. In the same verse it is in parallelism with vision:<sup>31</sup> *bīn baddāḅār* ("understand the word") and *wehāḅēn bammar'eh* ("and understand the vision").

The first *dāḅār* is the word in heaven, while the second *dāḅār* stands out from an objective point of view as the word on earth, the historical event corresponding to the word of God. This echo expresses the idea of the direct intervention of God with regard to the word of the building and restoration of Jerusalem.

The emphasis that is thus given points directly to the decree of Artaxerxes over against the decrees of Cyrus and Darius;<sup>32</sup> for Artaxerxes' decree is not merely the third and last decree (hence the only one to be complete (it concerns the building of the Temple as well as of the political and administrative city of Jerusalem), but is also the only

<sup>30</sup> *Schriften zur Bibel, Werke*, Bd. 2 (München, 1964), p. 1112. I have explored this particular interrelationship between the Hebrew language in its expression and the content it conveys, in my doctoral dissertation ("L'Hébreu en vie: Langue hébraïque et civilisation prophétique. Etude structurale" [Hebrew in Life: Hebrew language and prophetic civilization. Structural study.] [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Strasbourg, 1973]).

<sup>31</sup> On the basis of its relationship to *hāḅēn*, *min mōšā' dāḅār* refers, therefore, to the vision. This connection is supported by the fact that the expression is introduced by "know therefore and understand" (*škl*), which belongs to the same category of thought as *hāḅēn*.

<sup>32</sup> With regard to the building and restoration of Jerusalem, the Bible records only those three decrees (cf. Ezra 6:14). See 2 Chr 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-4 for the decree of Cyrus; Ezra 6: 6-12 for the decree of Darius; and Ezra 7: 12-26 for the decree of Artaxerxes.

decree which is followed by a blessing and praise towards God, and indeed the only decree which alludes to the intervention of God: "Blessed be the Lord, the God of our fathers, who put such a thing as this into the heart of the king, to beautify the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem" (Ezra 7:27-28).

It is significant, moreover, that from this blessing and praise—this reaction of Ezra towards the action of God—the text passes from the Aramaic language to the Hebrew language. The decree of Artaxerxes has generated this shift, suggesting that only from here began the national restoration.<sup>33</sup>

'Am nāgīd, "people of Prince"

The structure of the passage suggests a relationship between the two *nāgīds* present in it, as Diagram 2 on p. 14, above, indicates. This chiasm points to a constant opposition between the *māšīah nāgīd* ("Messiah Prince") and the 'am nāgīd ("people of a Prince"<sup>34</sup>): A<sub>1</sub> : B<sub>2</sub>; A<sub>2</sub> : B<sub>3</sub>. In fact, the second *nāgīd* (or "prince") comes against the first one—as his adversary, and also as his usurper. Indeed, he bears the same name and claims the same honor. It is significant that the term *nāgīd* is applied to the leader of Tyre in Ezek 23:2,<sup>35</sup> the context of which partakes much in common wording and patterns of thought with Dan 9:24-27.<sup>36</sup> The passage in Ezekiel is the only other biblical reference carrying this association with the concept of *mšh*, "to anoint" (23:14).

In fact, the motif of a great conflict in Dan 9 between the two "princes" pervades the whole book of Daniel and belongs to its basic theology.

<sup>33</sup>This is against the dispensationalist view.

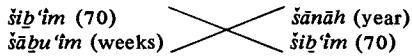
<sup>34</sup>Status constructus; people of a *nāgīd* ("prince").

<sup>35</sup>The fact is striking that this is the only time that Ezekiel uses this term *nāgīd*; elsewhere he always uses *nāsi*' (in fact, most of the OT occurrences of *nāsi*' are found in Ezekiel). This sudden unique and irregular shift of *nāsi*' to *nāgīd* must therefore be intentional.

<sup>36</sup>*šht*, "destruction, corruption" (28:8, 17); *yammim*, "sea" (28:8; cf. 27:34). The idea of end is here also associated with water (in Daniel *štf* = "inundation"). Other common terms are *h̄tm*, "seal" (28:12); *mimšah*, "anointed cherubim" (28:14); *behar qōdeš 'elōhīm*, "holy mountain of God" (28:14, 16); *ht*', "sin" (28:16); *'awōn*, "iniquity" (28:18); *miqdāš*, "sanctuary" (28:18); *šmm*, "desolate" (28:19; cf. 27:35).

šābu'īm, "weeks"

That the 70 weeks have to be interpreted in terms of years is indicated by the text itself. The bridge we noticed between the 70 weeks and the 70 years deciphers the word "week." The two expressions, *šib'īm šānāh* in vs. 2 and *šābu'īm šib'īm* in vs. 24, point to each other by the means of the following chiasmus:



This chiasmus elucidates the nature of the weeks; as *šib'īm* is equivalent to *šib'īm*, so *šābu'īm* is equivalent to *šānāh*.

This scheme is paralleled outside of the book of Daniel,<sup>37</sup> in Ezekiel 4:4-7. The prophet Ezekiel, in exile in Babylon, has a vision concerning the destruction of Jerusalem in relation to the sins of the people. The theological context (the sins of the people<sup>38</sup>), the historical setting (destruction of Jerusalem), and geographical locale (exile at Babylon) recall the situation in Daniel. And to Ezekiel, as to Daniel, the divine word appoints a time. This time is specified in days, and to Ezekiel the order of conversion is given explicitly: one day = one year. This key was surely well known by Daniel; and on account of the similarities between the two situations, we are led to think that our 70 weeks in Dan 9 refer also to years.

If we adopt the MT punctuation here ("to the coming of an anointed one, a prince, there shall be 7 weeks . . . after those 62 weeks an anointed one shall be cut off") it is difficult to see how the Messiah who appeared after the first 7 weeks (49 years) would be killed 62 weeks later, namely 434 years later. Of course, one could argue that two different Messiahs are represented, especially in that the person of the Messiah is referred to differently in the two passages: The first time he is *māšīah nāgīd*, while the second time he is merely designated as *māšīah*. We have already seen, however, that the structure of the passage could hardly support this shift since it suggests the reverse effect on the same person.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup>The Jewish tradition (*B. Nazir* 32b, *Yoma* 54a; the *Midrash Rabbah*, *Eikah* Pg 34; etc.) and Qumran literature (see above, n. 28) attest moreover the strength of this interpretation (see on this, J. Doukhan, *Boire aux Sources* [Dammarie-les-Lys, France, 1977], p. 93).

<sup>38</sup>The term *'awōn* ("sin") occurs five times in vss. 4 to 6.

<sup>39</sup>Cf. above, p. 14.

The way this expression passes from the definite (*māšīah nāgīd*) to the indefinite (*māšīah*) has a symmetrical correspondence regarding the city of Jerusalem: In vs. 25, in connection with *māšīah nāgīd*, we find the city explicitly designated as “Jerusalem”; but in vs. 26, in connection with *māšīah*, we find it simply referred to as “the city.” Thus, for the city as well as for the Messiah we pass from the definite to the indefinite. As it is the same city Jerusalem, we would conclude that it must be also the same Messiah.

There are strong reasons, therefore, to think that the original break between the number segments in the text was after the expression “62 weeks,” not before it. Thus, the death of the Messiah would follow closely upon his appearance.

We'ên lô, “and he has no . . .”<sup>40</sup>

The expression 'ên lô is never used elsewhere in the Bible in this absolute form. It is always used with an accusative, implicitly or not, in the sense of “there is no [something] for him” or “he has no [something]” (see Exod 22:2; Lev 11:10, 12; etc.; and cf. 'ên yešū'ātāh lô, “there is no salvation for him” in Ps 3:3). That is the reason why it should be a contracted form of a longer and more complete expression. It should be observed that Daniel uses the more complete form only once, in 11:45: 'ên 'ôzēr lô. There is strong reason, then, to think that the 'ên lô of Dan 9 is in fact the contracted form of the 'ên 'ôzēr lô of Dan 11.

This conclusion is strengthened when we consider the striking similarity of the concern between the two passages. In Dan 11:45 somebody (the evil power) comes to an end when facing the victorious appearance of Michael, who then takes charge of his people. In Dan 9:26 the Messiah comes to an end while facing the victorious murderer who destroys the city and its sanctuary. Both are 'ên ['ôzēr] lô, without any help. The symmetrical character of the situations is particularly suggestive; they echo each other.

It is interesting to notice that the expression 'ên 'ôzēr lô (“no help for him”) or its abbreviated form 'ên 'ôzēr (“no help”) occurs six times outside of the book of Daniel—always in a similar context of despair and with a similar perspective of salvation.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The translation is literal.

<sup>41</sup> 2 Kgs 14: 26; Isa 63: 5; Lam 1: 7; Ps 72: 12; 107: 12; 22: 12 (vs. 11 in the English version).

One of these occurrences draws our attention on account of its particular connotation: Ps 22:12, which attests the abbreviated form *'ên 'ôzēr* ("no help").<sup>42</sup>

In this Psalm the word *'zr* ("help") is used twice, in vss. 12 and 20; and each time it is in association with *rhq* ("to be far"). But *rhq* occurs a total of three times. It is also used in vs. 1, where it is associated with *'zb* ("to forsake").<sup>43</sup> We have, then, the following pattern of association:

<i>rhq</i> - <i>'zb</i>	(vs. 1)
<i>rhq</i> - <i>'zr</i>	(vs. 12)
<i>rhq</i> - <i>'zr</i>	(vs. 20)

This stylistic device reveals that the author intended to suggest a connection between the three verses, and by the same token to bring out the particular affinity between vs. 1 and vs. 12: *'ên 'zr*, "no help," which is the perfect semantic equivalent of *'zb*, "forsake." Both expressions are associated with *rhq*.

This play on words may well have been intentional, then, tracing a connection between the *'ên 'ôzēr* of vs. 12 and *'ēlī 'ēlī lāmāh 'āzāḥtānī* ("my God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?") of vs. 1. Moreover, could not the prayer of the Lord on the cross, *'ēlī 'ēlī lāmāh šābaqtānī*<sup>44</sup> (Ps 22:2 [22:1 in Eng.]), be taken as well, as referring indirectly to the expression of Dan 9, *'ên 'ôzēr lô?*<sup>45</sup>

#### 4. Theological Dimensions

It would be impossible to state in a few words all of the theological implications involved in this prophecy. Yet, the main concepts seem to crystallize into three basic lines of thought that are closely related: levitism, universalism, and eschatology.

<sup>42</sup> Vs. 11 in the English version.

<sup>43</sup> It is noteworthy that the same connection of ideas is attested elsewhere in the Bible; see 2 Kgs 14: 26, where *'zb* is directly associated in parallelism with *'ên 'ôzēr leyīsrā 'ēl* ("no help for Israel"); the expression is used here in its complete and unabbreviated form.

<sup>44</sup> The shift by the Lord from *'āzāḥtānī* unto *šābaqtānī*, I believe, is intentional and has theological reasons. Exposition of this matter would, however, go beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>45</sup> And this in the following way: *'ēlī 'ēlī lāmāh šābaqtānī* ("my God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me") → *'ên 'ôzēr* ("no help") → *'ên 'ôzēr lô* ("no help for him") → *'ên lô* ("no for him").

### *Levitism*

Behind the 70-weeks' prophecy we may discern a strong levitical background. This is evident from the outset in the specific terms which are used—"sin," "holy of holies," "righteousness," "Holy," "the City," "Jerusalem," "offering," "sacrifice."

The association of 70 years with 70 weeks makes clear that our text points to the levitical principles of the Jubilee. By placing his prophecy in this perspective, Daniel reveals its theological background.<sup>46</sup> A certain number of the ideas of the Jubilee should be pointed out. The Jubilee brings a renewal; it is a new creation. Everything returns or comes back<sup>47</sup> to its original state. Land reverts to its original owner (Lev 25:24-28), and Hebrew slaves are to be freed (Lev 25:10). Then liberty is proclaimed throughout the land to all its inhabitants. But the levitical economy is especially involved, as our passage points out, with the ultimate consecration of the high-priesthood.

Liberty, atonement of sins, high-priesthood, sanctuary, Jerusalem—these motifs are familiar to the levitical world. This particularism is not the only feature of the prophecy, however; it is balanced by the universalistic dimension.

### *Universalism*

The universalistic dimension of Dan 9:24-27 becomes evident when we pay attention to the way certain words of our passage are used in the rest of the chapter. Thus, the word *ḥaṭṭā'ōt* ("sins"), which is used in 9:24-27 in an indefinite sense pointing to a universalism, is always used in vss. 1-23 in a relative sense (particularism): *our* sins (vs. 16), *sin of the people* (vs. 20), *my* sin (vs. 20), *we* have sinned (vss. 5, 8, 16). The same thing can be said for the word *'āwōn* ("iniquity"), which is also used in the preceding verses in a relative sense: *we* did iniquity (vs. 5), *our* iniquities (vs. 13), *the iniquities of our fathers* (vs. 16). This is also the case with the word *śedeq* ("justice"), which is used in the preceding verses only in reference to God: vss. 7, 14, 16, 18.<sup>48</sup> The word *hāzōn* ("vision"), which is used in the preceding verses only one time—*hahāzōn* ("the vision") in vs. 21—points here to a particular and definite vision. The word *nābī'* ("prophet") also occurs in a definite sense in vss. 2, 6, 11.

<sup>46</sup>In the prayer, Daniel refers explicitly to the Law of Moses in vs. 11.

<sup>47</sup>The Hebrew word *yōḥēl* ("jubilee") suggests this idea of bringing back.

<sup>48</sup>This is the only passage which relates *śedāqāh* ("justice") to men, but it is in a negative way—to point out that *śedāqāh* is not human but belongs to God.

The fact is striking: *All those words which are used in the prayer in a definite sense expressing a particularist view ("our," "my," "of the people," "of God," etc.) are suddenly, as soon as they appear in the context of the 70 weeks, used in an indefinite sense expressing a universalistic point of view.*

We may now understand why the *māšīah*, "Messiah," is indefinite—an absolutely exceptional case in OT usage—:<sup>49</sup> In the light of what precedes and on account of its particularity,<sup>50</sup> the term *māšīah* does not mean a particular Messiah among others holding a certain mission, but he is indeed *the* Messiah *par excellence*.<sup>51</sup> Consequently, it is not surprising that this Messiah has something to do with the *rabbīm*, a word which has a strong universalistic connotation.<sup>52</sup> He is the Messiah of all the peoples. This latter theological aspect in association with the former one, which points to the Jubilee, introduces the eschatological dimension of our prophecy.

### *Eschatology*

The text is indeed imbued with eschatology. The four main patterns which characterize eschatological texts are present here:

First, the idea of an *eschaton* is explicitly indicated at the last step or stage of the prophecy (vss. 26-27)—in the terminology *qēš* ("end"), *yašbīt* ("cause to cease"), and *kālāh* ("end"). It is implicit in the prelude—in reference to the "finishing" of the transgression and to the "sealing" of the vision. The preposition 'ad, which occurs once in each verse (vss. 25, 26, 27), also suggests the idea of the end of a time—"until."

<sup>49</sup> Throughout the OT, *māšīah* is always used with an article or in status constructus relatively to a particular, specific, common Messiah. As for 2 Sam 1: 21, it is evidently a textual corruption and must be read according to the context *māšūah* ("anointment"), which is supported by a number of manuscripts (see the apparatus of *Biblica Hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel [Stuttgart, 1937]).

<sup>50</sup> The paucity of articles in the book of Daniel does not undermine this observation. (1) This case is noteworthy *within* the striking shift of "determined" into "undetermined" and includes the observation of the shift from the *status constructus* into the *status absolutus*. (2) The word *māšīah* is consistently used in a determined sense even in poetic contexts, though the latter are sparing in articles (see Ps 2:2; 20:7; 28:8; Isa 45:1, etc.).

<sup>51</sup> This is against the historical-critical approach.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. n. 8 to the table on p. 13.

Along with this *eschaton* element comes the classical concept of "appointed." We have already noticed that regarding the destiny of the city, the prophecy is rhythmized upon the word *hṣ*.

This appointing aspect is supported in addition by the time element of the prophecy. The numbering in weeks (70, 7, 62, 1, and ½), the words *sābu'im* ("weeks") and *'ittim* ("times"), and the preposition *'aharê* give strong support to this and express the philosophy of history which pervades the whole book of Daniel.

As a final eschatological aspect, the passage resounds also of the great conflict: The *māšiah nāgîd* ("Messiah Prince") is opposed to the *'am nāgîd* ("people of the Prince"), and the "restore and build Jerusalem" is done in a troubled time. The words *milhāmāh* ("war"), *štf* ("inundation"), and *ttk* ("poured out") are particularly suggestive of the "violence" of the actual conflict which emerges in a brutal slain *yekāreṭ*,<sup>53</sup> and in desolation: *šômēm*, *šômēmōṭ*, *mešômēm*.

Levitism, universality, and eschatology constitute the three main aspects of the theology of Dan 9:24-27 emphasized here. They are at the same time tokens which may help us in the decipherment of the meaning of the 70-weeks' prophecy with respect to its fulfillment.

<sup>53</sup>The word occurs in the Bible to designate capital punishment (cf. Num 15: 31; Lev 20: 17).



THE EXEGETICAL METHODS OF SOME SIXTEENTH-CENTURY  
ANGLICAN PREACHERS: LATIMER, JEWEL, HOOKER,  
AND ANDREWES

PART I

ERWIN R. GANE  
Pacific Union College  
Angwin, California

This article and a subsequent one will deal with the exegetical methods of four sixteenth-century Anglican preachers: Hugh Latimer (ca. 1485-1555), John Jewel (1522-1571), Richard Hooker (ca. 1554-1600), and Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626). Are these Anglican preachers to be regarded as medieval men, or is it possible to detect in their preaching new approaches to the biblical literature and new concepts of the cosmos which are more characteristic of the Renaissance? Would any such new approaches that we may discover be evidence for identifying these preachers with the humanist movement, or would it be more accurate to conclude that humanism was only one of the influences which modified their exegesis? If the latter, what were the other influences? It is to such questions that we will direct our attention in these two articles. But first it will be necessary to give a brief overview of the preaching careers and homiletical techniques of these four preachers.

1. *Overview of the Careers and Homiletical Techniques  
of the Four Preachers*

*Hugh Latimer*<sup>1</sup>

The record of Hugh Latimer's preaching career is almost the story of his life. As early as 1522 he was one of twelve preachers licensed by the University of Cambridge to preach in any part of England. In 1524 his public oration for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity was an attack on the theology of Philip Melanchthon; but Thomas Bilney subsequently,

<sup>1</sup>For further detail regarding biographical information presented herein on Latimer, see especially *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter cited as *DNB*); Harold S. Darby, *Hugh Latimer* (London, 1953); Allan G. Chester, *Hugh Latimer: Apostle to the English* (Philadelphia, 1954); and Robert Demaus, *Hugh Latimer: A Biography* (Nashville, 1869, 1903).

during the same year, convinced Latimer to accept the *sola fide* doctrine (which Bilney himself had accepted apparently without any Lutheran influence). It was not until 1547 that Latimer's eucharistic beliefs came into line with those of Thomas Cranmer. Finally, by 1552 he was willing to praise Luther as "that wonderful instrument of God, through whom God hath opened the light of his holy word unto the world."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of his only partial conversion to new ideas in 1524, Latimer's license to preach was revoked in 1525 by Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, on suspicion that he adhered to Lutheran doctrines. A short time later, Latimer successfully defended himself before Cardinal Wolsey, and the license was restored. His real growth as a preacher and reformer is probably to be dated from the autumn of 1529, as Harold Darby suggests.<sup>3</sup> On December 19 of that year Latimer preached at Cambridge his famous sermons "On the Cards," in which he compared the process by which a person can secure salvation to a successful game of cards.

The biographers record Latimer's preaching excursions of the next few years as involving sermons at Bristol in 1533, at court and in London in 1534, at Paul's Cross in 1536, and at the opening of Convocation on June 9, 1536.<sup>4</sup> On August 12, 1535, the king gave his assent for Latimer's election as Bishop of Worcester. When the Act of the Six Articles was passed in 1539, however, Latimer resigned this position. He was taken into custody for a time and when released in 1540 was forbidden to preach. The next eight years were years of silence for him.

On January 1, 1548, after the accession of Edward VI, Latimer preached the first of four sermons at Paul's Cross. On Wednesday, January 18, he preached in "the shrouds" of St. Paul's his famous sermon "Of the Plough." In 1548, 1549, and 1550 he preached Lenten sermons in the presence of the king.

The particular edition of Latimer's extant sermons used in this article is that edited by John Watkins.<sup>5</sup> This edition contains Latimer's "Two Sermons of the Cards" of 1529, his sermon against the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire rebels of 1536, the "Sermon of the Plough" of 1548, the

<sup>2</sup> See John Watkins, ed., *The Sermons and Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, and Constant Martyr of Jesus Christ, Hugh Latimer, Some Time Bishop of Worcester* (London, 1858), 2: 272; and C. W. Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers* (London, 1958), p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Darby, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 83, 98, 100, 116, 174; Chester, pp. 84-101.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 2, above.

“Seven Sermons Preached before King Edward the Sixth” in Lent of 1549, the “Last Sermons before King Edward the Sixth” of 1550, the “Sermons at Stamford” of the same year, and many of Latimer’s final sermons preached in the countryside in 1552 and 1553.

As we have seen, Latimer’s preaching career covered the period of 1522-1553. During the 1520’s and 1530’s his homiletical attacks were for the most part directed at abuses within the established church, rather than at what he thought to be erroneous doctrines. It is unfortunate that there are not extant more of his sermons preached in Henry’s reign. Since most of the extant sermons date from Edward VI’s reign, we are denied the privilege of tracing in greater detail the intellectual and theological development of Latimer the preacher. His sermons of the years 1549-1553 are those of a seasoned reformer who had rejected papal authority, theology, and religious practice.

#### *John Jewel*<sup>6</sup>

During his student days at Oxford, John Jewel had been introduced to the field of biblical criticism by John Parkhurst, when Parkhurst involved him in the task of comparing Tyndale’s translation of the NT with that of Coverdale. W. M. Southgate indicates that Parkhurst “had become thoroughly imbued with the humanistic approach to biblical criticism,” and that Parkhurst’s influence was exerted on Jewel from the latter’s thirteenth to seventeenth years.<sup>7</sup>

In 1545 Jewel was awarded the M.A. degree, and three years later was employed by his college, Corpus Christi, as a prelector in humanity and rhetoric. Peter Martyr Vermigli had arrived at Oxford as professor of divinity in 1547, an event that marked the beginning of a friendship between him and Jewel that was to prove to be a major influence in Jewel’s life. At the accession of Mary in 1553, Martyr and Parkhurst fled England, but Jewel remained temporarily to await the outcome of events. When it became apparent that Jewel would probably face trial as a suspected heretic, he too fled to the Continent, arriving in Frankfurt on March 13, 1555. There he soon identified himself with

<sup>6</sup>For further detail on biographical information presented herein on Jewel, see especially *DNB*; D. Featley, ed., *The Works of J. Jewel; And a briefe discourse on his life* (London, 1611; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, STC No. 14579); W. M. Southgate, *John Jewel and the Problem of Doctrinal Authority* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); John E. Booty, *John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England* (London, 1963).

<sup>7</sup>Southgate, pp. 4-5.

the Anglo-Catholic party of Richard Cox against the Calvinistic group led by John Knox.

Accepting an invitation by Martyr to join him in Strassburg, Jewel was again subject to the influence of Martyr's lectures and engaged in classical and biblical studies. In July, 1556, he followed Martyr to Zurich. It is assumed that for a short time he also studied in Padua. After Mary's death, Jewel returned to England, where he arrived in March, 1559. His subsequent letters to Martyr and other friends on the Continent have supplied historians with valuable information regarding the situation in England during the early reign of Elizabeth. He complained of the slow pace at which popery was being excluded from England, of the poor state of scholarship at the universities, and of the relative lack of capable men to occupy key positions in the church.<sup>8</sup>

Jewel was appointed one of the disputants at the Westminster Conference which began on March 31, 1559. On June 15 he preached at Paul's Cross, and on July 19 he was chosen as one of the commissioners for the visitation of the western counties. On January 21, 1560, he was consecrated as Bishop of Salisbury. His famous challenge sermon against papal religion at Paul's Cross on November 26, 1559, was repeated before the Court on March 17, 1560, and again at Paul's Cross on March 31, 1560. This sermon involved him in a controversy with Henry Cole and Thomas Harding and in an exchange of apologetic writings over the period of the next decade.<sup>9</sup> In May, 1560, Jewel began work in his diocese and from this time forward engaged in frequent and exhausting preaching tours. Many of his sermons from this period have been preserved.

Southgate rejects the suggestion of Mandell Creighton that Jewel was at heart a Puritan who made a rather token acceptance of Anglicanism as a matter of political and ecclesiastical expediency. Southgate sees Jewel as widely separated from the Puritans on fundamental issues, and claims: "John Jewel was an Anglican, after Archbishop Parker the most important of the first generation of Elizabethan Churchmen, the heir of the Christian humanists and of Cranmer, and the progenitor of Richard Hooker."<sup>10</sup> It must be pointed out that in the Vestiarian Controversy,

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 11, 49-50, and also Dugmore, p. 227.

<sup>10</sup> Southgate, p. x.

although Jewel did not like the vestments he was as strict in the enforcement of their use as was Parker himself. The real issue with Jewel was the unity of the church. He was not prepared to create division and dissension over matters of indifference.<sup>11</sup>

On the more fundamental question of ultimate authority in doctrinal matters, Jewel recognized the Scriptures as the primary revelation, but also utilized the consensus of the church Fathers of the first seven Christian centuries. Southgate has argued that Jewel replaced the Papal Church's authority in Scriptural interpretation by that of the early Christian church, but also claims that Jewel regarded the Scriptures as "the primary and sole revelation of God" which must be "self-authenticating."<sup>12</sup> Might it not rather be, as John E. Booty has suggested, that Jewel's position was indeed *sola scriptura*, and that he used the Fathers as helpful commentary and a means of demonstrating the inaccuracy of the Papal claim to perpetuation of the early church's consensus, rather than as an essential tool in the interpretation of the Bible?<sup>13</sup> To this matter we will return when we examine Jewel's exegesis.

#### *Richard Hooker*<sup>14</sup>

Richard Hooker was educated under the auspices of John Jewel, who bestowed an annual pension on Hooker's parents, and who used his influence to have the young Hooker installed in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1568. As a student, Hooker mastered Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. In addition to classical studies and theology, he also became quite well versed in music and poetry.

In July, 1579, Hooker's proficiency in Hebrew was rewarded by an appointment as deputy to Thomas Kingsmill, professor of Hebrew. And in 1581 Hooker took holy orders, the same year preaching at St. Paul's Cross in London. In 1584 he received the living of Drayton-Beauchamp, Buckinghamshire, and through the influence of Archbishop Sandys of York and Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury, he was appointed Master

<sup>11</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 96, and Booty, pp. 94-98, 105, 107.

<sup>12</sup> Southgate, pp. 119-120, 147.

<sup>13</sup> Booty, pp. 135-137.

<sup>14</sup> For further detail regarding biographical information presented herein on Hooker, see especially *DNB*; John S. Marshall, *Hooker and the Anglican Tradition: An Historical and Theological Study of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity* (London, 1963); Izaak Walton, *The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert and Robert Sanderson* (London, 1670, 1927).

of the Temple on March 17. There followed a major controversy with Walter Travers, lecturer at the Temple.<sup>15</sup>

Travers was a leading Puritan, second in influence only to Thomas Cartwright. During his stay in Geneva, he had imbibed Calvinistic concepts, and on his return to England had given scholarly formulation to Puritan ideals in his *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae et Anglicanae Ecclesiae . . . Explicatio* in 1573. In it he called for a presbyterial type of church order. In the debates at the Temple, Hooker in the mornings presented his understanding of the church, of justification, and of faith in relation to reason; and in the afternoons Travers contradicted him. Most the seven extant Hooker sermons that are examined herein date from this period. His "Sermon of the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect," the "Discourse of Justification," and "The Sermon of the Nature of Pride" were portions of a series on the prophecy of Habakkuk preached in the Temple church in 1585-1586.<sup>16</sup> His "A Remedy Against Sorrow and Fear: Delivered in a Funeral Sermon" and the two sermons on portions of the epistle of Jude are undated. There is some question as to the authenticity of the two sermons on Jude, and the suggestion has been made that if they were preached by Hooker at all, they belong to a very early period of his preaching career.<sup>17</sup>

The fundamental issue to which Hooker's thought was directed in the sermons that we shall note was the question of authority in religious matters. This question, of course, is dealt with in detail in the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, the first five books of which were written soon after he left the Temple. The controversy with Travers was undoubtedly the stimulus for Hooker's later literary endeavors, and two main points of contention between Hooker and Travers bear notice here: First was the question of the role of reason in determining moral and political concepts. Travers favored a narrow biblicism, while Hooker saw a place for reason as a means of interpreting revelation and as an additional source of truth. The second point relates to the nature of the church. Travers denied that the church of Rome was a Christian church. On the other hand, Hooker, while recognizing the need of reform in the Papal

<sup>15</sup> On this controversy, see S. J. Knox, *Walter Travers: Paragon of Elizabethan Puritanism* (London, 1962), pp. 70-88.

<sup>16</sup> See John Keble, ed., *The Works of That Learned and Judicious Divine Mr. Richard Hooker, With an Account of His Life and Death by Isaac Walton* (Oxford, 1874), 3: 469.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. art. on "Hooker" in *DNB*.

church, still saw much within it that was a perpetuation of apostolic and early Christian principles. Travers regarded all members of the church of Rome as lost, but Hooker took the position that doctrinally deluded souls could be saved if fundamental Christian faith had been retained by them. The manner in which Hooker used the Bible to support these and other presuppositions will be considered in our study of his sermons in the sections to follow.

*Lancelot Andrewes*<sup>18</sup>

Lancelot Andrewes was without doubt the leading Anglican preacher of the latter years of Elizabeth and throughout the reign of James I. His scholarly career began early. At sixteen his ability in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew was recognized by his election to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, with a Watt's Greek scholarship. He was appointed catechist at Pembroke in 1578 and attracted considerable attention by his Saturday and Sunday lectures on the Ten Commandments. He was a brilliant teacher and an able administrator. In 1589 he became Master of Pembroke, a position which he held until 1605. He identified himself with the "Arminian" party within the Church of England, "a group engaged in modifying the rigidities of Calvinism by resting Anglicanism on the triple base of Scripture, the Fathers, and the Catholic Church of the first five centuries."<sup>19</sup> For a time, in 1586, Andrewes became chaplain to the Earl of Huntingdon, president of the North, and is said to have won many recusants to the Protestant religion. Because of Walsingham's recommendations, Andrewes was given the living of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1589, and soon after he was appointed prebend and residentiary of St. Paul's and prebend of the collegiate church of Southwell. At this stage, his health was somewhat affected by his intense activity as preacher and lecturer at St. Giles and St. Paul's. He was further appointed to chaplaincies to Archbishop Whitgift and Queen Elizabeth.

In 1601 Andrewes became Dean of Westminster. He participated in the Hampton Court Conference, January 14-16, 1604; and in July

<sup>18</sup>For further detail regarding biographical information presented herein on Andrewes, see especially *DNB*; Paul A. Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626* (London, 1958); Florence Higham, *Lancelot Andrewes* (New York, 1952); Maurice Reidy, *Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, Jacobean Court Preacher: A Study in Early Seventeenth-Century Religious Thought* (Chicago, 1955); G. M. Story, ed., *Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons* (Oxford, 1967).

<sup>19</sup>Story, p. xiv.

of the same year he was appointed head of the committee which translated the OT books Genesis to 1 Chronicles. In 1605, when he became Bishop of Chichester and lord high almoner, Andrewes resigned the mastership of Pembroke, the vicarage of St. Giles, and the deanship of Westminster. In 1609 he was transferred to the bishopric of Ely, which he held until 1618, in which year he became Bishop of Winchester. In 1619 he was made dean of the Royal Chapel.

As a defender of the Church of England, Andrewes plotted a middle course between Puritanism and Roman Catholicism. His vast learning, including great competence in patristics and knowledge of fifteen languages, was occasionally employed in controversial writing, although his best contribution to the church and the history of literature was made in his sermons. One controversy in which Andrewes was involved was that concerning the Lambeth Articles which Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent to Cambridge in 1595 to provide the doctrinal standard for the university on the problem of predestination. Whitgift's articles were Calvinist in character and, therefore, unacceptable to a committed Anglican. In a sermon at Cambridge, William Barrett had denounced predestination. The Lambeth Articles were intended to correct Barrett's errors and to provide a correct statement of the church's faith. Andrewes revealed his distaste for Whitgift's view in his *Censura censurae D. Barreti de certitudine salutis* and in his *Judgment*. He argued for freedom of choice, despite depraved human will, in contradistinction to the doctrine of double predestination.

A second controversy in which Andrewes was involved was that between James I and Bellarmine over the Oath of Allegiance. Under the pseudonym Matthaëus Tortus, Bellarmine had answered the king's work *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*, which had been published in 1607, with no author mentioned. In 1609 Andrewes came to James's defense with his *Tortura Torti*. Bellarmine answered with an *Apologia*, and Andrewes replied in 1610 with *Responsio ad Bellarminum*. Bellarmine based the right of the secular ruler upon the will of the ruled. Andrewes answered that the claim of kings to rule is similar to the right of parents to control and guide their children, a right based on the law of nature. Andrewes's understanding of the relationship between church and state, as well as his specific doctrinal understandings, will unfold more specifically as we consider the biblical exegesis in his sermons. The particular edition of Andrewes's sermons we shall consider is the nineteenth-century edition of John Henry Parker, which follows the overall arrangement of the



1629 edition published by Laud and Bucheridge at the command of King Charles I.<sup>20</sup>

### *Homiletical Techniques of the Four Preachers*

As far as homiletical techniques are concerned, these four preachers were vastly different. Latimer never confined himself to a strict sermon outline. He wandered, in popular style, from one motif to another, using Bible passages as launching pads for discussion of those issues and for attacks upon those abuses which he felt were especially current. Jewel was less popular in style, more scholarly and more disciplined. He had a carefully worked out sermon outline and literally bombarded his audience with Bible texts and anecdotes, as well as citations from the early church Fathers, in an attempt to prove each point. His knowledge of the Fathers and of antiquity is very impressive. Hooker manifested a greater philosophical interest. He raised questions which are not necessarily germane to biblical literature, and then proceeded to use the biblical material in answering these questions. This does not render his exegesis necessarily untrue to the literature, for he very often accurately deduced principles from the Bible which could be applied to the questions he had raised. Andrewes was the strict, philologically oriented, exegete. He methodically dissected his texts, often discussing each word or thought in order until he had drained his source of virtually all its content.

### *2. Concept of the Bible*

The exegesis of all four Anglican preachers is based on the presupposition that the Bible is the supreme and only ultimate authority in religious matters. Latimer concludes his 1536 sermon against the northern insurrection by presenting the devil as our most potent enemy who must be attacked with the "sword of the spirit, which is the word of God!" (Eph 6:17). Only the true and pure word of God, not any word of the bishop of Rome, "not his old learning, nor his new learning," can break the head of our adversary.<sup>21</sup> In the first of his 1549 sermons before Edward VI, Latimer gives his text as Rom 15:4, "Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning; that we

<sup>20</sup>Reidy, pp. 20-26; Lancelot Andrewes, *Ninety-Six Sermons by the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes, Sometime Lord Bishop of Winchester* (Oxford, 1854-1871).

<sup>21</sup>Watkins, 1: 30.

through patience and comfort of scripture might have hope.”<sup>22</sup> He points out that Paul is not speaking about all Scriptures, but only about those “which are of God written in God’s book.”<sup>23</sup>

The excellency of this word is so great, and of so high dignity, that there is no earthly thing to be compared unto it. The author thereof is great, that is, God himself, eternal, almighty, everlasting. The scripture because of him is also great, eternal, most mighty and holy.<sup>24</sup>

In the same sermon Latimer declares that preachers are only to be listened to when they teach truth. And what is truth? “All things written in God’s book, are most certain, true, and profitable for all men: for in it is contained matter meet for kings, princes, rulers, bishops, and for all states.”<sup>25</sup> The true ladder by which a man might climb to heaven is the knowledge and practice of the Bible.<sup>26</sup> The second 1549 sermon before Edward dwelt somewhat on a similar theme. When asked by a bishop why he did not accept certain ecclesiastical traditions, Latimer answered that he would be ruled by God’s book, and rather than diverge one jot from it, he would be torn with wild horses.<sup>27</sup>

And how is Scripture to be interpreted? In the sixth 1549 sermon before Edward, Latimer answers, “St. Peter sheweth that one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance, and collation of places, that make Scripture plain.”<sup>28</sup> Here is a clear statement of his hermeneutic. The Bible is its own interpreter, not the church or the Fathers. He illustrates by showing how 1 Pet 1:23 explains Jesus’ statement regarding the new birth (John 3:3). Man is born again, Latimer stresses, by the word of God, because that is how Peter interprets the words of Jesus.<sup>29</sup> It is this word, Latimer said in 1552, interpreted by means of the comparison of one passage with another, that is to replace all witchcraft, magic, sorcery, necromancy, as well as all heresy, and “all popery.” This same word is to be the basis of a reformation of life for all men, including magistrates, who are to apply its

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 91, 154, 176.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

principles in their administrative responsibilities.<sup>30</sup>

Preaching his famous 1560 challenge sermon, Jewel contrasted his arguments in regard to the sacrament of the altar with those of the papal party. He claimed:

We bring you nothing but God's holy word; which is a sure rock to build upon, and will never fleet or shrink. And therefore we are able truly to say with St. Paul: *Quod accepimus a Domino, hoc tradidimus vobis*: "We have delivered unto you the same things that we have received of the Lord."<sup>31</sup>

In the same sermon Jewel asserts that authority for a true concept of the sacraments comes only from God through the Scriptures.<sup>32</sup> Man has no power to appoint sacraments, nor does he have power to change them. God will not accept worship based on our fantasies. "It is a dangerous thing for a mortal man to control or find fault with the wisdom of the immortal God."<sup>33</sup> Only in the Scriptures is the will of God found, only there can a man find everlasting life.<sup>34</sup> The argument sounds very much like *sola scriptura*. Jewel's challenge sermon first presents what he considers to be "the commandment and authority of St. Paul" on the subject of private masses. Then he adds:

Now will I, by God's grace, also declare and open the same by the examples and whole practice of the primitive church, and by the ancient doctors and other learned fathers that followed after the apostle's time, for the space of six hundred years or more; and I trust ye shall clearly see that for so long time there was no private mass in the catholic church of Christ in any country or coast throughout the world.<sup>35</sup>

He then proceeds to quote Clement of Rome, Dionysius (whom he knows was not a disciple of Paul), Justin Martyr, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.<sup>36</sup> Jewel's point is not that we should reject the validity of private masses because these early Fathers did not practice them, but that since the Scriptures know nothing of private masses, we should follow the scriptural order as the early Fathers did. The ultimate authority, which he first cites, is the Bible. The Fathers are believed only because of their conformity to the Bible.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 2: 26, 47.

<sup>31</sup>John Ayre, ed., *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury* (Cambridge, Eng., 1845-1850), 1: 16.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

In quite a number of instances Jewel enunciated his position to be that the Bible, as interpreted by the Holy Spirit, is the sole criterion of truth. We are to become "temples of the Holy Ghost." He is to dwell in us and to be our teacher.<sup>37</sup> But it is the word of God which the Holy Spirit teaches us.<sup>38</sup> It is this word, so taught, which renders it possible for us "truly to know him the true and only God, and his Son Jesus Christ, whom he sent."<sup>39</sup> The Scriptures are the test of the validity or otherwise of a religious system. If we dislike our religion, we are to "read the scriptures, and know wherefore we mislike it."<sup>40</sup> This is why the people are to listen to sermons, so that the secrets of God's word can be revealed to them.

Jewel did not test the Scriptures by the early Christian church. Quite the contrary, he recognized the early church as a true Christian church because of its conformity to Scripture.<sup>41</sup> He was not seeking a return to the church of the early Christian centuries for any other reason but that he felt that this church ordered its doctrine and practice according to the Bible. He reminded his hearers that the Scriptures were the standard by which Christ reproved the Sadducees (Matt 22:29). "This standard shall be able to warrant us, if we can say truly, *Scriptum est*."<sup>42</sup> At this point, he cited Irenaeus, who wrote that the Scriptures are the foundation of our faith. Jewel added:

It is rashness to believe without the warrant or direction of the scriptures: it is not devotion, nor catholic faith, but foolish rashness. Now, how many ways and in how many points the church of late days hath dissented from the church of Christ and of the apostles (which no doubt was the catholic church), it were almost an infinite work to reckon up. For they disagree in so many things, that in manner they agree in nothing.<sup>43</sup>

In the final analysis, Jewel's appeal was for a return to the Scriptures as the sole basis of church structure, belief, and practice. His understanding of the complete apostolicity of the church for the first six or seven centuries may be called in question by historians and theologians,

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 2: 1005, 1018.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 1019.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 1005.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 1034.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 1058-1059.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 988.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 988-989.

but his basic presupposition undoubtedly was that no church is a true Christian church which fails to order its belief and practice in strict accord with the Bible. The survival of the church is dependent on correct understanding and application of Bible teaching.<sup>44</sup> The medieval confusion in the church resulted, Jewel implied, from a failure to give due credence to the Bible.<sup>45</sup>

Hooker emphasized that truth as contained in the Scriptures is apprehended only through the Holy Spirit. Matters of faith which are taught man by the Spirit are less certain and more subject to doubt than matters of sense which are naturally perceived:

Proofs are vain and frivolous except they be more certain than is the thing proved: and do we not see how the Spirit everywhere in the Scripture proveth matters of faith, laboureth to confirm us in the things which we believe, by things whereof we have sensible knowledge? I conclude therefore that we have less certainty of evidence concerning things believed, than concerning sensible or naturally perceived.<sup>46</sup>

Hooker's sermons do not present natural reason as the source of truth in spiritual matters. Quite otherwise. The mind is naturally able to grasp those truths which are merely rational, but "saving truth, which is far above the reach of human reason, cannot otherwise, than by the Spirit of the Almighty, be conceived."<sup>47</sup> Christ is apprehended in the word "by the power of the Holy Ghost."<sup>48</sup> Whatever God speaks is "doctrine delivered, a depth of wisdom in the very choice and frame of words to deliver it in."<sup>49</sup> The reason behind God's words is not readily perceived because it is backed by a "greater intention of brain than our nice minds for the most part can well away with."<sup>50</sup> The prophecies of the Bible, Hooker said, are inspired of God.<sup>51</sup> But prophecies which are outside of Scripture and opposed to Scripture are to be rejected.<sup>52</sup> Hence Hooker instructed, "Take heed to prophecies, but to prophecies,

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 994.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Keble, 3: 470-471.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 516.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 597.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 597-598.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 660.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 660-661.

which are in Scripture; for both the manner and the matter of those prophecies do shew plainly that they are of God."<sup>53</sup> Bible prophets did not receive their material from other men as ordinary people receive the mysteries of salvation. God himself was their direct instructor, by giving them dreams and visions, by special revelations:

Thus they became acquainted even with the secret and hidden counsels of God. They saw things which themselves were not able to utter, they beheld that whereat men and angels are astonished. They understood in the beginning, what should come to pass in the last days.<sup>54</sup>

God lightened the eyes of the prophets' understanding, giving them knowledge by supernatural means and he "did also miraculously himself frame and fashion their words and writings."<sup>55</sup> This does not necessarily render Hooker an adherent of verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, but he does represent himself as a believer not only in the supernatural conveyance of the message to the Bible prophet himself, but also in the divine provision of assistance in the prophet's writing of the message for the church. Ordinary men speak very imperfectly and haltingly of spiritual truths, Hooker says, but Bible prophets like Isaiah and Paul spoke "not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost doth teach'" (1 Cor 2:13).<sup>56</sup>

This is that which the prophets mean by those books written full within and without; which books were so often delivered them to eat, not because God fed them with ink and paper, but to teach us, that so oft as he employed them in this heavenly work, they neither spake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable as the Spirit put it into their mouths, no otherwise than the harp or the lute doth give a sound according to the discretion of his hands that holdeth and striketh it with skill.<sup>57</sup>

It would be possible to interpret this in a verbalist sense, as a reference to the actual words of the Bible prophet being dictated by the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, it seems more likely that Hooker simply intended rather to emphasize the divine source and the extreme importance of the message.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 661.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 662.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

But although all the prophecies of the Bible, he pointed out, are profitable for our instruction, not all contain matters of equal importance. The most important matter of prophecy is the promise of righteousness and eternal salvation to the one who believes. Regarding this, Hooker quoted Rom 1:16.<sup>58</sup>

Andrewes's attitude to the authority of the Bible is very amply illustrated by the close and detailed attention that he pays to it in all his sermons. Each word and phrase is dwelt upon as though it were a mine of truth. Judged only on the basis of his method, Andrewes can be viewed as a firm adherent of *sola Scriptura*. Despite his great classical and patristic learning, there is no other literature that begins to figure as importantly in his sermons as does the Bible. It is clear that Andrewes regarded Scripture as the only source of saving truth for each human being, afflicted as he is by occasional capitulation to the perpetual promptings of his carnal nature. "Our estate then as it is needeth some Scripture that 'offereth more grace'; and such there be, saith St. James, and this is such."<sup>59</sup> Those who have failed to respond to a Bible apostle may yet be moved by a prophet. Those who have not heard Isaiah may yet hear Jeremiah. There is a universal appeal contained in Scripture.<sup>60</sup>

The right way for man is found in the Bible, Andrewes asserts, for "it is the word of God which is the load-star, when God is the Leads-man."<sup>61</sup> The Bible is the voice of the true Shepherd, the pillar of cloud to guide through the wilderness.<sup>62</sup> On the basis of 2 Tim 3:16, Andrewes argues that all Scripture is profitable, but suitable Bible passages must be selected for particular congregations:

The commendation of the word of God is, that "every Scripture is profitable for our instruction." "Every Scripture is profitable"; yet not "every Scripture," in every place alike. For the place and auditory have great interest in some Scripture, and a fit Scripture hath a greater and fuller force in his own auditory. And God in so excellent a manner hath sorted His Scriptures, as there be dispersed in them several texts seasonable for each time, and pertinent to each place and degree; for Prince, for people, for rich, for poor, for each his peculiar Scripture in due time and place to be reached them.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 663.

<sup>59</sup> Andrewes, 1: 342.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 2: 23.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 5: 3-4.

Just as the Spirit is the author of life, so is he author of prophecy. Andrewes paraphrases Heb 1:1. God spoke by the prophets. "Prophecy can come from no nature but rational; the Spirit then is *natura rationalis*."<sup>64</sup> For this reason, Andrewes's exegesis is based on the order of the thoughts presented in the text, for the Holy Ghost is responsible for giving us this order. Preaching on Ps 77:20, he introduces his sermon outline with the remark, "As for order, I will seek no other than as the Holy Ghost hath marshalled the words in the text itself. Which of itself is right exact; every word in the body of it containing matter worth the pausing on."<sup>65</sup>

There is no suggestion in the sermons of Latimer, Jewel, Hooker, and Andrewes that the preferred interpretation of the Bible is that of the contemporary church or the ancient Fathers of the church. The authoritative interpretation is that of the Holy Spirit, which can be grasped only by those individuals who have willingly submitted to his teaching. The Fathers are appealed to insofar as they agree with the scriptural interpretation which the preacher believes to be correct. If accused of subjectivism in exegesis, these preachers would answer that the Holy Spirit is willing to reveal the same spiritual truths to all men. Human reason is inadequate for the apprehension of such truths. It becomes efficient only when enlightened by the supernatural presence of the Spirit.

These presuppositions in regard to inspiration were bound to affect dramatically the methods of exegesis and the meanings found in the Bible. Even though the individual preacher's interpretations were influenced by the state and church systems to which his allegiance was given, his serious attempt was to draw meanings from the Bible on the basis of the "normal" or "literal" understanding of the text. By and large, the need for allegory, or strained applications of Bible passages, vanished when the interpreter was relieved of the compulsion to find within Scripture only those motifs and concepts which were acceptable to the established church.

In the next article I shall continue the analysis of the exegetical methods of the four preachers under the categories of "Allegory," "Typology," "Literal Exposition of Scripture," "Other Exegetical Practices," "Use of the Church Fathers," and "Attitudes to Antiquity."

*(To be continued)*

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 3: 308.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 2: 17-18.



## “PTOLEMY’S CANON” DEBUNKED?

JULIA NEUFFER

Berrien Springs, Michigan

After the Greek-Alexandrian astronomer, geographer, and mathematician Claudius Ptolemaeus (fl. ca. A.D. 150) wrote his *Mathēmatikē Syntaxis*, better known as *Almagest*, he wrote another work as a sort of supplement to it, called the *Handy Tables*. This work includes a chronological table, or “canon,” of reigns, called “Ptolemy’s Canon,” or “royal canon.”<sup>1</sup>

This list of reigns, beginning with the year 1 of Nabonassar, a vassal king of Babylon under Assyria, covers a little over 900 years down to Ptolemy’s day. It includes the series of Babylonian and Persian kings, Alexander the Great and his Macedonian successors in Egypt (the Ptolemies), and the Roman emperors down to Antoninus Pius. With each name is given the length of the reign and the cumulative total from the year 1 of Nabonassar—beginning, according to the Egyptian calendar, from noon on February 26, 747 B.C. (in astronomical terms, -746, since astronomers use a year 0 in place of 1 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

The Canon (as well as the *Almagest*) employs the ancient Egyptian calendar year of 365 days, with no leap year (not the 365¼-day Julian year already in use in Ptolemy’s day as the Alexandrian civil year). This uniform 365-day year had been adopted by Hellenistic astronomers, even outside Egypt, long before Ptolemy; for astronomical theory requires observational data over a long period and a scale of years to measure long intervals—a necessity in a dating system that numbered years only as “the such and such year of King So-and-So.” Babylonian chronicles and king lists giving the number of years in each reign were available to astronomers for compiling such a time scale, and

<sup>1</sup>In Theon’s commentary on the *Handy Tables*, in vol. 6 of Halma’s edition of *Oeuvres de Ptolémée* (Paris, 1822), 1:139-148 (with continuation of the Canon past Ptolemy’s time). English trans.: R. Catesby Taliaferro, in *Great Books of the Western World*, vol. 16: *Ptolemy [Almagest and Canon], Copernicus, Kepler* (Chicago, 1952), p. 466; also in Siegfried H. Horn and Lynn H. Wood, *The Chronology of Ezra 7*, 2d ed., rev. (Washington, 1970), p. 128.

<sup>2</sup>Horn and Wood, pp. 27-29.

the use of the unvarying 365-day Egyptian year allowed computing intervals in an exact number of days—an impossibility in the Babylonian, Greek, and other lunar calendars with variable months and years.<sup>3</sup> “Ptolemy’s” Canon was such a time scale.

In his recent book, *The Crime of Claudius Ptolemy*,<sup>4</sup> Robert R. Newton of Johns Hopkins University not only credits Ptolemy with compiling the Canon; he accuses him of fabricating regnal dates, in the absence of records, to suit his own purposes. This accusation concerning the Canon occurs only in a brief section (about 4½ pages) of his final, summary chapter and is apparently an extrapolation from the book’s main thesis: namely that Ptolemy manipulated his astronomical data and computations in the *Almagest* to support his theories of celestial mechanics.

As to Newton’s astronomical argument, the book has met with some dissent. One reviewer points out specific flaws, concerning which I am not qualified to judge; another expert, in response to my inquiry, declines to give his opinion, though his brief letter unmistakably conveys emphatic dissent.<sup>5</sup> But whatever the verdict as to Ptolemy’s astronomical fraud, Newton unquestionably leaps to a *non sequitur* when he concludes, without adducing specific evidence of erroneous or fraudulent dating, that since Ptolemy “fabricated many of the aspects of the lunar eclipses,” possibly “all of them,” he could have claimed verification for his chronology even with an erroneous king list.

Newton then proceeds to the sweeping declaration “that Ptolemy’s king list is useless in the study of chronology, and that it must be ignored”; hence that “all relevant chronology must now be reviewed” in order to remove “all dependence upon Ptolemy’s list,” because “much Babylonian chronology is based upon” it; further, that “all research in either history or astronomy that has been based upon the *Syntaxis* must now be done again.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (Berlin, New York, 1975), pp. 1064, 617 (hereinafter cited as *HAMA*). On the gradual shift of the 365-day year, see Horn and Wood, pp. 36-38; also Julia Neuffer, “An Egyptian Time Scale and Old Testament Chronology,” sec. 3, in L. T. Geraty, ed., *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies* (Berrien Springs, Mich., forthcoming).

<sup>4</sup> Baltimore, 1977, 411 pp.

<sup>5</sup> Barnard R. Goldstein, book review, *Science*, 24 February 1978, p. 872; O. Neugebauer to Julia Neuffer, 29 November [1977].

<sup>6</sup> Newton, pp. 374-375, 379.

This alarm is sounded nearly a hundred years late, as Newton might have known if he had consulted some of his Johns Hopkins colleagues in the Department of Near Eastern Studies. He could have learned that "much Babylonian chronology" once was (not is) dependent on Ptolemy's regnal dates in the sixteenth-century beginnings of the modern chronology of antiquity,<sup>7</sup> but from the 1880s to about 1960 archaeology has furnished Babylonian and other records paralleling and corroborating "Ptolemy's king list."

It is not surprising to read that he has "not attempted to study the evidence available from sources other than Ptolemy for earlier years." However, he is aware of the astronomical fixes on Nebuchadnezzar's and Cambyses' reigns and therefore concedes that "any error in Ptolemy's list" is likely of "no more than a few years for dates after -603" (604 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar's year 1); but he expects errors of "any size" before then.<sup>8</sup>

However, the Canon figures for every reign in that same earlier period (Nabonassar through Kandalanu) are, contrary to Newton's expectations, completely in harmony with the ancient Babylonian records. These are worth examining:

The Babylonian King List A (published 1884) and the first Babylonian Chronicle (published 1887) both have lacunae, but between them they furnish the lengths of all but the last two of these early reigns. Both agree except in one case (5 versus 4 years), which could be a mere reflection of opposing parties: Mushezib-marduk was taken captive to Assyria in his year 4 when Sennacherib destroyed Babylon. In such an upheaval, one scribe recognizing Sennacherib immediately and another continuing the captive king's dating into year 5 could account for the differing records.<sup>9</sup> The Canon, like the Babylonian Chronicle, ends the reign in year 4.

Obviously the Canon is not derived directly from either of these documents, but perhaps from a common source or sources. Although its Greek spellings of the royal names are not always recognizable in the Babylonian forms, it agrees in the lengths of the reigns. Its com-

<sup>7</sup> O. Neugebauer, *HAMA*, p. 1071; Neuffer, par. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Newton, pp. 375-376.

<sup>9</sup> Compare "5" in Babylonian King List A (of which sec. iv covers this period; trans. in *ANET*, p. 272) with "4" in the Babylonian Chronicle iii.19-24. This chronicle is translated in part (beginning with Belibni) in *ANET*, pp. 301-303; but it appears entire, rechristened Chronicle 1 ("From Nabonassar to Shamash-shuma-ukin"), one of several called collectively the Babylonian Chronicle series, in A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, vol. 5 (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1975), pp. 69-87; on Mushezib-marduk's 4 years, see pp. 80-81.

bined "Chinzer and Porus [Pul] 5 years" is the equivalent of the Babylonian Chronicle's 3 and 2 years, respectively, for (M)ukin-zer(i) and Tiglath-pileser (Pulu in King List A). This is not a discrepancy, nor is its omission of kings whose reigns do not extend to New Year's Day (on which the official "year 1" would have begun); a reign without a year number is irrelevant, even misleading, in a scale of whole regnal years used for a chronological rather than historical purpose.<sup>10</sup>

The Canon's one apparent discrepancy in the figures is its 13 years for "Asaradin" (Esarhaddon) versus the Chronicle's 12. This is, however, not an error but a necessary adjustment to avoid leaving one year, following year 12, unnumbered. In his year 12 Esarhaddon died in Marchesvan (month 8) and left the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia, respectively, to his two sons. In Assyria, Ashurbanipal's accession year lasted from Kislev (month 9) to the New Year (but his Assyrian regnal years are not discussed here, being irrelevant to the Babylonian Chronicle, the King List A, or the Canon). In Babylon, Shamash-shum-ukin's accession year obviously did not begin until after the New Year; the Babylonian Chronicle records for that year (as does also the Akitu Chronicle) an event in Iyyar, the *second* month; there was no month 2 between months 8 and 12 of year 12. Further, another document, the Esarhaddon Chronicle, ends with three consecutive years: (a) the year 12, (b) the accession year of Shamash-shum-ukin (unnumbered), and (c) the year 1 of the latter. The Canon numbers that middle year as "year 13" and thus avoids throwing the Babylonian count a year off.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> J. A. Brinkman (*A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.*, *Analecta Orientalia*, 43 [Rome, 1968]) speaks of these small differences, but also of the "praiseworthy accuracy" of the Canon and its "almost total agreement" (p. 35) with the "meticulously accurate Babylonian Chronicle" (p. 73), and discusses the variant names and the fractional reigns omitted (pp. 60-67). Grayson emphasizes the differences in "content" (which might be misread as differences in chronology), but reaches the conclusion that the source or sources of the "Ptolemaic Canon" "had a different point of view" from the Chronicle series (pp. 11, 12). Precisely—a chronological rather than a historical purpose. He cites only one actual numerical difference, which will be explained next.

<sup>11</sup> The Babylonian Chronicle iv. 30-38, i.e. Chronicle 1 in Grayson, pp. 81-82; the Esarhaddon Chronicle, 28-30, 30-44, i.e. Chronicle 14 in Grayson, pp. 127-128 (both in *ANET*, p. 303); the Akitu Chronicle, 5-7, i.e. Chronicle 16 in Grayson, p. 131. See also Waldo H. Dubberstein in *JNES* 3 (1944): 38.

Grayson (pp. 12, 240) supposes that the Canon gives Esarhaddon 13 years by allowing only 7 years for the preceding 8-year interregnum. But the Canon, like the Chronicle, has 8 years, not 7. Grayson's conjecture is in direct conflict with clear statements in three of the Chronicle texts, cited above, that show the year 13 to be the otherwise unnumbered year after year 12.

Here the chronicles end, but Shamash-shum-ukin's 20 years are clearly indicated by a tablet that lists eclipses, dated by month and day, at 18-year intervals thus: accession year of Shamash-shum-ukin; year 18 of the same; year 16 of Kandalanu. Modern computation dates these eclipses in 668/7, 650/49, and 632/1 B.C.<sup>12</sup>

A posthumous year number for Kandalanu is attested by business tablets dated respectively "year 21 of Kandalanu," "year 21 *after* Kandalanu" (i.e. after his death), and "year 22 after Kandalanu." This last is obviously the year of "no king in Babylon" mentioned in another chronicle as preceding Nabopolassar's accession.<sup>13</sup> This posthumous dating shows that the parallel "year 13" of Esarhaddon is not an error or an anomaly. The eclipse tablet that dates Kandalanu's year 16 thus locates Nabopolassar's accession in 626 B.C. and puts his reign, including the eclipse dated in his year 5 by Ptolemy, in exact alignment with Nebuchadnezzar's astronomically fixed reign. Thus every reign in the period of Newton's worst distrust checks perfectly with the Babylonian records.

Are we to believe that Ptolemy, nearly 800 years later, actually fabricated this early section of the list, or parts of it, to suit his own theories and yet arrived at 100 per cent accuracy?

The Neo-Babylonian reigns (i.e. Nabopolassar to Nabonidus' year 9) appear, exactly as in the Canon, in the more complete form of the Nabonidus Harran Inscription, supplemented by two chronicles plus commercial tablets and, for the last reign, by the Nabonidus Chronicle.<sup>14</sup> Further, the whole is dated by the astronomical tablet that fixes Nebuchadnezzar's year 37 at 568/7 B.C. by its multiple observational data, through that year. Says O. Neugebauer: "A text which contains many positions of sun, moon and stars is within many thousands of years uniquely fixed." This tablet is pivotal.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Tablet transcribed as no. 1417 in *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*, ed. A. J. Sachs (Providence, R.I., 1955), p. 223; cf. p. xxxi.

<sup>13</sup> See Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C. - A.D. 75* (Providence, R.I., 1956), p. 11; Chronicle 2 ("Early Years of Nabopolassar"), lines 14-15, in Grayson, p. 88; see also D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (London, 1956), pp. 89-90.

<sup>14</sup> Nabonidus' Harran inscription concerning his mother on Stela H<sub>1</sub>B, col. 1, lines 1-2, 29-32, col. 2, lines 40-46, col. 3, lines 1-10, in C. J. Gadd, "The Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958): 46, 47, 50, 51 (also in *ANET*, pp. 560-561); Chronicle 4 ("Later Years of Nabopolassar"), lines 27-28, and Chronicle 5 ("Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar II"), lines 1, 9-11, in Grayson, pp. 98-100; Chronicle 7 ("Nabonidus Chronicle") iii. 5, 12-19, in Grayson, pp. 109-110 (*ANET*, p. 306); Parker and Dubberstein, pp. 11-14.

<sup>15</sup> Tablet VAT 4956 in the Near Eastern Department of the Berlin Museums, German trans. in Paul V. Neugebauer and Ernst F. Weidner, "Ein astronomischer Beobachtungstext aus dem 37. Jahre Nebukadnezars

Cyrus, the Persian conqueror of Babylonia, is locked in place between Nabonidus and Cambyses, whose reign, like Nebuchadnezzar's, is fixed by similar multiple data on an astronomical tablet of his seventh year, which includes a record of an eclipse dated to the same seventh year by Ptolemy (*Almagest* v. 14). Darius I is linked to Cambyses by the Behistun Inscription and to Nabonidus by the 18-year intervals of the "Saros" Tablet, which also attests several later reigns.<sup>16</sup>

The next four Persian reigns (Xerxes to Artaxerxes II) are firmly held in place—and, like the others, in agreement with the Canon—by a number of Aramaic papyri unearthed in Egypt that can be pinpointed, within a day, by their double date lines written in two calendars. Synchronizing the variable lunar-calendar dates with their equivalents in the known Egyptian 365-day calendar enables us to find the B.C. year for each.<sup>17</sup>

The last three Persian reigns are locked in place by the 18-year intervals of the above mentioned "Saros" Tablet (which bridges Alexander's reign into the Seleucid era), by a papyrus attesting 2 years for Arses, and by the alignment of Alexander's death with the Greek Olympiad scale.<sup>18</sup>

With Alexander the accession-year, or postdating, system was abandoned, even in Babylonia, for the Macedonian antedating system, in which the fractional "beginning of reign" was called "year 1" and the first New Year's Day began "year 2." In contemporary scribal practice, each year of a change in kings had two numbers, but in a chronological scale the old king's last, partial year was ignored in the numbering.<sup>19</sup> The Canon apparently antedates hereafter.

II. (-567/66)," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 67/2 (1915): 28-89. For an extract in English, trans. by Siegfried H. Horn, see *S.D.A. Bible Students' Source Book* (Washington, 1962), no. 452 and note. On the fixed date, O. Neugebauer to Julia Neuffer, 26 March 1963.

<sup>16</sup> J. N. Strassmaier, Cambyses, no. 400, *Inschriften von Kambyses* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 231; id., reports on the "Saros" Tablet, *ZA* 7 (1892): 200-201, and 8 (1893): 106 (see Horn and Wood, pp. 96-97 and notes 12, 14); Behistun Inscription, secs. 11, 13, in *The Sculptures and Inscription . . . on the Rock of Behistun* (London, 1907), pp. 8-9, 12-13.

<sup>17</sup> Horn and Wood, pp. 129 and note 2, 133-134; see also Neuffer, sec. 9.

<sup>18</sup> "Saros" Tablet, in *ZA* 7 (1892): 201; Dāliyah Papyrus 1, in F. M. Cross, "Papyri of the Fourth Century B.C. from Dāliyah," in *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, ed. D. N. Freedman and J. C. Greenfield (New York, 1969), p. 44. On the Olympiad date (114.1) see Diodorus of Sicily xvii. 113.1, 117.5; Arrian *Anabasis* vii.28.1.

<sup>19</sup> On Alexander, see Parker and Dubberstein, p. 19, note 4; on postdating and antedating, Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), pp. 17, 23; Horn and Wood, pp. 16-21.

The regnal reckonings of the Ptolemies vary, but the Canon continues antedating to 1 Thoth in the old Egyptian calendar,<sup>20</sup> and at the death of Cleopatra it synchronizes with Roman datings, which eventually lead into our A.D. scale.<sup>21</sup>

In my first study of the Canon, years ago, I sought to trace "Ptolemy's" method—of postdating or antedating—for the Neo-Babylonian and Persian reigns. By the time I finished it, I strongly suspected that Ptolemy did not have to construct the Canon reign by reign, but most probably had access to complete lists handed down from his predecessors in Egypt.<sup>22</sup> The evidence from my more recent study has been even more convincing.

One evidence is the change in method from postdating to antedating in different periods. If Ptolemy had compiled the whole Canon as one work, he would be expected to employ the current Egyptian regnal method (antedating) throughout. However, the Canon uses both regnal systems.

Another is a difference in Ptolemy's treatment of Babylonian eclipse dates cited by Newton as evidence of fabrication. He says that Ptolemy nearly always omits the Babylonian month and day and gives only the Egyptian. Hence he assumes that Ptolemy had no Babylonian record of the eclipse and therefore probably fabricated the date from an Egyptian record.<sup>23</sup> The omission of the Babylonian month date might be taken rather as evidence that the record that had come down to Ptolemy's time had already been "translated" into an Egyptian calendar date long before he saw it, and the variable lunar-month date was considered no longer relevant.

The earlier data, as has been shown, betray their Babylonian origin, but in the Persian period, from Cambyses on, there was no need to "translate" into Egyptian dates. Egypt was by then under the rule of Persian kings, and therefore the regnal years of those kings, as reckoned in the Egyptian calendar, were the official Egyptian year reckoning. Scribes sometimes dated the same document in both the

<sup>20</sup> Alan E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich, 1962), pp. 4, 64-65, 88-89, 138.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160; on the Alexandrian Era of Augustus see Robert L. Odom, "Vettius Valens and the Planetary Week," *AUSS* 3 (1965): 115-117; Censorinus (*De Die Natale* 18.12; 21.6-11) equates several different era dates. On the Diocletian Era, and A.D. dating, see Horn and Wood, p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> Several recent writers are inclined to trace the "Ptolemaic" (or "Royal," or "Astronomical") Canon to Hellenistic astronomers or Babylonian sources. See E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), p. 107; O. Neugebauer, *HAMA*, p. 1071; J. A. Brinkman, p. 60, note 300.

<sup>23</sup> Newton, pp. 397, 373-374.

Egyptian calendar and the Semitic lunar calendar, as shown by the double-dated Aramaic papyri already mentioned. Thus the full date in either form would have been available.

The Canon apparently follows, in each period, the contemporary method of regnal year numbering. That is, it indicates the postdating pattern in the Babylonian reigns, but either method for the Persian reigns, depending on the month date of the king's accession, just as the contemporary scribes in Egypt numbered them.<sup>24</sup> That is the sort of dating that would have been handed down to Ptolemy's day in the Egyptian archives.

Then for the reigns of the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors, all of whom were rulers of Egypt, the Canon follows, wherever checked, the customary Egyptian antedating. Thus, the changing pattern tends to corroborate the origin of the earlier parts of the Canon in the records as they would have come down through the various periods to astronomers in Egypt, and eventually to Ptolemy. The correspondence between the Canon usage and the changing earlier usages is too close to allow the supposition that Ptolemy devised the whole pattern of the Canon.

Of course, the strongest evidence is the complete agreement of the Canon with the extant ancient records. O. Neugebauer refers to the long sequence of dated eclipses and other observations, along with a known and undisturbed local calendar, that were handed down "through the archives of the Late-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings, archives maintained through the Persian and Greek period" (to which Ptolemy was heir). "For chronology," he writes, "this means that an accurately known astronomical system had established a sequence of fixed points, distributed over some 900 years and dated in a uniform (the Egyptian) calendar."<sup>25</sup> Evidently included in that heritage were the sources of the still surviving 900-year time scale, now called "Ptolemy's Canon." Astonishingly, after centuries of transmission of the text, it is still in agreement with the long-buried ancient documents now brought to light by modern archaeology.

<sup>24</sup> Richard A. Parker, "Persian and Egyptian Chronology," *AJSL* 58 (1941): 298-301.

<sup>25</sup> O. Neugebauer, *HAMA*, p. 1071.



LITERARY SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF  
PALESTINE AND SYRIA.  
II: HEBREW, MOABITE, AMMONITE, AND  
EDOMITE INSCRIPTIONS<sup>1</sup>

DENNIS PARDEE  
The University of Chicago

Beside the Hebrew Bible, which has been preserved as a literary and religious document by the Jewish and Christian communities, modern archaeology has placed a series of inscriptions in Hebrew and closely related dialects recovered from the soil of Palestine itself.<sup>2</sup> Most of these documents are brief, they usually do not refer specifically to events mentioned in the Bible, and their number has been growing rapidly only in the last forty years or so. Thus they are not generally well known except to specialists in epigraphy, philology, and history. Probably the two best known of these inscriptions are the Mesha Stone, the earliest inscription (ca. 850 B.C.) of considerable length in a dialect close to classical Hebrew, and the Siloam Tunnel inscription, which contains an account parallel to the biblical version (2 Kgs 20:20; 2 Chr 32:30; cf. Sir 48:17) of the completion of Hezekiah's water tunnel under Jerusalem's east hill.

<sup>1</sup> This is the second article of a series, the first of which appeared in *AUSS* 15 (1977): 189-203. The reader should note that the various installments do not represent a chronological order, but only a discrete unit of literary material which the writer feels best able to present in published form at a given time.

<sup>2</sup> I am dealing here only with texts which antedate the bulk of the texts from the Dead Sea caves. The latter will be the object of a future study in this series. On the other chronological extreme, second millennium Northwest Semitic texts from Canaan, such as the Proto-Sinaitic texts (cf. W. F. Albright, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and their Decipherment*, HTS 22 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969]) or the proto-Canaanite inscriptions (cf. F. M. Cross, "The Evolution of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet," *BASOR* 134 [1954]: 15-24; idem, "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," *Eretz Israel* 8 [1967]: 8\*-24\*) provide too little historical information and are too unsure of interpretation to be included in this series.

These two inscriptions, though perhaps the most startling, represent only a fraction of the total number. The excavations at Tel Arad in the Judaeen Negev, e.g., unearthed more than two hundred texts, in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Arabic. In this article I will discuss the secondary sources available for the study of the Hebrew inscriptions, the physical characteristics of the texts themselves, the main groups of texts by site, and the various types of texts which appear, giving finally a brief overview of the historical information to be gleaned from them. In a second section I will present the epigraphic material from ancient Moab, Ammon, and Edom.

### 1. *The Hebrew Inscriptions*

#### *Sources for Study*

With the exception of the main site groups discussed below, the Hebrew texts have been published in widely scattered books and journals, some of them not easily accessible today. Fortunately, several collections of these texts exist which are quite accessible, though often expensive, and which contain various combinations of text, translation, and commentary for each text, with bibliography of both original publication and secondary studies.

The standard recent publication, though it contains relatively few Hebrew texts (only nineteen), is H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969-1973), text numbers 182-200 (cited here as *KAI* + text number). The first volume of this work contains the texts in square Hebrew characters (Phoenician, Punic, Neo-Punic, Moabite, Hebrew, and Aramaic). The second volume contains bibliography and commentary for each text, and the third provides more general bibliographies, glossaries, and photographs and hand copies of some of the texts (not all!).

There are also two major works devoted to Hebrew inscriptions alone, the first in English, the second in French. John C. L.

Gibson's contribution is *Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions*, vol. 1 of his *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971; to date vol. 2, dealing with Aramaic inscriptions, has also been published [1975]). This work is cited here as *TSSI* 1 + page number(s). Gibson's work covers the same material treated in the present overview, but contains only a sample of the numerically extensive text types (ostraca, seals, weights), and in less than a decade has already fallen seriously out of date in some areas (Arad, other texts from the Negev and from Transjordan). Its format is text (in square Hebrew characters), translation, and epigraphic and philological commentary on each text studied. Gibson's book is not as easy to cite as *KAI* because he did not number the texts sequentially. A "serial numerotation" was introduced in the second printing, but the numbers refer only to site groupings, not to individual texts as in *KAI* (e.g., no. 4 is Tell Qasile, a site from which two texts are included; no. 12 is Lachish—this section includes ten of the twenty-two ostraca from Tell ed-Duweir). Moreover, Gibson's terminology, readings, and interpretations have been the object of severe criticism (see especially the reviews of J. A. Fitzmyer, *JBL* 91 [1972]: 109-111; and J. C. Greenfield, *JAOS* 94 [1974]: 509-12). Much care must, therefore, be exercised in using this volume.

The third major comprehensive work is André Lemaire's *Les ostraca*, vol. 1 of *Inscriptions hébraïques*, *Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient* 9 (Paris: Cerf, 1977; vol. 1 is the only volume which has appeared to date). Lemaire's book is cited here as *Ostraca* + page number(s). This is a French translation of the Hebrew texts written on ostraca (the Hebrew texts are not included), with brief philological notes and extensive historical commentary. The last mentioned feature makes this book the most useful for non-specialists who wish to know the historical data or implications of the texts studied. This first volume of *Inscriptions hébraïques* contains only the ostraca, but it includes every ostrakon known to Lemaire of which at

least one full word has been preserved. Lemaire tells us (p. 16) that he is preparing a full philological and epigraphic treatment of these texts for a future fascicle of *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres). Presumably he and his French colleague Pierre Bordreuil will furnish volumes in both series covering the monumental inscriptions and the minor ones (seals, weights, etc.). Lemaire is an excellent philologist, epigraphist, historian, and topographer, and his work may be consulted with confidence (though the scantiness of data frequently makes any conclusion unsure). Lemaire numbered his texts sequentially only within groups and not for the entire book; it is thus easiest to cite *Les ostraca* by page number(s).

Finally, the reader should be aware of W. F. Albright's English translations of several of the more important texts discussed herein, in *ANET*, pp. 320-322, 568.

#### *Physical Characteristics of the Texts*

The Hebrew inscriptions are found written on a variety of materials, with a variety of instruments. The most striking, but the most poorly represented, are the inscriptions chiseled in stone. Of these, the best known is the Siloam Tunnel inscription (*KAI* 189; *TSSI* 1: 21-23; *ANET*, p. 321; *ANEP*, no. 275; cf. no. 744) inscribed on the wall of the tunnel which Hezekiah had had pierced through the limestone bedrock underlying the east hill of Jerusalem. Further examples are the Silwan tomb inscription (*KAI* 191; *TSSI*, 1: 23-24) and the Khirbet Beit Lei tomb graffiti (*TSSI* 1: 57-58; studied recently by A. Lemaire, "Prières en temps de crise: Les inscriptions de Khirbet Beit Lei," *RB* 83 [1976]: 558-568).

The greatest number of texts in continuous prose are found written in ink on pieces of broken pottery vessels. These pottery sherds with writing are known as ostraca (singular: ostrakon). As anyone knows who has tramped over a Palestinian mound, pottery sherds are ubiquitous. They furnished an immediately

available and cheap form of writing material. They were the scratch pads and stationery of their time. With one exception, all extant Hebrew letters of the pre-Christian era are written on ostraca, as are the economic documents. Lemaire (*Ostraca*, p. 13) estimates that about 250 Hebrew ostraca have been discovered, the great majority to be dated to the Israelite period, between ca. 1000 and 587 B.C. The most extensive study of the technique of writing with pen and ink in Israelite times is by G. van der Kooij, "Palaeography," in J. Hoftijzer, et al., *Aramaic Texts from Deir Alla* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 29-96. Van der Kooij was studying texts written in ink on plaster, but many of his remarks are valid for the ostraca also.

Another technique was to incise or stamp an inscription into a pottery vessel before it had completely hardened (i.e., during manufacture). The most frequent stamped inscriptions are the well-known but still enigmatic *lmlk* ("to the king") jar handle inscriptions, discussed in great detail by Peter Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969). Incised inscriptions are rare and the text is always short. This is because of the relative difficulty of producing the inscription and because of its physical limitations (one would not write a letter on a vessel intended for indefinite household use). The content of the text is almost always identification, either of the contents of the vessel or of its owner, e.g., *bt lmlk*, "royal *bat* (-measure)" (*TSSI* 1: 70).

Finally, there are inscriptions on seals and weights. Though the physical material may be the same as that of the monumental inscriptions, i.e. stone (there are practically no metal seals or weights from Palestine of the Israelite period), the characteristics of the finished inscription are quite different (extremely short text), as was the technique of production (miniaturization), and certainly the function. The seals are almost exclusively stamp seals, this being the tradition in Palestine from the Egyptian amulets and scarabs down through Israelite times, as

opposed to Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, where cylinder seals, intended to be rolled out on a soft material, were far more frequent (see *IDB* 4: 255-259). The Hebrew seals were usually engraved in mirror image so that when stamped the impression would read correctly. They were frequently of semi-precious stone and were pierced so as to be suspended around the neck (see the descriptions of a group of seals by P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux sceaux hébreux, araméens et ammonites," *Semitica* 26 [1976] 45-63). They were inscribed with the owner's name, frequently with the patronymic, and occasionally with the owner's position, e.g., *l'zryhw bn šmryhw*, "(Belonging) to Azariah son of Shemariah" (*ibid.*, no. 4); *lšm' 'bd yrb'm*, "(Belonging) to Shama servant of Jeroboam" (F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Biblica* 50 [1969]: 368, no. 68). Their purpose was to authenticate origin (as on papyrus documents) or ownership (as on jars). They were impressed on wax or clay sealings affixed to missives or commodities and they maintained the untampered status of the sealed item as long as the clay seal was not broken. Both the seals and the clay seal impressions, called *bullae*, have appeared on the antiquities market and have been discovered in formal excavations (cf., e.g., Bordreuil and Lemaire *Semitica* 26 [1976]: 53; Gibson, *TSSI* 1: 62, no. 18).

### *Principal Groups of Texts*

Most of the longer epigraphic Hebrew documents come from three main sites: Samaria, Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), and Arad.

The *Samaria ostraca* were discovered at the site of ancient Samaria in 1910 by excavators from Harvard University. The texts number about one hundred. They are written in ink on ostraca and deal with shipments of various commodities such as wine and oil. They were not completely edited until 1966, in the Harvard dissertation of I. T. Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Palaeography." This dissertation is as yet unpublished, but the content of the texts may be seen

in Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 29-38. A few more ostraca were found in the expedition of 1931-1935; these are discussed by Lemaire in *Ostraca*, pp. 245-250.

The Samaria ostraca furnish the only extensive group of inscriptions, other than seals, from Northern Israel and are thus invaluable for all aspects of the history of the area, especially geography (because of the place names mentioned in the ostraca), onomastics (many personal names are mentioned as senders and recipients), and linguistics (e.g., the spelling *yn* for "wine," versus *yyn* in Judah, provides the principal linguistic isogloss between the two dialects, /é/ versus /ay/).

Unfortunately, the lack of certain archaeological criteria and the brevity of the individual texts (text 6, e.g., reads "In year nine, from Quseh to Godaw, one jar of old wine") has led to an extreme amount of disparity among scholars in their dating of the texts (plausible dates range from about 795 to about 735 B.C.) and their analyses of the function of the texts (tax receipts, accounts of provisions for the palace, accounts of produce rendered to absent landlords). As recent examples of the options chosen by different scholars I cite two positions. Lemaire, *Ostraca*, p. 81, dates the ostraca to Joash (795-794 B.C.) and Jeroboam II (776 B.C.). He analyzes their function as accounts of provisions entering the palace from royal estates which had been placed under the control of royal favorites. The commodities mentioned would be the payments due to the palace from the actual farmers in the name of the landlord, who was probably absent from the estate, perhaps residing in Samaria. The workings of a comparable arrangement are described quite clearly in 2 Sam 9, where Ziba, the farmer, must send produce to Jerusalem to support his master Mephibosheth, all of this directed by David the king.

Another recent interpretation of these texts is the highly original reconstruction of William H. Shea ("The Date and Significance of the Samaria Ostraca," *IEJ* 27 [1977]: 16-27). Shea

dates the ostraca to Menahem (740-739 B.C.) and Pekah (737 B.C.). He solves the difficulty of the ostraca dated to Pekah carrying the date "year 15" (and in one case "year 17") by referring to 2 Kgs 15:27, which ascribes a twenty-year reign to Pekah (i.e., Pekah was counting his years of secessionist rule somewhere outside territory controlled by Menahem into the total of his years of rule as king of Israel). The function of the ostraca was to mark the entry of taxes imposed by the king. In Menahem's case, these taxes were made necessary by the recent imposition of tribute by Tiglath-Pileser III.

These two plausible reconstructions of the setting and function of the Samaria ostraca illustrate the great difficulties faced by scholars in treating such laconic documents.

The *Lachish ostraca* consist of twenty-two texts from Tell ed-Duweir, a site located in the Shephela, about forty-five miles southwest of Jerusalem. The site has been identified quite generally with Lachish since the discovery of the text there which mentions Lachish. (It should be borne in mind, however, that some scholars have interpreted that text, Lachish 4, cited in full below, as referring to Lachish, not as the city to which the letter is being sent, but as a third location. This would mean that the site where the letter was found is not Lachish. See D. W. Thomas, "The Site of Ancient Lachish: The Evidence of Ostrakon IV from Tell ed-Duweir," *PEQ* 72 [1940]: 148-149.) The first eighteen ostraca were found in 1935 and were published by H. Torczyner in the first volume of the Lachish publication series as *The Lachish Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938). Three more ostraca were discovered in 1938 and were published by Torczyner in *t'wdwt lkyš: mktbym nymy yrmyh w hnby'* (Jerusalem: Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, 1940; this publication included a new study of the earlier ostraca, as well). D. Deringer re-edited all these ostraca in the third Lachish volume, *The Iron Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 331-339. Finally, an ostrakon was found during the 1966 excavation un-



dertaken at Tell ed-Duweir by Y. Aharoni ("Trial Excavation in the 'Solar Shrine' at Lachish, Preliminary Report," *IEJ* 18 [1968]: 168-169). All of the ostraca with a readable text have been treated by Lemaire in *Ostraca*, pp. 83-143, and selections are available in many of the collections of Semitic texts (e.g., *KAI* 192-199; *TSSI* 1: 32-49; *ANET*, pp. 321-322).

The state of preservation of the Lachish ostraca ranges from almost perfect (e.g., nos. 1, 2) to practically unreadable (nos. 10, 14, 15, 21). There are two types of texts—name lists (nos. 1, 11, 19, 20, 21) and letters (the rest). We know that the name lists served various functions, because in one each name is followed by a number (Lachish 19), while in another each name is preceded by the preposition "to" (Lachish 22). Unfortunately, we do not have enough texts (and those we do have are too broken) for us to be able to arrive at certain conclusions as to the function of each document. The letters are from an inferior (once named Hoshayahu, in 3:1), to a superior (Ya'ush, named three times: 2:1; 3:2; 6:1). In content, most of these letters appear to deal with preparations for an expected Babylonian invasion, and thus may be dated to summer 589 B.C. (for this dating, which goes against the general trend to date the texts to shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, see Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 139-143). As an example of one of these texts, perhaps the most famous, I cite Lachish 4:<sup>3</sup>

- 1) May Yahweh give you good news
- 2) at this time. And now, your servant has done
- 3) everything my lord sent (word to do). I have written down everything
- 4) my lord sent me (word to do). As regards what my lord said
- 5) about Beth-HRPD, there is no
- 6) one there. As for Semakyahu, Shemayahu has seized him and
- 7) taken him up to the city. Your servant cannot
- 8) send the witness there today.
- 9) For if he participates in the morning tour
- 10) he will know that we are watching the
- 11) Lachish (fire-) signals according to the code which my lord
- 12) gave us, for we cannot see Azeqah.

<sup>3</sup> This translation is my own. For a full philological defense of this interpretation, see my forthcoming *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters*.

The third and final main group of Hebrew inscriptions is composed of the more than two hundred texts from Tel Arad (109 texts in Hebrew, 85 in Aramaic, two in Greek, five in Arabic) published by Y. Aharoni and J. Naveh as *ktwbwt 'rd* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1975). These inscriptions are the epigraphic fruit of excavations carried out between 1962 and 1967. Field director Aharoni employed the method of dipping all sherds in water and examining them for traces of writing before scrubbing off the dirt. It is at least partially due to this technique that many more inscribed ostraca were found at Arad than have been found at any other Palestinian site to date. Of the 109 Hebrew inscriptions, 88 were ostraca, 16 were incised jar inscriptions, and five were seals. There has already been discussion as to the dating of the archaeological strata at Arad<sup>4</sup> and there will undoubtedly be more discussion of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence. Aharoni found Hebrew inscriptions in Strata XI-VI, which he dates from the tenth to the sixth century B.C. (*ktwbwt 'rd*, pp. 8, 211-216). An independent study of these texts by a specialist in epigraphy has not yet appeared, but from the statements of archaeologists<sup>5</sup> and from my work on the letters<sup>6</sup> it appears very likely that the chronological range of the Hebrew inscriptions will be narrowed considerably.

Five distinct types of inscriptions stand out clearly in the Arad texts: letters, commodity lists, name lists, seals, and short jar inscriptions. The letters are the most important from a general historical perspective, for they partially reveal the socio-

<sup>4</sup> J. S. Holladay, "Of Sherds and Strata: Contributions Toward an Understanding of the Archaeology of the Divided Monarchy," in *Magnalia Dei. The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller, Jr. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 253-293, esp. pp. 275 and 281, n. 26.

<sup>5</sup> I have had a preliminary initiation into the discussions while participating in a seminar at the University of Chicago which focused on a paper by Samuel R. Wolff entitled "The Archaeological and Historical Contexts of the Arad Inscriptions." Such discussions will surely make their way into print as time goes by.

<sup>6</sup> See my "Letters from Tel Arad" (at the time of this writing still forthcoming, in *UF* 10 [1978]).

economic workings of southern Judah in about 597 B.C., shortly before Nebuchadnezzar's first invasion (Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 234-235). They deal largely with distribution of foodstuffs to and through persons called Kittim, probably mercenaries. Another group which is mentioned is the Edomites, who appear as enemies, indicating that the Edomite incursions which earned Obadiah's hatred were under way. The commodity and name lists appear as separate entities (e.g., Arad 33 and 34 are lists of amounts of wheat, while Arad 39 is a list of names) and also as combinations of the two (e.g., Arad 31 begins with the word *h̄tm*, "wheat," and each following line consists of name + symbol denoting an amount of wheat). Relatively few seals were found at Arad, and three of these belong to one person. These three are of great interest, however, for they belong to Elyashib ben Eshyahu to whom most of the Arab letters were addressed and who was thus commander of the fortress shortly before its destruction. I will cite here only two of the jar inscriptions as being the most interesting: Arad 99 consists of the word 'rd, "Arad," inscribed several times on sherds of a badly broken vessel (traces of six repetitions are found on the preserved sherds, which represent less than half of the original surface area of the dish in question). Finally, Arad 104 (and probably 102 and 103 as well) is described with the word *qdš*, "holy," indicating that the vessel and its contents were intended for cultic purposes.

### *Types of Texts*

I will use this section to discuss the various types of epigraphic Hebrew documents (*genres* in a broad sense of the term), introducing here the individual finds and associating them with the principal groups of texts just discussed.

Epigraphic Hebrew furnishes no examples of royal monumental inscriptions, a type well known from Mesopotamia and Egypt. There are, however, several inscriptions on stone intended to be read by a larger number of persons than, say, a

letter. The best example of such an inscription is the Siloam Tunnel inscription, which was inscribed on the wall near the south end of Hezekiah's tunnel. Though the text was cut out of the wall in 1890, the visitor to Jerusalem can still today traverse the water tunnel and visualize the scene as two crews of workmen, tunneling from opposite ends, met "pick against pick. Then the waters flowed from the spring to the pool—(a distance of) 1200 cubits." For a complete English translation, see *ANET*, p. 321, with a photograph in *ANEP*, no. 275.

Another form of the inscription in stone was the tomb inscription. Probably the best known tomb inscription of the Israelite period is the epitaph of a royal steward from the village of Silwan, just a short distance east of the Siloam tunnel. Though it was first discovered by the pioneer French archaeologist C. Clermont-Ganneau in 1870, this inscription was not really deciphered until 1953, by N. Avigad ("The Epitaph of a Royal Steward from Siloam Village," *IEJ* 3 [1953]: 137-152; cf. *KAI* 191; *TSSI* 1: 23-24). We do not know the deceased person's full name (only the last part, *-yhw*, "*-yahu*," an extremely common element in Judaeon personal names, is preserved), but his rank is given as *'šr 'l hbyt*, "the one who is over the (royal) house." In his inscription he claims that there is no gold or silver in the tomb (to be robbed), and lays a curse on anyone who would open the tomb.

Also on stone, but of an entirely different genre, is the famous Gezer Calendar (*KAI* 182; *TSSI* 1: 1-4; *ANET*, p. 320; *ANEP*, no. 272). Though there is a great deal of debate as to the form and meaning of one of the forms which recurs four times in this inscription (*yrhw* < *yrh*, "month"), the linking of that word with various agricultural terms (such as harvest, sowing, flax, barley, vines, summer-fruit) indicates that the word "calendar" used to describe the text cannot be far wrong. The primary importance of this text is for the history of the Hebrew language, for it is the earliest continuous text in Hebrew (10th century) published

to date. (For an earlier text, which apparently contains only exercises in writing the letters of the alphabet, see the new discovery reported by M. Kochavi, "An Ostrakon of the Period of the Judges from 'Izbet Şarṭah," *Tel Aviv* 4 [1977]: 1-13).

The most important genre in Hebrew inscriptions, in terms of quantity of connected text, is that of letters. As regards the main groups discussed in the preceding section, most of the texts from Tell ed-Duweir are letters and at least twenty-one of the Hebrew texts from Tel Arad are letters.

The letters from Tell ed-Duweir (the so-called Lachish letters) are characterized by being from inferior to superior, dealing with politico-military matters, and containing several formulae unattested elsewhere in the corpus of Hebrew letters. Examples of these formulae are the greeting formula *yšm' yhwḥ 't 'dny šm't šlm 't kym 't kym*, "may YHWH cause my lord to hear news of well-being at this very time," and the formula three times used to offer humble thanks at the beginning of the body of a letter *my 'bdk klb ky*, "who is your servant but a dog that (my lord should remember his servant, etc.)."

Most of the Arad letters are from superior to inferior (this is surmised from the fact that they contain no greetings nor reference to the relationship between correspondents) and deal with shipments of foodstuffs. The following is an example of this type (Arad 1):

- 1) To Elyashib. And
- 2) now, give to the Kittim
- 3) three *bat*-measures of wine and
- 4) write down the date.
- 5) From what is left of the first
- 6) meal, have one *homer*-measure (?)
- 7) of meal loaded (to be used)
- 8) to make bread
- 9) for them. Give (them)
- 10) the wine from the craters.<sup>7</sup>

One letter dealing with foodstuffs is from inferior to superior, as its first few lines indicate (Arad 18): "To my lord Elyashib.

<sup>7</sup> Hebrew *h'gnt*, large open bowls.

May YHWH concern himself with your well-being. And now, give Shemaryahu a *letek*-measure ( $\tilde{?}$ ) (of meal?).” In addition, there are three letters between family members (Arad 16, 21, 40), which seem to deal at least in part with matters of more moment—warfare with Edom:  $[wz]’t hr’h ’š[r] ’d[m ’šth]$ , “This is the evil which Edom has done” (Arad 40:14-15). Yet another letter, the first part of which is almost completely effaced, deals more clearly with the same problem (Arad 24):

- 12) from Arad fifty and from Qinah [ . . . ]
- 13) and send them to Ramat-Negeb under
- 14) Malkiyahu son of Qerabur. He is to hand
- 15) them over to Elisha son of Yirmeyahu
- 16) at Ramat-Negeb lest anything happen to
- 17) the city. This is an order from the king—a life and
- 18) death matter for you. I have sent you this message to
- 19) warn you now: These men (must be) with Elisha
- 20) lest (the) Edom(ites) go there.

The last letter to be dealt with here does not come from one of the major groups, but from excavations carried out by J. Naveh in 1960 at a site about a mile south of Yavneh-Yam on the coast of Israel. The text was first published by Naveh as “A Hebrew Letter from the Seventh Century B.C.,” *IEJ* 10 (1960): 129-139, and has since been included in most collections: *KAI* 200; Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 259-268; *TSSI* 1: 26-30; *ANETSTP*, p. 568 and no. 808. The site has been named Mešad Ḥashavyahu (“Fort of Ḥashavyahu”) after one of the persons mentioned in the texts from the site. The letter is written in fourteen lines on a large sherd recovered in several fragments. The lower right hand corner, comprising parts of lines 11-15, was only partially recovered. The text is a petition from a reaper to the local military official (*hšr* = *haššar*) for the return of a garment which had been seized, apparently because the reaper’s supervisor thought that the reaper had not completed his section of the harvest. The text makes two main contributions to our knowledge of the period (ca. 620 B.C.): the matter of the garment provides an extra-biblical parallel for the biblical laws concerning garments

taken in pledge (Exod 22:25-26; Deut 24:10-17; cf. Amos 2:8). Second, the find of a text written in Judaeen Hebrew, dating on archaeological and epigraphic grounds to the late seventh century B.C., with apparently biblical notions of justice, in a fortress in the southern coastal area, seems to indicate expansion of Judaeen hegemony under Josiah not only north (2 Chr 34:6) but west.

The economic/administrative documents in epigraphic Hebrew are, unfortunately, rather poor. We do have the letters dealing with supplies from Arad (and one from Duweir [no. 9, cf. Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 127-129]), but we have no contracts recording sales, purchases, rentals, sharecropping arrangements, marriages, adoptions, etc. The texts we do have, primarily from Samaria and Arad (for which see above), are so laconic as to defy complete interpretation. Even these, however, are useful for linguistics, onomastics, and topography. One of the most interesting of the isolated finds of this type of text may be cited here. It is the two-line incised ostrakon from Tell Qasile (near Tel Aviv) which reads [z]hb 'pr lbyr hrn š 30, "Gold of Ophir for Beth-Horon: 30 shekels" (B. Maisler, "Two Hebrew Ostraca from Tell Qasile," *JNES* 10 [1951]: 265-267; *TSSI* 1: 15-17; Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 251-255).

The last category to be dealt with here is the minor inscriptions on jars, seals, and weights. These may be classified as a specific type of text from the perspective of function, for they are, in general, intended to identify the item in question either as to quantity (e.g., *bt lmlk*, "royal *bat*-measure" [cf. *TSSI* 1: 70]), content (e.g., *lyhzyhw yyn khl*, "[Belonging] to Yahzeyahu, wine of *khl*" [N. Avigad, "Two Hebrew Inscriptions on Wine Jars," *IEJ* 22 (1972): 1-9]), or ownership (e.g., previous example).

The seals form the most numerous category of these small texts. Literally hundreds have been found in scientific excavations or by treasure-hunters. Since the older collections are

badly out of date (see TSSI 1: 59-60 for bibliography), we are desperately in need of a new corpus of seals. Two scholars, N. Avigad in Israel and P. Bordreuil in France, are said to be working on such collections, but actual publication may be quite distant. Larry G. Herr's *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* is, at the time of this writing, scheduled for publication by Scholar's Press in 1978. For the time being, one must work with the lists of currently published seals prepared by F. Vattioni: "I sigilli ebraici," *Biblica* 50 (1969): 357-388; "I sigilli ebraici II," *Augustinianum* 11 (1971): 447-454. The primary usefulness of the seals is in the study of onomastics: they provide us with a corpus of names used in Palestine during the periods represented (most of the Hebrew seals come from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.). In addition they often provide relationships ("X son of Y," "X daughter of Y," "X wife of Y," etc.), and social position (e.g., "X servant of the king," "X who is over the palace," etc.). Occasionally a name and position appear which refer to biblical characters, e.g., *lgdlyhw* [']šr 'l hby[t], "(Belonging) to Gedalyahu, who is over the palace," probably to be identified with the Gedaliah of 2 Kgs 25:22; Jer 40:5; etc. (cf. TSSI 1: 62, 64).

A closely related type of inscription is the impression left on clay by one of the seals just discussed. The impression often includes not only the seal impression, but traces on the reverse side of the papyrus document which it was used to seal and of the string used to tie the rolled or folded papyrus. Though these bullae have appeared rather frequently in excavation or on the antiquities market (though not nearly as frequently as seals, because of the less durable nature of the clay bullae), the most striking single group of these texts which has been published to date was made available (though not sold) to N. Avigad. He was able to examine and photograph the documents and published them as *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judean Archive*, Qedem 4



(Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1976).<sup>8</sup> The group consists of 65 bullae and two seals bearing names, relationships and titles, and the province designation "Judah." They come, therefore, from the Persian province of Judah and are dated by the editor to the late sixth century B.C. Their importance is in providing us with many more documents for the period of Persian domination of Judah, along with the name of at least one previously unknown governor of the province (Elnatan: Avigad, pp. 5-7).

A very frequently attested form of stamp inscription is *lmlk*, "to the king," followed by one of four place names, Hebron, Socoh, Ziph, and *mmšt* (the last place is of uncertain identification<sup>9</sup>). Though more than 800 of these stamped jar handles have been found to date,<sup>10</sup> only these four places are included as geographical designations. This has influenced the various proposals regarding the function of these inscriptions; e.g., that they represent royal potteries or vineyards (P. Lapp, "Late Royal Seals from Judah," *BASOR* 158 [1960]: 11-22), or royal estates from which taxes were due (Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel*, pp. 133-174).

Many weights have been discovered in Palestine, the most frequent being "shekel," "half (-shekel)" (the Hebrew word is *bq'*), "pim" (Hebrew *pym*, the name of a unit, perhaps 2/3 of a shekel<sup>11</sup>), and *nešep* (perhaps meaning "half," but, if so, half

<sup>8</sup> An even larger group, 128 bullae, was found with the fourth century Aramaic documents discovered in a cave in the Wadi Daliyeh, but these are as yet unpublished (for the present, see F. M. Cross, "Papyri of the Fourth Century B.C. from Daliyeh," *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, ed. D. N. Freedman and J. C. Greenfield [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969; Anchor ed., 1971], pp. 45-69 [Anchor ed.]).

<sup>9</sup> For a recent attempt at fixing the location of *mmšt* (at Amwas = Emmaus of the New Testament), see A. Lemaire, "*mmšt* = Amwas, vers la solution d'une énigme de l'épigraphie hébraïque," *RB* 82 (1975): 15-23.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Here is a case of a very minor inscription type elucidating the biblical text. In 1 Sam. 13:21 is found the Hebrew word *pim*, whose meaning was totally unknown before these weights were discovered. Now we at least know that a weight, i.e., an amount of money, was intended in the text, though the exact amount is still uncertain (cf. NEB).

of what is uncertain). See the discussions by Gibson in *TSSI* 1: 67-70, and by O. R. Sellers, *IDB* 4: 830-833.

*Hebrew Inscriptions as Historical Sources*

The Hebrew inscriptions, as compared with the Hebrew Bible, have the great advantage of being original, primary sources rather than texts with a long history of transmission. The advantage consists in furnishing us with documents incontestably composed in the time of the persons and events described in far greater detail in the Bible. The disadvantages are restricted time span (most of the texts date between the middle ninth century and the early sixth, ca. 850-ca. 587 B.C.), restricted literary types (practically no narrative prose and no poetry—the two main types of biblical literature), brevity of individual documents, and frequently lacunary state of preservation. This combination of factors leads to a situation wherein, for example, the ostrakon from Mešad Ḥashavyahu is extremely important because it is the only Hebrew document of the late seventh century from the southern coast of Palestine. But on the other hand, this text is so non-specific about why such a document was written, why Judaeans were on the coast, and who was responsible for Hebrew-speakers being involved in the grain harvest there, that we are reduced to hypotheses about the exact interpretation and historical import of the text.<sup>12</sup> The same may be said of the Lachish ostraca, concerning which some scholars claim that they depict the final days of the Judaeian monarchy, while others hold that they depict preparations for the Babylonian invasion, that they were written as much as two years before the destruction of Judah.

These pessimistic thoughts having been expressed, it must be made clear that the documents in epigraphic Hebrew are extremely precious. First, because they are all we have, and by their very presence they point up the fact that the Hebrew

<sup>12</sup> For a summary statement, see my "The Judicial Plea from Mešad Ḥashavyahu (Yavneh-Yam): A New Philological Study" (forthcoming in *Maarav*).

Bible must be considered seriously as a source for the history of Palestine (though the extra-biblical documents discovered to date have not been specific enough or sure enough of interpretation to establish or invalidate the position of one or the other of the various schools of biblical interpretation with regard to the degree of facticity to be expected from a given narrative). Furthermore, though they may not furnish a great deal of material of a specific nature for the political history of Palestine (dates, rulers' names, foreign relations, etc.), they do furnish a great deal of raw data for the auxiliary areas of linguistics, onomastics, topography, and, to a degree, social structure. The documents in Hebrew prose, for example, indicate that biblical Hebrew narrative syntax has been preserved fairly intact since at least the seventh century B.C. The seals and bullae, besides furnishing us with a group of proper names with which to compare the names in biblical narrative, indicate that contracts and other documents were being written on perishable materials which have not come down to us. Such material, though rarely exciting enough to rate newspaper headlines, permits qualified scholars to come to a more precise assessment of life in Palestine during the first half of the first millennium B.C. than would be possible if they were forced to limit their research to the rehashing of old arguments about the biblical text. Moreover, the pace of archaeological discovery in Palestine today<sup>13</sup> leads us to believe that much more material will be discovered, making the assessment ever more precise.

## 2. *Epigraphic Documents from Moab, Ammon, and Edom*

The documents in West Semitic dialects from areas generally east of the Jordan and the Rift Valley are included in this survey because they are quite close to Hebrew both linguistically and literarily (the primary difference is that to date no letters are attested from these corpora), while the number of documents

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., Ze'ev Meshel and Carol Meyers, "The Name of God in the Wilderness of Zin," *BA* 39 (1976): 6-10.

is yet relatively low, making a brief treatment possible.

By far the most famous document from the area is the 34-line inscription discovered in Dhiban (ancient Dibon) in 1868. After the original discovery, the stela on which the text was inscribed was smashed by suspicious villagers (apparently thinking that a stone so eagerly sought after must contain riches), but a previous squeeze copy and the remaining fragments have permitted a fairly complete restoration of the text, today available in most collections (*KAI* 181; *TSSI* 1: 71-83; *ANET*, pp. 320-321; *ANEP*, no. 274). The text was prepared by Mesha, king of Moab, about 850 B.C. with the purpose of recounting the subjugation of Moab to Israel when Omri was king of Israel, followed by a revolt under the command of Mesha himself once Omri was dead.

The Mesha inscription is of interest from many perspectives beyond the politico-historical one, of which the religious and the linguistic may be singled out. As a religious document, it provides a glimpse into a conception of deity very similar to that of ancient Israel: Mesha's military successes were attributed to the intervention of Moab's principal deity Kemosh, much as Israel's successes were attributed to Yahweh. Linguistically, the language of Mesha was quite close to that of contemporary Israel. Anyone who can read biblical Hebrew can, with some minor adjustments, read Moabite. It is of interest, though of negative interest, that in the more than one hundred years that have intervened since the discovery of the Mesha inscription practically no additional Moabite texts have been found,<sup>14</sup> and, concurrently, no monumental royal inscriptions of Israelite or Judaeen kings have been discovered with which to compare the Moabite text.

Inscriptions in Ammonite, though still rare, have begun to

<sup>14</sup> The most important exception is a fragment of another monumental inscription similar in several respects to the well-known version: W. L. Reed and F. V. Winnett, "A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Kerak," *BASOR* 172 (1963): 1-9.

accumulate in recent years, with several literary types represented, primarily monumental inscriptions, economic texts written on ostraca, and seals. An Ammonite inscription is perceived principally by script (about 750 B.C. the Ammonite script began diverging from the parent Aramaic script,<sup>15</sup> and about 500 B.C. the local script was abandoned in favor of the standard Aramaic cursive<sup>16</sup>) and by find spot.<sup>17</sup> Though some recent inscriptions have provided points of comparison with languages used in neighboring countries, we do not yet have enough continuous text in what is certainly Ammonite to determine the parameters of the language.

The most important of the Ammonite monumental inscriptions is the so-called Amman Citadel inscription, edited by S. H. Horn ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* 193 [1969]: 2-13; for a recent interpretation with bibliography, see E. Puech and A. Rofé, "L'inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," *RB* 80 [1973]: 531-546). The text as preserved consists of only a fragment of the original, and it has yielded little of more than linguistic interest.

The Ammonite inscription which has to date yielded the most politico-historical information was written on a very unmonumental medium: a small bronze bottle, only 10 cm. in length. On the outside of this bottle, inscribed with a sharp instrument, is an eight-line text written by a certain Amminadab, king of the Ammonites, whose father (Hišsalel) and grandfather (another Amminadab) were both kings of the Ammonites (F. Zayadine and H. O. Thompson, "The Ammonite Inscription from Tell

<sup>15</sup> F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Sirān," *BASOR* 212 (1973): 12-15, esp. p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> F. M. Cross, "Ammonite Ostraca from Heshbon: Heshbon Ostraca IV-VIII," *AUSS* 13 (1975): 1-20.

<sup>17</sup> I.e., most Ammonite texts have been found within the area ascribed to the ancient Ammonites. This criterion is not decisive if the new texts from Tell Deir Alla are indeed Aramaic (the plural in *-n* in these texts would be sufficient to separate them from Ammonite, where the plural is in *-m*; cf. Hoftijzer in *Aramaic Texts from Deir Alla*, p. 290).

Siran," *Berytus* 22 [1973]: 115-140).<sup>18</sup> The text recounts briefly the works of Amminadab and ends with a blessing for his long life.

The Ammonite ostraca of an economic character are from Heshbon and were published by F. M. Cross ("An Ostrakon from Heshbon," *AUSS* 6 [1968]: 223-229; and "Ammonite Ostraca from Heshbon: Heshbon Ostraca IV-VIII," *AUSS* 13 [1975]: 1-20). By far the most important is Heshbon Ostrakon IV, an eleven-line text dated by Cross to about 600 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 17), which deals with various foodstuffs (wine, flour, cows, grain). Cross interprets the purpose of the text as to note tax receipts.

The Ammonite seals have been brought together by G. Garbini ("La lingua degli Ammoniti," *AION* 30 [1970]: 249-258) and P. Bordreuil ("Inscriptions sigillaires ouest-sémitiques: I. Epigraphie ammonite," *Syria* 50 [1973]: 181-195). The total number of seals in the latter listing was twenty-six. None of the Ammonite seals may be clearly identified with an historical personage known from other sources. The main interest of these documents, then, is for onomastics, epigraphy (the development of the indigenous Ammonite script), and religion (deities which form the theophorous element of some names).

The poorest of the groups being discussed here is the Edomite. The only homogenous group of texts is from Tell el-Kheleifeh (near Eilat). This site yielded texts in Minaean, Judaeen Hebrew, Edomite, Phoenician, and Aramaic (Nelson Glueck, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Hans Goedicke [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1971], pp. 225-242. Edomite inscriptions in both cursive and lapidary script were discovered. The most important of the former (no. 6043) is a ten-line list of personal names, some Edomite (most easily identified are those with the divine element *qws*, representing the main Edomite deity). Lapidary

<sup>18</sup> For a list of the known Ammonite kings with a proposed system of dates, see Cross, *BASOR* 212 (1973): 14-15; and for a slightly different version, see F. Zayadine, "Note sur l'inscription de la statue d'Amman J.1656," *Syria* 51 (1974): 129-136, esp. pp. 135-136.

script is found on a jar and on a seal whose imprint reads *lqws'nl 'bd hmlk*, "(Belonging) to Qaws'anal, servant of the king." This seal probably belonged to a high official of an Edomite king who controlled the area of Eilat some time after Judah lost control of it in about 730 B.C.

In an unpublished 1972 Harvard Ph.D. dissertation, L. T. Geraty has argued that at least five of the eight third-century B.C. ostraca found in 1971 at Khirbet el-Kôm (near Hebron) are Edomite. The most interesting of these texts, which appear to be the records of an Idumaeen moneylender, is a 9-line bilingual in Edomite and Greek (L. T. Geraty, "The Khirbet el-Kôm Bilingual Ostrakon," *BASOR* 220 [1975]: 55-61). Though brief, these inscriptions are important for palaeographic, linguistic, and onomastic reasons.

The assessment of the groups of texts just discussed is very similar to that for the epigraphic Hebrew texts: we must be happy that we have even the small amount that is extant. One important problem that plagues the study of these texts is that of identifying them: for the present the dialects are distinguished from Hebrew, Aramaic, and between themselves by extremely few isoglosses.<sup>19</sup> The identification by script is useful, but the Ammonite data indicate that Aramaic texts could be written in Ammonite script and vice versa. For the purposes of writing a history of the area, the presently available texts must of course be utilized, but the tremendous gaps they leave unfilled, both temporally and evidentially, make their final contribution marginal.

<sup>19</sup> The most important linguistic isoglosses are: Moabite has an infixed *-t-* base stem (*lthm* = Hebrew *'lhm* [Niphal]) and masc. pl. nouns in *-n*. Ammonite has a *h-* definite article (separating it from Aramaic) and *-ay* reduces to *-é* (*bn* = *bané*) while *-aw-* does not reduce (*ywmt* = "days"). Edomite shares at least two of these features (*hmlk*, *qws'nl*).





JEWELRY OF BIBLE TIMES  
AND THE CATALOG OF ISA 3:18-23  
PART I

ELIZABETH ELLEN PLATT  
Rutgers College, The State University  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

The passage in Isa 3:18-23 has long been enigmatic because in its catalog are included items that are very little known. Recent archaeological studies yield more precise information about probable jewelry pieces, but a major concern still remains with the vocabulary of the list. For some of the items this is the only place in the Bible where the Hebrew words are used. The RSV presents a commendable attempt in English, but some translations seem to have overlooked other contexts where the rare Hebrew words or their relatives are used and clues to the meanings are presented. Misrepresentations of these articles of jewelry and clothing can lead to unfortunate consequences in interpretation. It is important for understanding the prophetic message to see what hints the Bible gives as to who wears this apparel and for what purposes. For easy reference, the list below has the RSV translation for the numbered words in the first column, Hebrew transliterations in the second column, and the suggestions discussed here summarized in the third column.

1. *The Terms Commonly Understood*

Following the RSV translation, we will start by reviewing the meanings of those words that have a more or less accepted degree of definition, before attempting a few new suggestions based on archaeological study of jewelry. In the first place, the word *tip'eret*, in Biblical Hebrew is used primarily as a collective term to speak of the accouterments that indicate the honor of an exalted position of office, characteristically one which is designated by a crown. Judah/Jerusalem/Zion is a crown of glory,

Table 1. The Jewelry Catalog of Isa 3:18-23

RSV	Hebrew	Suggestions
Isa 3:		
vs. 18 In that day the Lord will take away the finery of	<i>tip'eret</i>	the insignia of office:
(1) the anklets,	<i>hā'akāsīm</i>	the ankle bangles,
(2) the headbands	<i>wehaššebisīm</i>	and the sun- or star-disks,
(3) and the crescents;	<i>wehaššaharōnim</i>	and the crescents,
vs. 19 (4) the pendants	<i>hannōtipōt</i>	the drop pendants,
(5) the bracelets,	<i>wehaššērot</i>	and the necklace cords,
(6) and the scarfs;	<i>wehār'ālōt</i>	and the beads,
vs. 20 (7) the headdresses,	<i>happ'e'irim</i>	the garland crowns,
(8) the armlets,	<i>wehaššō'ādōt</i>	and the armlets (or foot jewelry),
(9) the sashes,	<i>wehaqqiššurim</i>	and the sashes (or girdles),
(10) the perfume boxes,	<i>ūbātē hannepeš</i>	and the tubular "soul" cases
(11) and the amulets;	<i>wehallehāšim</i>	and the snake charms,
vs. 21 (12) the signet rings,	<i>hattabb'ōt</i>	the signet rings,
(13) and the nose rings;	<i>wenizmē hā'āp</i>	and the nose rings,
vs. 22 (14) the festal robes,	<i>hammahalāsōt</i>	the loin cloths,
(15) the mantles,	<i>wehamma'atāpōt</i>	and the enveloping capes,
(16) the cloaks,	<i>wehammitpāhōt</i>	and the mantles,
(17) and the handbags;	<i>wehāheri'im</i>	and the wallets,
vs. 23 (18) the garments of gauze	<i>wehagilyōnim</i>	and the thin garments,
(19) the linen garments,	<i>wehassēdīnim</i>	and the warriors' belts
(20) the turbans,	<i>wehaššēnipōt</i>	and the turbans,
(21) and the veils.	<i>wehāredīdim</i>	and the outer cloaks.

a royal city (Isa 28:1, 4; 52:1; Jer 13:20; cf. 13:18); the high priest's apparel is glorious (Exod 28:2, 40); the queen's jewelry designating her rank is beautiful (Ezek 16:17, 39); the king's crown (Prov 4:9; Jer 13:18; Esth 1:4) or scepter (Jer 48:17) is regally splendid; and God's signs of dominion are ultimately majestic (Isa 28:5; 1 Chr 29:11, 13; Isa 63:12, 14, 15). Certainly the English words of "beauty," "glory," and "finery" are associated here, but the basic biblical meaning has more to do with symbols

of high office which would, as a matter of course, be "beautiful" jewelry, metalwork and apparel designating exaltation and honor. Hence the term *tip'eret* here is an introductory collective noun with a colon implied, "insignia of office:", and what follows is a list of those insignia.

The first item in the list of accouterments of high office is, interestingly enough, something that has to do with the feet—perhaps in poetic contrast to the expected association of "glorious crown" for the head. We have just been told that women in Jerusalem, "the daughters of Zion," walk "tinkling with their feet," vs. 16. The verb "tinkling," translating 'ks, has the same root as *hā'kāsīm*; and even though these are the only two places in the Bible where the word is used, because of the graphic poetry of vs. 16 we can be fairly sure that foot ornaments are involved. More specifically, they are probably heavy round anklets or bangles worn in pairs, usually several at a time, as shown on Late Bronze fertility figurines and found on female leg bones in Iron Age burials.<sup>1</sup> Another feminine association is with the name of the daughter of Caleb (Josh 15:16, 17 and Judg 1:12, 13), Achsah, from the same root.

Of the next five items translated by the RSV as "the headbands and the crescents; the pendants, the bracelets, and the scarfs," only two, "crescents" and "pendants" are discussed with realistic certainty. "The crescents," *haššah'rōnīm*, relate to a root in several Semitic languages having to do with "moon," and in the plural refer to the insignia of office worn by the kings of Midian and their camels in Judg 8. In vs. 21 Gideon slays Kings Zebah and Zalmunna and takes "the crescents that were on the necks of their camels," and then, while refusing to become a king himself with a dynasty for Israel, Gideon asks the warriors to give him their jewelry spoil out of which he makes "an ephod."

<sup>1</sup> For a short summary of biblical-period jewelry, including basic descriptions and illustrations of bangles, see Elizabeth E. Platt, "Palestinian Iron Age Jewelry," *Newsletter of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 10 (June, 1974): 1-6.

The soldiers contribute not only earrings (*nezem*) but “the crescents and the pendants and the purple garments worn by the kings of Midian, and besides the collars that were about the necks of their camels” (Judg 8:26). Since the crescents of the camels were “on the necks,” it can be assumed that the crescents in vs. 26 were also worn on the necks of the kings. Archaeology provides two different kinds of metal crescents with some fine gold examples: a flat type with perforations in the tips for a neck thong or loops to affix it to a fabric; and a slender wire, shaped like the letter “C” with a central metal loop for suspension.

The “pendants,” *hann<sup>e</sup>tîpôt* (4), mentioned with the crescents in Judg 8:26, could also be neck jewelry worn in the same fashion as the crescent from a cord. The root of this kind of “pendant” is associated with the dropping or dripping of liquid (rain, honey, wine, myrrh), and archaeologically the nearest suggestion would be beads in turquoise, lapis, faience, glass, and other semiprecious stones. Pendants, beads of semiprecious stones, and other valuable jewelry are characteristically found with crescents in Palestinian excavations of the period. In the Isa 3 passage the item that follows “crescents” is exactly in keeping with the paired use in Judg 8:26 as royal insignia.

The Isaiah catalog continues with *haššêrôt* (5), translated by the RSV as “bracelets,” but which may happily be the necklace cords. The Hebrew lexicon BDB has the word used only in Isa 3:19 classified with *šôr* meaning “umbilical cord,” and of special note is the related *šarš<sup>e</sup>rôt*.<sup>2</sup> In Exod 28:14 the latter word designates “two chains of pure gold, twisted like cords” to attach to the high priest’s ephod, and hence there is a strong jewelry association.

We can now say that the three items, crescents, drop pendants, and necklace cords, are associated to some degree with insignia of

<sup>2</sup> Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 1057. Hereinafter cited as BDB.

office for the Hebrew high priest and the Midianite kings (Judg 8:26). The meaning of the following term, translated "scarfs" (6), is less apparent and is better included in the discussion later on. Vs. 20 lists five kinds of articles, one of which, "the perfume boxes," *ûbâtê hannepes̄* (10), has negligible associations within the Bible and so it too will be treated at another point. For the other four, Biblical Hebrew gives us some help.

The seventh term, *happ'ērîm* ("the headdresses"), is related to the introductory *tip'eret* and in the present form means some kind of special head ornament, probably to be thought of with reference to a crown. In Isa 61:3 the headdress is a sign of honor as a "garland" instead of mourning with ashes on the head, and in vs. 10, as the bride adorns herself with jewels, so the bridegroom wears this "garland" or crown. In Ezek 24:17 the prophet hears Yahweh command a similar reversal: instead of mourning (with ashes on his head) over the death of his wife, he is to bind on this "turban," probably like a bridegroom. In Ezek 44 in the vision of the restored temple, the Levitical priests wear these turbans as do "Aaron and his sons" in Exod 39:28. Archaeological jewelry evidence suggests that the object may be a "frontlet" made of a strip of metal foil with holes for ties to place it across the forehead and then knotted in the back. Several of these have flowers and rosettes in repoussé and places to attach ornaments. Iron Age tombs at Megiddo had some lovely examples.<sup>3</sup> Palestinian frontlets seem to be reminiscent of the more elaborate Egyptian fashion, and there must be a relationship between this kind of crown and the head garlands pictured so often in Egyptian art as worn by men and women. Imitations of the flower wreaths in precious metals and inlay could also be executed conceivably in a fabric or leather band. So, instead of the RSV "headdresses," more specifically the translation could be "garland crowns" or "frontlets."

<sup>3</sup> See P. L. O. Guy and Robert M. Engberg, *Megiddo Tombs*, OIP, vol. 32 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), Pl. 165 from T. 39.

*Haṣṣ'ādōt* (8), "the armlets," is another rare term, but it is usually defined by the contexts of two other instances in the Bible. In 2 Sam 1:10 an Amalekite warrior at the king's own request killed the already mortally wounded Saul. The soldier brought to David the old king's "crown which was on his head and the *armlet* which was on his arm." The *'eṣ'ādāh* would appear to be of the same linguistic root as the term in Isa 3:20, and specifically as an insignia of royal office was worn on the arm. In Num 31:50 the booty from the battle against Midian under Moses included articles of gold called *'eṣ'ādāh* which were coupled with *šāmīd*. The latter is the term for the bangles definitely worn as arm jewelry by Rebecca in Gen 24. These associations would favor "armlets" as the Isa 3 term, but the Hebrew here does differ in that no "prosthetic *aleph*" is present. Alternatively, a strong suggestion has been made to see the Isa 3 word related to *š'd*, "to step or march," and hence some kind of foot jewelry would be indicated.<sup>4</sup> As yet there is no convincing archaeological evidence for a "step-chain."

At this point in the list possibly a group of three related items exists: a garland crown for the *head* (7), *foot* ornaments (8), with (9) being worn in the *middle* of the body. From the Hebrew root "to bind," *haqqiṣṣurīm* (9) is usually translated "sashes," and in other passages it is something the bride binds on. English versions are confusing because they do not consistently hint at the same Hebrew original word. For Isa 49:18 the RSV has, "You shall put them on as an ornament, you shall *bind* them on as a bride does"; and for Jer 2:32, "Can a maiden forget her ornaments or a bride her *attire*?" It is difficult to know what this could be from archaeology; perhaps the beaded girdles from Egypt help,<sup>5</sup> but more likely an outer garment is meant, one particularly characteristic of the queenly wedding dress. We should note here that of the seven items discussed so far, only the first

<sup>4</sup> BDB, p. 857.

<sup>5</sup> Alex Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London: Methuen, 1971) p. 264, "girdles."

("ankle bangles") and this one are associated in the Bible exclusively with women; the others are mainly insignia of offices held by men.

The last item in this section (11) is usually given as "the amulets," and the word *hall<sup>h</sup>hāšīm* is surely related to a root meaning "charm" and possibly associated with snakes. Earlier in Isa 3 the list of men of high office has a *n<sup>h</sup>ōn lāhaš*, an "expert in charms" (vs. 3). In Neh 3:12 and 10:25 a man who is head of a restoration family has a patronymic of this word. The reptile association is given, e.g., in Jer 8:17, "For behold, I am sending among you serpents, adders which cannot be charmed." From Palestine, representations of snakes are found in metalwork and in terra cotta iconography; and the uraeus in Egypt is very familiar, especially in jewelry.

The signet rings, *hattabbā'ōt* (12), are examples par excellence of jewelry used as insignia of high office. In Gen 41:42 Joseph received one from the pharaoh, and in Esth 8:2 Mordecai accepted one from the Persian king. Esther in Israelite tradition perhaps cannot as a woman own a seal of this particular designation (although other women in the ancient Near East, especially in Egypt, possessed the seal ring). Hence the circumlocution to have Mordecai hold it, but Esther proclaimed powerful: "and the king took off his signet ring, which he had taken from Haman, and gave it to Mordecai. And Esther set Mordecai over the house of Haman" (Esth 8:2). The ring itself, a highly developed Egyptian fashion, characteristically had a scarab of semiprecious stone carved with a seal and set in a swivel mount. Side wires were wrapped around the ends of the gold base, and in some Palestinian examples knobs aided in the function of the stamp. A group of handsome signet rings is shown in Fig. 176 of the volume on the Megiddo Tombs.<sup>6</sup> The nose rings that are paired in Isa 3:21 with signet rings are definitely part of the queen-bride's jewelry as mentioned in passages such as Ezek 16:12.

<sup>6</sup> Guy and Engberg, p. 172.

The best archaeological evidence is the "mulberry earring" found in position as a nose ring in a burial at Megiddo.<sup>7</sup>

Of the eight remaining items in the catalog contained in vss. 22 and 23, all seem to be clothing with the exception of *hāh-rīṭīm* (17), "the handbags." The one owner of two of these items in the Bible is a man, a military officer: "Naaman, commander of the army of the king of Syria, was a great man with his master and in high favor" (2 Kgs 5:1). He gave Gehazi, the servant of the prophet Elisha, two talents of silver tied up in two of these "wallets" (2 Kgs 5:23). Another possible association is with the root *hrt* when it means "engraving tool," and especially with Egyptian associations of an engraver, writer, or scribe who was also a diviner-magician because of his literacy and learning (Gen 41:8; Exod, chaps. 7, 8; Dan 1:20; 2:2). Egyptologist William C. Hayes writes of the central appurtenance of this high royal officer—the scribal bag, important enough to be included in burial equipment.<sup>8</sup>

Since the remaining items in the catalog cannot as yet be identified as jewelry objects, we will pass over them more hastily. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note which of them have associations elsewhere in the Bible with high office of men and women. Two are mentioned with reference to the high priest's garb: the characteristic wrapped "turbans," and the "festal robes." What the RSV designates as "the turbans" (20), *haṣṣ-nîpôt*, is from the verb "to wrap," and the noun forms refer most often to the requisite headgear of the high priest (Exod 28 [several times]; 29:6; 39:28, 31; Lev 8:9; 16:4; Zech 3:5). Two typical instances are: "you shall make a turban of fine linen" (Exod 28:39); "and he set the turban upon his head" (Lev 8:9). When the prophet Zechariah saw the vision of Joshua the high priest, the opening issue concerned his garments. The priest was

<sup>7</sup> Gordon Loud, *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935-1939*, OIP, vol. 62 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), Pl. 225:9, T. 2121.

<sup>8</sup> William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959): 219.



standing before the angel in filthy clothes, and as the sign that his iniquity was taken away he was dressed in the proper vestments which were clean: "Let them put a clean turban on his head" (Zech 3:5).

Just before that command it is stated that the angel said, "I will clothe you in *rich apparel*" (Zech 3:4). The Hebrew term for those two English words is the same plural form as for "the festal robes" *hammah<sup>a</sup>lāšōt* (14) in Isa 3:22. These are the only two times the term is used in the Bible. The BDB lexicon relates the noun to the much more common verb *h<sup>l</sup>š*, "to draw off or out," with the implication that the robes get their name from being "taken off in ordinary life."<sup>9</sup> Another possibility would be to relate the garments to the second meaning of *h<sup>l</sup>š*, "to equip for war." Here the idea would be from the uniform worn by a warrior, especially as he "girds his loins for battle," because another related noun *hālāš* does mean "loins as seat of strength."<sup>10</sup> For item (14) in the list, "festal robes" of the priests or the warriors' "loin cloths" are the possibilities at present.

The term just before "turbans" (20) is *hass<sup>e</sup>dīnīm* (19), rendered in the RSV as "the linen garments"; and here, too, a military association can be made. In Prov 31:24 the woman of valor, or more accurately, the estate manager, makes *s<sup>e</sup>dīnīm* to sell; and in the following line that forms a poetic parallel, she delivers *h<sup>a</sup>gôr* to the merchant. To understand better what the *s<sup>e</sup>dīnīm* are, we might do well to follow the practice of examining the poetic parallel which could be synonymous. The "girdle" or *h<sup>a</sup>gôr* is described vividly in 2 Sam 20:8 (RSV):

Now Joab was wearing [*hāgūr*] a soldier's garment, and over it was a girdle [*h<sup>a</sup>gôr*] with a sword in its sheath fastened upon his loins. . . .

In Judg 14:12, 13, *s<sup>e</sup>dīnīm* are some of the special garments the warrior Samson wagers for the one who solves the riddle. In all these cases the implication strongly exists that garments are

<sup>9</sup> BDB, p. 322.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 323.

meant, with no special claim that they were worn by women. The preferred association in our study is with "warriors' belts."

Two other terms in vss. 22 and 23 are definitely associated with women in the Bible, (16) and (21). No. (21) *hār<sup>e</sup>dīdīm*, "the veils," is used in the singular in Cant 5:7 as the article the watchmen took from the bride-queen found searching after curfew for her lover. The RSV has "mantle" in the Canticles passage; very likely it was some sort of outer cloak. Strangely the word in the Hebrew lexicon is related to the root meaning "beat out," as in the gold foil on the temple cherubim (1 Kgs 6:32). With this association it could perhaps be a cloth with metallic threads. No. (16) *hammitpāhōt*, "the cloaks," is used in the singular in Ruth 3:15. The RSV has Ruth holding out her "mantle" so that Boaz could give her six measures of barley in it. Since the verbal root has the notion of "to extend, spread," the logical meaning is that this is also a kind of outer enveloping cape that women wore.

To summarize, thus far we have discussed sixteen of the more identifiable terms of the twenty-one given in the catalog of Isa 3:18-23. Fifteen of these have associations as insignia of honorable office. Ruth's mantle can be considered ordinary, and archaeological evidence for metal ankle bangles indicates common use. Twelve of the Isaiah articles have connections with important men of office; four are items relating to women of high rank. Before continuing with suggestions for the meaning of the remaining five more obscure words, we must comment on the information now at hand.

## *2. The Usual Interpretation of the Catalog as Women's Wear*

The entire Isa 3 catalog is usually interpreted as a detailed specification of women's wear with negative connotations of characteristic superficiality and heedless extravagance. One reason for this interpretation is that the list is placed between 3:16-17 and 3:24-4:1, which speak of the retaliation due to the daughters

of Zion for being "haughty," walking "with outstretched necks," "glancing wantonly," and prancing with affectation (vss. 16-17). Consequently their finery will be taken away (vss. 18-23, our catalog), and "instead of perfume there will be rotteness, . . . instead of well-set hair, baldness," etc. (vs. 24). In vs. 26 Jerusalem is personified as a mourning woman and the section closes with the desperate picture of a war-torn society where the soldiers have died and "seven women" must plead with "one man" to be part of his family for even the most minimal semblance of social order.

The interpretation would be supported by the deprecation theme in passages such as Amos 4:1-3, where the "cows of Bashan," the aristocratic women of the capital city of Samaria, will be taken away as captives because of their oppression of the poor and the needy, and the treatment of their own husbands as servants. The Amos passage has comparable emphasis on the aristocratic theme of the Isaiah section, as well as the reversal of social order, but there is no element of jewelry or dress. Ezek 16, as discussed elsewhere,<sup>11</sup> does use jewelry and apparel to illustrate the reversal of the queen-bride who will be stripped because of her harlotry. The punishment of having the "nakedness uncovered" is similar to the Isaiah phrase (in 3:17), "the Lord will lay bare their secret parts." The verb *rh*, "to be naked, bare," is clear, and it is related to Ezekiel's *erwah*, "genital area"; but the noun for "secret parts" in Isaiah is problematical.

### 3. *An Alternative Interpretation Based on the Context of Isa 3*

Another interpretation of the significance of the Isaiah catalog could be based on identifying the terms and the setting of the larger context of the whole passage which is now chap. 3 in our Bibles. Scholars have long recognized that there is a collection

<sup>11</sup> See Elizabeth E. Platt, "Triangular Jewelry Plaques," *BASOR*, No. 221 (February, 1976): 103-112.

of several oracles in this section, and that the catalog may be a unit in itself because of its divergence from the poetic structures immediately above and below it.<sup>12</sup> The general theme of the *chapter* is the denunciation of those who hold aristocratic office in the royal city of Jerusalem and the disruption of societal roles which will come as punishment. Isa 3:1 states:

For, behold, the Lord, the LORD of hosts, is taking away from Jerusalem and from Judah stay and staff. . . .

There follows a list of the officers in vss. 2-4, such as the warrior, judge, prophet, diviner, elder, military commander, cabinet secretary. In the capitulation ahead, however, these very prominent people will be subjects—boys will be princes and children will be oppressors (vs. 4). The reason why “the Lord enters into judgment with the elders and princes of his people” is because “the spoil of the poor is in your houses” and the leaders are guilty of “grinding the face of the poor” (vss. 13-15). Up to this point the implication of the passage with its group of oracles is that the society’s leaders are men.

However, in vs. 16 the women aristocrats are denounced for their haughty ways. In the Amos 4 oracle they too, by implication, “oppress the poor” and “crush the needy” (Amos 4:1). But in Isaiah they are also guilty of seduction of the kind Ezekiel dramatizes so strikingly. They are dressed in elaborate jewelry and clothing for the dishonorable purpose of “glancing wantonly with their eyes.” The oracle appears to conclude with the proclamation that they will be punished by repulsive bodily disease and subsequent stripping to reveal it.

Next comes the catalog in a literary unit which could stand by itself. The following section draws contrast that “instead of perfume there will be rotteness” and “instead of a girdle, a rope.” These, we are about to learn, are not items belonging exclusively to women at all. The word for “perfume,” *bōšem*, is

<sup>12</sup> George Buchanan Gray, *ICC, The Book of Isaiah 1-39* (New York: Scribner’s, 1912) 1:70-72.

better translated "spice" or "balsam," and was a major ingredient in the anointing oil or holy chrism by which Moses was to consecrate the Aaronic priesthood (Exod 30:23). It was one of the tribute items given by the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon (1 Kgs 10:10); and King Hezekiah kept it in his treasury of royal wealth (2 Kgs 20:13). The "girdle" *h<sup>a</sup>gôrāh*, as related to *h<sup>a</sup>gôr* discussed above, is reminiscent of the warrior's belt or distinctive uniform. The next line has very rare words for "well-set hair" and "rich robe," but conceivably they could refer to the elaborate tonsures of aristocratic men for whom "baldness" is more of a genetic reality. Vs. 25 specifically mentions the fall of the men warriors, and there follows a comparable metaphor of Jerusalem women mourning and desperate, but who evidently can provide for themselves food and clothing. Again, the section Isa 3:24-4:1 has the patterned alternation of references to men and women.

The obvious conclusion here is that Isa 3 gives a collection of oracles that denounce *both* the men and women *aristocrats*. The choice of the symbols of office in jewelry, garments and cosmetics reflects the societal positions of both men and women. More items belonging to men are mentioned because Jerusalem was a predominantly "patriarchal" society in political structure. The injustices of the society are being condemned by denouncing the symbols of those officers who have transgressed their authority and taken advantage of the poor by virtue of power positions. The catalog in vss. 18-23 especially reflects this with its predominance of identifiable articles from other biblical contexts.

It could very well be, of course, that the six of the twenty-one words we have not thus far discussed (and which will be treated in a subsequent installment of this article), belonged specifically to women. And in light of the rest of the chapter, women aristocrats are indeed being denounced. It is also perfectly possible that women had versions of the garb the Bible ascribes to men, that those items were called by the same names, and

that therefore originally the catalog was meant to emphasize women's belongings. Nevertheless, the present evidence is not convincing that these items were exclusively the property of women at one historical period. The tradition that preserved the catalog probably did not do so as a record of women's fickle fashions of the period; that tradition would have had more motivation to remember the articles in the catalog if they represented symbols important in other biblical contexts.

The juxtaposition of men's and women's articles would be particularly appropriate in the context of the Isa 3 oracle collection where first men of office have been denounced, then aristocratic women, and ultimately both in conclusion. The poetic structure of the catalog is difficult for literary experts to discern, but it should be noted that the arrangement and alternation of masculine and feminine plural noun forms in Hebrew may even witness to the juxtaposition of the oracle subject of men and women. There are eleven masculine plural nouns and ten feminine plural ones set in identifiable patterns. Our evidence indicates that this catalog of insignia of high office was specifically constructed in literary effect to confirm the denunciation of both aristocratic men and women.

*(To be continued)*

FROM SABBATH TO SUNDAY IN THE  
EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH:  
A REVIEW OF SOME RECENT LITERATURE  
PART II: SAMUELE BACCHIOCCHI'S RECONSTRUCTION

KENNETH A. STRAND  
Andrews University

The first part of this review article treated Willy Rordorf's *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church*.<sup>1</sup> We must now turn our attention to Samuele Bacchiocchi's *From Sabbath to Sunday: A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity* (Rome: The Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1977), the most recent and comprehensive of several publications by Bacchiocchi on the subject.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Overview of Bacchiocchi's Reconstruction*

Bacchiocchi's work is basically a rebuttal of the positions of such other scholars as Rordorf and C. S. Mosna.<sup>3</sup> In his Introduction he describes this study as largely representing "an abridgment of a doctoral dissertation presented in Italian to the Department of Ecclesiastical History at the Pontifical Gregorian University, in Rome," with the material "substantially condensed

<sup>1</sup> *AUSS* 16 (1978): 333-342. In addition to the present discussion, several important matters treated by Bacchiocchi are called to attention there (see, e.g., nn. 3, 6, 10, 11, on pp. 337, 338, 340, 341).

<sup>2</sup> Most notable among his other publications is his *An Examination of the Biblical and Patristic Texts of the First Four Centuries to Ascertain the Time and the Causes of the Origin of Sunday as the Lord's Day* (also under title of *Anti-Judaism and the Origin of Sunday*) (Rome: The Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1975). For a very brief synopsis of his position, see "Rome and the Origin of Sunday Observance," *The Ministry*, Jan. 1977, pp. 16-19.

<sup>3</sup> C. S. Mosna's dissertation is *Storia della domenica dalle origini fino agli inizi del V Secolo*, *Analecta Gregoriana* 170 (Rome: The Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1967).

and rearranged" (p. 15). He indicates that the study has "two well definable objectives":

First, it proposes to examine the thesis espoused by numerous scholars who attribute to the Apostles, or even to Christ, the initiative and responsibility for the abandonment of Sabbath-keeping and the institution of Sunday worship. . . .

Secondly, this book designs to evaluate to what extent certain factors such as anti-Judaic feelings, repressive Roman measures taken against the Jews, Sun-worship with its related "day of the Sun," and certain Christian theological motivations, influenced the abandonment of the Sabbath and the adoption by the majority of Christians of Sunday as the Lord's day (p. 13).

He indicates, furthermore, that his study "is an attempt to reconstruct a mosaic of factors in a search for a more exact picture of the time and causes that contributed to the adoption of Sunday as the day of worship and rest" and that his "concern is limited to the problem of origins" (pp. 13-14). His chapters 2-9 cover the basic aspects of his subject: "Christ and the Lord's Day" (pp. 17-73), "The Resurrection-Appearances and the Origin of Sunday Observance" (pp. 74-89), "Three New Testament Texts [1 Cor 16:1-3; Acts 20:7-12; Rev 1:10] and the Origin of Sunday" (pp. 90-131), "Jerusalem and the Origin of Sunday" (pp. 132-164), "Rome and the Origin of Sunday" (pp. 165-212), "Anti-Judaism in the Fathers and the Origin of Sunday" (pp. 213-235), "Sun-Worship and the Origin of Sunday" (pp. 236-269), and "The Theology of Sunday" (pp. 270-302).

Bacchiocchi, like Rordorf, comprehensively surveys both the primary and secondary sources dealing with the subject, but the scope of Bacchiocchi's study is more limited than Rordorf's in that he traces the question of "Sabbath to Sunday" only until the early second century—the time when he finds the change of days occurring. The place where this change originated and from which it spread was Rome, not Jerusalem; the specific time was Hadrian's reign (A.D. 117-138); the motivation was anti-Jewish sentiment on the part of Roman Christians and their desire to be differentiated from the Jews, whose main religious celebrations (including the Sabbath) had been prohibited by Hadrian;



and the source from which the Christian Sunday was derived was the pagan (Mithraic) Sunday, borrowed with Christian adaptation and supported by theological argumentation regarding "Christ-the-Sun," eschatological concepts ("eighth day"), etc.

As was mentioned in Part I, Bacchiocchi is more careful than Rordorf to note the historical circumstances when analyzing the NT evidence. By careful examination of Christ's Sabbath healings in their *context*, e.g., Bacchiocchi proposes quite convincingly that Christ did not annul the Sabbath but rather simply endeavored to grant that day its "original dimension" as a "day to honor God by showing concern and compassion to fellow beings," something that "had largely been forgotten in the time of Jesus" (p. 34). In essence, then, Christ indicated what was *lawful* to do on the Sabbath.

Bacchiocchi's treatment of Sabbath and Sunday passages in the book of Acts and in the epistles generally also goes more to the crux of each situation than does the work of Rordorf. One may, however, wish to take issue with Bacchiocchi's treatment of Rev 1:10, where he revives the idea of the *kyriakē hēmera* as referring to the eschatological "day of the Lord." Especially puzzling is his use of Louis T. Talbot's reference to John's hearing "*behind* me a great voice . . . and *being turned*" as an indication that the seer first "looked forward into 'the Day of the Lord,' then he turned back, as it were, and saw this church age in panorama, before looking forward again into the future at things which will surely come to pass" (p. 124).

Bacchiocchi's treatment of the Jerusalem church during the apostolic era establishes clearly its Jewish orientation. Among the evidences which Bacchiocchi presents are the influx of Jewish converts, the significance of the choice and exaltation of James, the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15, and the events recorded in Acts 21 regarding Paul's last visit to Jerusalem (pp. 142-150). Actually, this Jewish orientation did not disappear until Hadrian's expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem following the Bar Cocheba

Revolt of A.D. 132-135. At that time, bishops from among the Gentile Christians replaced the "bishops of the circumcision" as the leaders of the Jerusalem Christian community (pp. 153, 159-163).

Up until this time, Bacchiocchi feels, Sunday would not have replaced the Sabbath in Jerusalem. And after A.D. 135 the city "lost its political and religious prestige for both Jews and Christians," making it vain "to probe further into the origin of Sunday observance among the small new Gentile Church in the city" (p. 163).

But how and where, then, did the rise of Sunday as a replacement for the Sabbath occur? Bacchiocchi believes that the Christian Sunday must have originated and been promoted by a church strong enough to cause its rapid spread throughout the Christian world, and the only power sufficiently strong and with widely enough recognized authority to succeed in such a matter was the Roman church and her bishop (pp. 165, 207). And indeed, Rome does furnish the first clear anti-Sabbath polemics and the earliest description of Christian weekly Sunday worship services—both in the writings of Justin Martyr, ca. A.D. 150.<sup>4</sup> The evidence indicates too that it was in Rome that the regular Sabbath fast originated, a practice negative to the Sabbath (pp. 186-197).<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the psychological climate in Rome was especially conducive for the change, in view of Roman anti-Jewish sentiments, which Bacchiocchi documents from the productions of Roman writers (pp. 169-176). He also points out the similar sentiments in Christian literature of the time; and he indicates, as well, that the Roman Christians must have had a strong desire to differentiate themselves from Judaism because of Hadrian's hostility to the Jews and Jewish practices, including Sabbath observance (pp. 177-185).

<sup>4</sup>For anti-Sabbath polemics, see *Dialogue with Trypho* (e.g., chaps. 9, 12, 18, 19, 23); and for description of Sunday worship services, see *I Apology*, chap. 67.

<sup>5</sup>Bacchiocchi treats the matter at some length on the pages indicated. Also see Kenneth A. Strand, "Some Notes on the Sabbath Fast in Early Christianity," *AUSS* 3 (1965): 167-174.

Bacchiocchi's case for Rome's early adoption of a weekly Sunday observance and anti-Sabbath attitude connected with anti-Jewish feelings is a strong one. But why, he asks, did the Roman Christians choose *Sunday* as the substitute rather than some other day of the week (p. 235)? The answer, put succinctly, is that Sunday was a ready-made day of honor or worship already at hand among pagans, that by observance of this day Christians could expect to ingratiate themselves with the Roman authorities, and that adoption of Sunday found a justification or rationale in Jewish and/or Christian theological symbology (see chaps. 8 and 9, pp. 236-302).

In positing such a basis for the choice of Sunday, Bacchiocchi recognizes that three elements must have existed in Rome: (1) the planetary week, (2) sun cults, and (3) Sunday as a day honored within this planetary week among sun cultists. That sun cults were widespread in antiquity is well known, but hitherto the existence of the planetary week has been a problem in that its presence in the western part of the Roman empire has seemed to be too late for a pagan Sunday observance that could have been adopted by the early Christians. In this respect, Bacchiocchi has performed a genuine service in marshaling evidence that the planetary week was indeed known in Italy as early as the reigns of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14) and Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) (see pp. 242-244).

However, the question of special honor to the "day of the Sun" at so early a time is another matter. Mithraism was one cult that did show honor to Sunday, and Bacchiocchi finds that Mithraism reached Rome before the end of the first century A.D. Thus, the Christians did have a source from which to adopt Sunday in Rome by the early second century.

But just how likely a source for adoption of Sunday would Mithraism have provided to second-century Christians? Even during that century Mithraism was a *rival* oriental religion (later to become Christianity's most dangerous rival and foe). Also, its

spread in the Roman world was mainly by military legions; indeed, it was a soldier's religion, with appeal to men more than to women. On the basis of what we know regarding the attitude and composition of earliest Christianity, just how likely a source would this particular pagan religion have been for the borrowing of Sunday by Christians in the early second century?<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Bacchiocchi's reconstruction in this regard fails to grapple with other serious questions, such as, Why would Christians who were ready to give up life itself rather than to adopt known pagan practices (e.g., Justin Martyr, who did precisely this<sup>7</sup>) choose an obviously pagan Sunday as their Christian day of worship? And how could Christianity so widely—in East as well as West—in a relatively short time have been duped into accepting a purely pagan practice?

In later centuries—especially in the “state-church era” after Constantine, when half-converted pagans flocked into the Christian church—, the Sunday observance of such folk undoubtedly

<sup>6</sup> The basic work on Mithraism has been done by Franz Cumont; see, e.g., his *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Chicago: Open Court Publ. Co., 1910). Cf. also Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, reprint ed. (New York: Meridian, 1956), pp. 585-626. Earliest Christianity, it must be remembered, was not favorable towards service in either military or political capacity; and its converts appear to have numbered more women than men. In view of this, would it not be somewhat far-fetched to look to a pagan religion fostered mainly by soldiers in the Roman legions as the source for the Christian day of worship?

It may be added that Bacchiocchi does not explicitly declare Mithraism to have been the source for the Christian Sunday, but his line of argumentation points strongly in that direction. On pp. 249-250, the *only* sun cult to which he calls attention as having some sort of Sunday honor (not just sun worship, which existed in many places long before the Christian era) is Mithraism; and indeed, he specifically notes several evidences from Mithraism. Moreover, even with respect to his reference on pp. 248-249 to Tertullian's *Ad nationes* 1.13 (where Mithraism is not mentioned), if he had quoted instead from Tertullian's parallel statement in *Apol.* 16 (where the term “Persians” occurs) he would have provided one further allusion to Mithraism.

<sup>7</sup> The interrogation of Justin and his companions by the prefect Rusticus is described in a document appearing in ANF 1:305-306. Cf. the remarks on Justin by C. Mervyn Maxwell, “They Loved Jesus,” *The Ministry*, Jan. 1977, p. 9.

made an impact on Christianity.<sup>8</sup> But was not the situation in the second century quite different? And in his search for as wide an array of circumstances as possible to explain the change from Sabbath to Sunday (p. 13), has Bacchiocchi perhaps missed some important factor or factors? (More will be said regarding this in the next section.)

## 2. *Bacchiocchi's Treatment of Easter*

Unfortunately, after building a strong case regarding the time and place of origin of weekly Christian Sunday observance, Bacchiocchi introduces what is perhaps the most serious weakness in his entire presentation: his reconstruction of the origin of Easter Sunday (pp. 198-207). Apparently he feels that he will strengthen his position regarding the weekly Sunday if he can show that the Easter Sunday arose in the same place, at the same time, and because of the same motivations, as the weekly Sunday.<sup>9</sup>

His main document to support his theory regarding the Easter Sunday is a letter of Bishop Irenaeus of Gaul to Bishop Victor of Rome written ca. A.D. 190 to 195, and quoted by Eusebius.<sup>10</sup> In a dispute between Victor, who observed the Sunday Easter, and the Quartodeciman Christians (observers of the 14th of Nisan) in the Roman province of Asia in western Asia Minor, Irenaeus, who like Victor was an observer of the Sunday Easter, counseled Victor toward peace with the Asian Christians. The pertinent section of Irenaeus' letter tells of peaceful relations between a

<sup>8</sup> This is not to deny any influence whatever of the pagan Sunday on Christianity before the time of Constantine, but the changed situation which began with Constantine is well recognized. It may be added that other forms of pagan Sunday honor (besides the Mithraic) may have emerged by Constantine's time, as well (at least, other sun cults, such as that of Elagabal, had gained prominence in the West between the early second century and early fourth century).

<sup>9</sup> See also Bacchiocchi's more explicit statements in *An Examination of the Biblical and Patristic Texts*, p. 82, and "Rome and the Origin of Sunday Observance," pp. 16-17.

<sup>10</sup> Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 24.11-17, in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 243-244. The letter is also included among the "Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus" in ANF 1:568-569.

number of Victor's predecessors and Quartodecimans. It reads in part as follows:

Among these were the presbyters before Soter, who presided over the church which thou now rulest. We mean Anicetus, and Pius, and Hyginus, and Telesphorus, and Xystus [Sixtus]. They neither observed it [Nisan 14] themselves, nor did they permit those after them to do so. And yet though not observing it, they were nonetheless at peace with those who came to them from the parishes in which it was observed; although this observance was more opposed to those who did not observe it. But none were ever cast out on account of this form; but the presbyters before thee who did not observe it, sent the eucharist to those of other parishes who observed it. And when the blessed Polycarp was at Rome in the time of Anicetus, and they disagreed a little about certain other things, they immediately made peace with one another, not caring to quarrel over this matter. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe what he had always observed with John the disciples of our Lord, and the other apostles with whom he had associated; neither could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, as he said that he ought to follow the custom of the presbyters that had preceded him. But though matters were in this shape, they communed together, and Anicetus conceded the administration of the eucharist in the church to Polycarp, manifestly as a mark of respect. And they parted from each other in peace, both those who observed, and those who did not, maintaining the peace of the whole church.<sup>11</sup>

Bacchiocchi concludes that because Sixtus (ca. A.D. 115-125) was the earliest bishop mentioned, he was also the first "non-observant" of the Quartodeciman practice (see p. 200 and p. 202, n. 103), though the text says nothing of the sort. Illustration of peaceful relationship, not the origin of practices, is what is in view; and the two bishops at each end of the sequence were particularly noted for their cordiality to Quartodecimans: Anicetus had Polycarp administer the sacrament in Rome, and Sixtus seems to have been especially well known for his practice of sending the *fermentum* to the Asian Christians in that city.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 24.14-17, in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 243-244. The details of the controversy are given by Eusebius in v. 23-25, in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 241-244.

<sup>12</sup> B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry* (London: Macmillan, 1929), p. 226, sug-

(If origins were really a matter of concern in the letter—which they are not—, the mention of Sixtus might signify that Asians first brought Quartodecimanism to Rome during his time; for in any event, the text *does refer* to those who came to Rome from the parishes observing the 14th of Nisan.)

Bacchiocchi recognizes the hazard of depending heavily on this letter of Irenaeus for proof that the Easter Sunday originated with Sixtus, but he believes the fact that Sixtus and Hadrian were contemporaries adds support: The same anti-Jewish motivation would, he feels, be operative in substituting the Sunday Easter for Quartodecimanism as was present in the change from Sabbath to Sunday (p. 200).

But it is precisely here that Bacchiocchi's theory falls completely apart. Anti-Jewish sentiments are clear in the earliest second-century references to the weekly Sabbath and Sunday, but the opposite is the case regarding Quartodecimanism and the Easter Sunday. Only considerably later does anti-Jewish sentiment enter the picture with regard to Quartodecimanism. Indeed, the very point in Irenaeus' letter to Victor is that the Roman bishops from Sixtus to Anicetus had *cordial relationships with the Quartodecimans*.<sup>13</sup>

Another problem for Bacchiocchi's thesis is the widespread distribution of the Easter Sunday—in East as well as West—by the time of Victor. Could a purely Roman innovation from the early second century so quickly have supplanted Quartodecimanism throughout most of the Christian world—especially when Victor at the end of the century was unable to accomplish such a change in even the relatively small geographical area of Roman Asia?

gests that the practice of taking the *fermentum* to the Asian Christians in Rome *originated* with Sixtus, strengthening the bishop's position with the groups of Christians in Rome.

<sup>13</sup> Since Soter, Anicetus' successor, is excluded, it could be that the schismatic activities of Blastus during Soter's episcopate were the source of the changing attitude of Roman bishops toward Quartodecimanism. Cf. C. J. Hefele, *A History of the Christian Councils*, 2d ed., 1 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1883): 313.

In support of his position Bacchiocchi attributes willful exaggeration to Eusebius in the account given by that early church historian regarding the widespread existence of Sunday Easter at the time of Victor (pp. 198-199, n. 97). But in this connection it must be remembered that Eusebius had in hand letters from the very time and places which he mentions. It is hard to argue with contemporary documentary evidence from councils and bishops in Gaul, Corinth, Pontus, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, Jerusalem, and even Osrhoëne in Mesopotamia that declared the Sunday Easter to be their practice.<sup>14</sup>

And Bacchiocchi's reference to sources that apparently contradict Eusebius (see p. 199, n. 97) is meaningless too, for these sources are basically irrelevant to the issue; they tend either to deal with Asia or Asian Christians or to pertain to a later time period. For instance, the *Epistola Apostolorum* and the fragment from Apollinarius of Hierapolis are of Asian provenance; Hippolytus of Rome refers to a place where an Asian community was known to exist; and such sources as Athanasius of Alexandria and Epiphanius of Salamis deal with a time which is a century or more later, when Quartodecimanism may have spread or reappeared. In fact, in one of his quotations from Epiphanius, Bacchiocchi makes it appear that this is precisely what did happen—that Quartodecimanism “rose up again” (*ibid.*).

Moreover, the *opinions* of modern scholars and the fact that some of them use the term “Roman-Easter” (p. 201) do not help us with the question of the origin of Easter Sunday. Neither does testimony from Constantine's time regarding Rome's role at that *later period* (pp. 202-203). That the Roman bishop was prominent in promoting the Sunday Easter is not in question either; Victor certainly endeavored to promote it, and so did later Roman bishops. But all of this has nothing to do with the *origin* of the practice, and in this regard several things must be kept in mind:

<sup>14</sup> Eusebius, v. 23:2-3 and v. 25. The latter reference mentions Alexandria too as observing the Sunday Easter, as disclosed by correspondence referred to in the letter of the Palestinian bishops.



(1) Irenaeus does *not* give evidence that the Sunday Easter was first instituted by Sixtus; (2) the wide distribution of the practice by the time of Victor makes the theory suspect; and (3) the anti-Jewish sentiments obvious from the outset regarding the Sabbath/Sunday issue do not appear in the Easter/Quartodeciman question until later.

In spite of Bacchiocchi's argumentation against an early Easter Sunday, it should be noted that allowing the possibility of a chronological priority of the Easter Sunday over the weekly Christian Sunday would help his main thesis by affording "the greatest number of possible contributory factors—theological, social, political and pagan—which may have played a minor or greater role in inducing the adoption of Sunday as a day of worship" (p. 13). Could it be, as some scholars contend, that both the Easter Sunday observance and Quartodecimanism stemmed from Jewish antecedents?<sup>15</sup> Such would explain (1) the widespread distribution of the annual Sunday celebration as early as the time of Victor and (2) the lack of anti-Jewish sentiments toward the Quartodeciman practice in the early second century. And it could also well be that this prior annual Sunday provided a base from which the weekly observance of Sunday developed.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. *Bacchiocchi on the Primacy of the Church of Rome*

Immediately following his discussion of "Rome and the Easter-Controversy" (pp. 198-207), Bacchiocchi devotes attention to a question that arises as a corollary, namely "The Primacy of the Church of Rome" (pp. 207-211). He states specifically:

In the course of our investigation various indications have emerged which point to the Church of Rome as the one pri-

<sup>15</sup> See esp. J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars*, 2d rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1961), pp. 19-20, 23, 25-26, 29.

<sup>16</sup> Two possibilities as to how this may have occurred are afforded by van Goudoever, p. 167, and by Philip Carrington, *The Primitive Christian Calendar* (Cambridge, Engl.: University Press, 1952), p. 38. For an excellent discussion of Easter in relationship to the weekly Sunday, see Lawrence T. Geraty, "The Pascha and the Origin of Sunday Observance," *AUSS* 3 (1965): 85-96.

marily responsible for liturgical innovations such as Easter-Sunday, weekly Sunday and Sabbath fasting. But the question could be raised, did the Church of Rome in the second century already exert sufficient authority through her Bishop to influence the greater part of Christendom to accept new festivities? (p. 207).

It will be pertinent to take an overview of Bacchiocchi's line of argumentation before proceeding to the implications for his main thesis. (In this summary, only sources relating to the second century or earlier will be noted; for although Bacchiocchi includes post-second-century sources, the matter under consideration is the authority of the bishop of Rome during the second century, not later.)

1. *Arguments from Correspondence.* Bacchiocchi calls attention to the letter of Clement of Rome, ca. A.D. 95, to the church in Corinth, suggesting that it has "in some cases a threatening tone" and expects obedience (pp. 207-208); but he fails to note that it is written anonymously and does not so much as mention a bishop of Rome. He calls attention to the fact that Ignatius of Antioch in writing to the Roman church between ca. A.D. 110 and 117 praises this church and makes only "respectful requests" whereas Ignatius' epistles to other churches "admonishes and warns the members" (p. 208), but misses the import of the context as well as the fact that the other epistles are not devoid of praise.<sup>17</sup> Ignatius was en route to Rome, where he was to be martyred, and he wrote ahead, making requests. His other correspondence consisted of five letters to Asian churches and one letter to Polycarp—all six addressed to a region through which he traveled and in which he saw church members endangered by the prevalence of heresies. More important here is another point which Bacchiocchi has missed: The Roman letter does *not so much as greet or even mention a bishop of Rome*—a striking contrast to the repeated references to bishops in Ignatius' other letters (and a curious fact indeed if the Roman bishop had the importance Bacchiocchi claims for him)! Regarding the Quartodeciman controversy, Bacchiocchi quotes P. Battifol approvingly that it "is Rome alone that Ephesus answers and resists" (p. 210); but the question must be asked, Who else was there to answer and resist? The others defended the right of Ephesus to maintain its practice.<sup>18</sup> Bacchi-

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., Ign. *Eph.*, chaps. 1, 2, 8, 9, for examples of praise.

<sup>18</sup> Irenaeus was but one among the bishops who, though holding the same practice as Victor, disagreed with Victor's attitude toward the Asian Christians. Indeed, Victor's excommunication of these Christians did not represent the church universal, for Eusebius explicitly states (v. 24.10, in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 243) that Victor's action "did not please all the bishops," and that words "of theirs are extant, sharply rebuking Victor."

occhi also calls attention, e.g., to Irenaeus' letter to Victor (p. 209), quoted in part above. This letter, giving Victor a sharp rebuke, hardly bespeaks a subordinate's manner of addressing a superior. Moreover, Irenaeus wrote other letters during the Quartodeciman controversy, another point apparently overlooked by Bacchiocchi. Eusebius reports that Irenaeus "conferred by letter . . . not only with Victor, but also with most of the other rulers of the churches."<sup>19</sup> Utilizing Bacchiocchi's kind of approach to letter-writing, this would lead us to conclude that Irenaeus of Gaul, not Victor of Rome, was the true ecclesiastical primate at that time! And the conclusion would be strengthened by the fact that on another occasion Irenaeus corresponded with the schismatics Florinus and Blastus in Rome in an effort to terminate the divisive activities of those individuals there.<sup>20</sup> (But to see in this the primacy of Gaul is nonsensical, of course.) All in all, it must be recognized that the type of correspondence with which Bacchiocchi has dealt represents a *mutuality of Christian concern* rather than an ecclesiastical authority and dominance.

2. *Arguments Based on the Attitudes of Polycarp and Polycrates to Victor.* Polycarp, says Bacchiocchi, "felt the compulsion in A.D. 154 to go personally to Anicetus of Rome to regulate the Passover question and other matters," and Polycrates of Ephesus "complied with the order of Victor to summon a council" (p. 209). That Polycarp felt "compulsion" is not indicated in Irenaeus' letter (see p. 92, above); and if superiority is implied (which I doubt that it is), would not that superiority go in the direction of Polycarp? Both bishops *equally* defended their positions on the Easter question, *but* Polycarp administered the sacrament. Moreover, Irenaeus tells us elsewhere that while Polycarp was in Rome at the time of Anicetus, the Smyrnaean bishop worked effectively against the heretics Valentinus and Marcion, bringing many people back to the church (apparently he was doing something in Rome that even the Roman bishops had not been as well able to do).<sup>21</sup> As for Polycrates, did he not summon the council simply as a courtesy to Victor and as a practical matter for his own constituency? Bacchiocchi's translation of the text to say that Victor "required" Polycrates to summon the council (p. 210) is too strong. The translation should rather be "requested."<sup>22</sup>

3. *Argument from a Statement of Irenaeus on Rome's Preeminence.* Irenaeus in his *Against Heresies* explicitly states that "it is a matter of

<sup>19</sup> Eusebius, v. 24.18, in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 244.

<sup>20</sup> See Eusebius, v. 20.1, and cf. also v. 15, in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 237-238, 229.

<sup>21</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, iii.3.4, in ANF 1: 416.

<sup>22</sup> So the translation in the Christian Frederick Cruse edition entitled *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus*. . . , reprint ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1962), p. 209: "whom you requested to be summoned by me." The rendition in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 242 is: "whom I summoned at your desire." The expression occurs in Eusebius, v. 24.8.

necessity that every Church should agree with this Church [the Roman church], on account of its preeminent authority (*potentior principalitas*) that is, the faithful everywhere" (p. 209). But this ANF translation is questionable, as even the translators admit.<sup>23</sup> The remainder of the sentence itself (not given above) and the complete context in which the statement is found would favor a translation more like that of the American editor of ANF: "For it is necessary for every Church (that is to say, the faithful from all parts) to meet in this Church, on account of the superior magistracy; in which Church, by those who are from all places, the tradition of the apostles has been preserved."<sup>24</sup> That editor's "metaphrase" is also worth noting: "On account of the chief magistracy [of the empire], the faithful from all parts, representing every Church, are obliged to resort to Rome, and there to come together; so that [it is the distinction of this Church that], in it, the tradition of the apostles has been preserved by Christians gathered together out of all the Churches."<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, it is later in this same discussion that Irenaeus mentions the work of Polycarp of Smyrna, who in a visit to Rome reclaimed for the Roman church many people who had been led astray by Valentinus and Marcion—an event to which we have already alluded above.

The foregoing kinds of argument presented by Bacchiocchi are debatable, at best. That the bishop of Rome *later* had the jurisdictional authority which Bacchiocchi ascribes to him in the second century is not in dispute, of course; nor is the fact that the Roman church was a particularly prestigious church even during the first century (by virtue of two apostles having labored in it, by its being at the center of the Roman empire, etc.). The question that must be raised here is whether "the Church of Rome in the second century" already exerted "sufficient authority through her Bishop to influence the greater part of Christendom to accept new festivities"—Easter Sunday, the weekly Sunday as a substitute for the Sabbath, and Sabbath fasting (p. 207; quoted more fully above).

<sup>23</sup> See ANF 1: 415, n. 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 461.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* W. Ernest Beet, *The Early Roman Episcopate to A.D. 384* (London: Epworth, 1913), pp. 114-119, deals with the question in a vein somewhat similar to that of the American editor of ANF, and makes the interesting observation that "Hippolytus, who no doubt was familiar with the Greek text of Irenaeus which is lost to us," did not interpret the passage in the sense that "it was the moral duty" of believers from all over the world to agree with Rome's "doctrine or submit to her decisions" (p. 117, n. 1 con't.). The obscure Latin is given both in ANF 1: 415, n. 3, and Beet, p. 115, n. 1.

We have already questioned this authority with regard to the Easter Sunday, since Victor was unable to bring about its observance in the relatively small region of Roman Asia. As for the Sabbath fast, the evidence given by Bacchiocchi himself reveals that *as late as the fifth century* this practice—which the Church of Rome was “anxious to impose” on other Christian communities (p. 189)—had not spread to the East and was far from universal in the West (p. 192)!<sup>26</sup>

Was Rome’s success in the second century greater regarding the weekly Sunday, or were other factors operative in its dissemination—factors which Bacchiocchi may have missed? It is important in this connection to observe that during the third through fifth centuries there is evidence of widespread observance of *both Sabbath and Sunday* rather than the substitution of the Sabbath by Sunday, the practice called to attention by Bacchiocchi for Rome.<sup>27</sup>

Bacchiocchi’s main thesis that Rome, rather than Jerusalem, was the place of origin of Christian Sunday observance still stands (though he should probably have included Alexandria with Rome<sup>28</sup>); but confusion enters the picture of what happened thereafter. This is so because of his emphasis on early Roman primacy, coupled with his failure (1) to treat adequately the later source materials, and (2) to distinguish properly between Sunday as a day of worship and Sunday as a day of rest. He should not be faulted, of course, for choosing to make the second century the *intended* terminus for his investigation, but he should

<sup>26</sup> See n. 30, below.

<sup>27</sup> In addition to Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen, mentioned in n. 29, below, see e.g. Tertullian, *On Fasting*, chap. 14 (ANF 4: 111-112); Pseudo-Ign. *Magn.*, chap. 9 (ANF 1: 62-63); *Apost. Consts.* ii.59, vii.23, and viii.33 (ANF 7: 423, 469, 495); John Cassian, *Insts.* iii.2 and v.26 (NPNF, 2d Series, 11: 213, 243); Asterius of Amasea, *Hom.* 5 on Matt 19:3 (PG, vol. 40, col. 225); and various references in Augustine to the Sabbath fast, including those mentioned in n. 30, below.

<sup>28</sup> On the basis of the Epistle of Barnabas (written, in fact, some two decades earlier than Justin’s *Dialogue* and *1 Apology*). Bacchiocchi deals with Barnabas on pp. 218-223.

revise accordingly his *stated* objective of dealing with Sunday as a day of "worship and rest" (p. 14). The earliest Christian observance of Sunday was for worship (a role which for several centuries, and widely throughout Christendom, it held *side by side* with the Sabbath); only in post-Constantinian times did it become a day of rest (which it did basically in *substitution* for the Sabbath). Even the second-century Roman substitution to which Bacchiocchi calls attention did not involve making Sunday a day of rest.

This brings us directly to the wider implications of Bacchiocchi's investigation as these pertain to the relationship and roles of the Sabbath and Sunday during the third through fifth centuries. Bacchiocchi leaves the impression that Rome's substitution of Sunday for the Sabbath in the early second century spread quickly, becoming universal in the West, though being somewhat retarded in the East because of a "constant influx of converts from the synagogue" (pp. 216-218; see also pp. 211-212). But how can such a view be aligned with the reports, e.g., of the fifth-century historians Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen who state that even as late as their time there were throughout almost *all* of Christendom, *except at Rome and Alexandria*, regular Sabbath services (as well as Sunday services) to celebrate the Lord's Supper?<sup>29</sup> And what shall we say, further, of such testimony as that of Augustine, who, according to Bacchiocchi himself, limited "the practice of Sabbath fasting prevailing in his day [ca. A.D. 400] to 'the Roman Church and hitherto a few of the Western communities'" (p. 192)?<sup>30</sup>

Further questions could be raised regarding various points

<sup>29</sup> Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 22, and Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.*, vii.19 (NPNF, 2d Series, 2: 132, 390).

<sup>30</sup> Augustine, *Ep. to Casulanus*, par. 27. In the same epistle, par. 32, and in his *Ep. to Januarius*, par. 3, he mentions Ambrose's counsel to Augustine's mother to fast or not fast according to the custom prevailing where she might be, just as Ambrose himself fasted on the Sabbath in Rome but not in Milan. (In NPNF, 1st Series, vol. 1, the epistles to Casulanus and to Januarius are numbered 36 and 54, respectively.)

in Bacchiocchi's reconstruction,<sup>31</sup> but special attention has been given here to his view of the role of the Roman church and bishop in the second century because of the vital way in which he relates this view to the early history of the Sabbath and Sunday in the Christian church. And in this regard it seems evident that revision is in order so as to clarify (1) just what did happen with respect to the Sabbath and Sunday *throughout Christendom* during the second century and subsequent several centuries, and (2) just how and when the Roman bishop's influence was felt in the *spread* of Sunday as a *substitute* for the Sabbath as a rest day, a development later than the second century.

#### 4. *In Conclusion: Rordorf and Bacchiocchi Compared and Contrasted*

In concluding this review article, it will be appropriate to present a brief statement of comparisons and contrasts between the works of Rordorf and Bacchiocchi treated herein:

1. Rordorf's scope is broader than Bacchiocchi's by dealing with the Sabbath and Sunday into post-Constantinian times, whereas Bacchiocchi's main attention is directed toward the origin of Christian Sunday observance, which he places in the early second century.

<sup>31</sup> E.g.: Is it proper to claim that "gnostics encouraged Sabbath fasting" on the basis of the sole example of Marcion, whose classification as a genuine gnostic is questionable (p. 122, n. 99, and pp. 186-187)? In what locality was it that Ignatius argued against Judaizing tendencies—in his territory of Syria (p. 213) or in the Roman province of Asia (p. 214), or both? Also, the typographical error of the date of Constantine's Sunday edicts should be corrected from "221" to "321" (p. 248). But perhaps more significant than such matters is the need to question the validity of Bacchiocchi's arguments relating to "Reflexes of Sun-Worship on Christianity" (pp. 252-261). The material presented in this section is interesting in its own right, but one wonders about (1) the viability of Christian sun symbology as a basis for Christian borrowing of a pagan Sunday, (2) the likelihood of eastward orientation in prayer leading to the honoring of Sunday (moreover, contrary to the impression left by Bacchiocchi on p. 255, there appear to have been Jewish antecedents for prayer toward the rising sun; cf., e.g., Josephus, *Wars*, ii.8.5), and (3) the significance of the date of Christmas to Bacchiocchi's whole argument inasmuch as the evidence on Christmas pertains to a later time period.

2. Rordorf has defined the significance and role of Sunday in early Christianity more clearly and precisely than Bacchiocchi by delineating between Sunday as a day of worship and Sunday as a day of rest—a distinction which seems to have escaped Bacchiocchi.

3. Bacchiocchi's treatment of the data pertaining to the Sabbath and Sunday in the first two centuries of the Christian era is much more solid than that of Rordorf, whose reconstruction for this period is built basically on a chain of conjectures and assumptions. Indeed, Bacchiocchi's conclusion that second-century Rome, rather than first-century Jerusalem, was the point of origin for Christian Sunday observance (perhaps he should have included Alexandria with Rome in this respect) seems well founded.

4. Bacchiocchi's treatment of the planetary week appears to be more substantial than Rordorf's, and Bacchiocchi has made an important contribution by calling attention to evidence that this planetary week was undoubtedly in existence in Italy as early as the time of Augustus and Tiberius. Bacchiocchi has also made a fairly impressive case that honor to Sunday among Mithraists could have reached Rome early enough to serve as a possible source for Christian adoption of weekly Sunday observance, but explicit evidence in this regard is lacking. Moreover, he has been unable to overcome certain other difficulties in such a theory.

5. Whereas Rordorf's treatment is very speculative for the first and second centuries, his reconstruction for the third and subsequent centuries is founded more solidly on concrete evidence (though exception would have to be taken to his concept that Gentile-Christian Sabbath-keeping first arose at the turn of the second to third centuries). On the other hand, Bacchiocchi, after presenting a basically solid treatment of the Sabbath and Sunday up through the early second century, gives an emphasis to Rome's practice and authority which, when coupled with lack of investigation of subsequent history, may



lead to a faulty picture as to what the true situation was regarding the two days during the third through fifth centuries.

6. Both scholars have manifested a wide knowledge of primary and secondary literature in their subject areas. Their footnotes are particularly rich with helpful information.

In closing, it must be stated that Rordorf's work, in spite of its shortcomings, has become a standard publication in the field, and undoubtedly with some justification. Bacchiocchi's contributions, even though still very recent at the time of this writing, are already gaining wide attention; and it is to be hoped that they may indeed achieve the general recognition they deserve as a basic corrective to Rordorf and other scholars who have failed to assess sufficiently carefully the history of the Sabbath and Sunday during the first two centuries. It is to be hoped as well that Bacchiocchi may at some future time expand his investigation so as to clarify the history of the Sabbath and Sunday in early Christianity subsequent to the mid-second century.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. Aside from presenting a broad overview of Bacchiocchi's coverage and thesis, I have limited my discussion mainly to two specific parts of his treatment which have crucial implications for the particular historical reconstruction which, according to his statement of purpose, he has set out to provide. Space limitations have prohibited any detailed analysis of further interesting aspects of his work. (For instance, useful as would be a review of his "Appendix" material on "Paul and the Sabbath" [pp. 339-369, immediately following the Bibliography], such a review has of necessity been omitted here in favor of giving the reader a fair introduction to, and evaluation of, his handling of his main thesis as presented in the main text of his volume.)

2. After Parts I and II of this series had been completed and the manuscripts sent to the typesetter, a further significant work on the Sabbath and Sunday in the early church appeared: Robert L. Odom, *Sabbath and Sunday in Early Christianity* (Washington, D.C.: Review

and Herald, 1977). Although this volume could have been reviewed as a forthcoming "Part III" in the present series, its somewhat different nature from the works of Rordorf and Bacchiocchi (it basically surveys the early literature rather than providing a thoroughgoing historical reconstruction), together with a desire to get a review into print quickly, has led me to treat this publication in a regular book review in the present issue of *AUSS* (see pp. 127-129, below).

## MACRINA: VIRGIN AND TEACHER

PATRICIA WILSON-KASTNER

United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities  
New Brighton, Minnesota

Gregory of Nyssa lauded his older sister Macrina as “the common glory of our family” and acclaimed her as “the great Macrina” who had achieved the highest summit of human virtue. Indeed, in two works, the *Life of Macrina* and *The Dialogue on the Soul and the Resurrection*, he portrayed her as the ideal Christian teacher and philosopher, seeking God with her whole heart and mind.<sup>1</sup>

In these two works, Gregory models her portrait on two major figures: Socrates of pagan antiquity; and Thecla, who according to popular legend was a disciple of the apostle Paul. As he develops the character of Macrina as equal to and even surpassing Socrates, Gregory shows her as the true lover of a life of wisdom, a philosopher greater than the best that classical antiquity can offer. In his exposition of Macrina as a second Thecla, Gregory presents her as a teacher, evangelist, and leader following a pattern validated by apostolic authority. Although Gregory is careful to delineate his sister’s individuality, Socrates and Thecla serve as models through whom her own character and life are interpreted and modeled into a literary form.

By writing about Macrina in the *Life* and *Dialogue*—the first of which is, as Pierre Maraval notes, hagiography of the type of the philosophical biography,<sup>2</sup> and the other a philosophical dialogue—Gregory weaves together the traits of the ideal Christian sage, one who leads and teaches and is the fulfillment of the best in pagan and Christian hopes. The two works are interdependent: *The Life* gives the story of

<sup>1</sup>Grégoire de Nysse, *Vie de Sainte Macrine* (hereinafter cited as *VSM*), ed. Pierre Maraval (Paris, 1971); and *De anima et resurrectione* (hereinafter cited as *AR*), in PG, vol. 46, cols 11-160 (only PG column references will be given herein; Eng. trans. is that of NPNF, 2d series, 5: 430-468). Maraval’s n. 2 on pp. 146-147 contains an excellent guide to major scholarship on the question of Thecla, as well as to devotion to her in Christian antiquity. Useful introductory articles on Macrina are those of Edmond Bouvy, “Sainte Macrine,” *Revue Augustinienne* 1 (1902): 265-288; and Makrina Kloppel, “Makrina de Jungene, Eine altchristliche Frauengestalt,” in Th. Bolger, ed., *Frauen in Bannkreis Christi* (Maria-Laach, 1964), pp. 80-94.

<sup>2</sup>*VSM*, p. 26.

Macrina's whole life and its effect on others, placing in context the events which are expounded in great detail in the dialogue; the *Dialogue on the Soul and Resurrection* refers back to the *Life* and assumes the knowledge of it as a frame within which the teaching of the *Dialogue* is embodied.

Within the brief scope of this article I will first quickly survey the *Life*, with its portrait of Macrina as a second Thecla, and then the *Dialogue*, within which she is presented as a Christian Socrates. Next I will attempt to examine in somewhat more detail the way Gregory makes his theological statements about Macrina. In doing this I will draw comparisons and contrasts with Socrates. Finally, as a conclusion I will note the theological rationale underlying Gregory's portrayal of a most unusual figure in patristic writings—a woman sage who teaches and evangelizes.

### 1. *The Life: Macrina as a Second Thecla*

Gregory introduces the theme of Macrina as a second Thecla near the beginning of the *Life*. In fourth-century Cappadocia, as was true throughout the Greek-speaking Christian world, the name and legend of Thecla were well known.<sup>3</sup> Gregory was familiar with the story and almost certainly with the Greek text of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, and with the *Symposion* of Methodius of Olympus, as well as with oral hagiography. Gregory and his brother Basil, as well as Gregory Nazianzen, referred on many occasions to Thecla and her virtues.

In the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*<sup>4</sup> Gregory found a vivid second-century romance image of Thecla in which she is presented as a disciple of Paul who eventually is given by him the same commission to preach which he received. She is presented therein as an evangelist, a confessor who faced martyrdom, and a model and teacher in the virginal life. Without trying to recapitulate the life of Thecla in the *Acts*, I will note certain aspects that are essential for understanding Gregory's image of Macrina.

<sup>3</sup>For a full treatment of the legend of Thecla, see "Thecla" in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace (London, 1887), 4: 882-896. The article also indicates some of the many references to Thecla in the writings of the Greek Fathers, as well as some of those of more recent scholarship on the question.

<sup>4</sup>Πράξεις Παύλου και Θέκλης (hereinafter cited as *Acts*) in R. A. Lipsius, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, 1 (Leipzig, 1891): 235-272; Eng. trans. in Edgar Hennecke's *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, and trans. R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia, 1965) 2: 353-364.

According to the *Acts*, Thecla was a young virgin engaged to Thamyris in Iconium. As soon as she heard Paul preaching about the virginal life, she wanted to be "counted worthy herself to stand in Paul's presence and hear the word of Christ."<sup>5</sup> One of the major motifs is of Thecla as a follower of Paul whose career takes shape on the model of his own. Thecla follows Paul to the prison at the peril of her own safety, and is condemned to death, while Paul is only scourged and banished. From that point on, Thecla is the disciple growing up to take the place of the master. After the pagans unsuccessfully try to martyr her, Paul praises her but will not yet baptize her. Thecla, traveling with Paul, again is arrested and condemned to martyrdom, prays over the beasts to tame them, and baptizes herself in a pit of water where the seals are kept. Finally Thecla is freed "lest the city also perish with her," as the Roman governor finally exclaims in amazement. She confesses her faith before the governor, evangelizes the household of her patron Tryphaena, kinswoman of Caesar, and eventually finds Paul at Myrna. There she tells him of her baptism, and he commissions her to do the same work he is doing: "Go and teach the word of God." She returns to Iconium where she preaches to her mother, and journeys on to Seleucia. There she dies "after enlightening many with the word of God."<sup>6</sup>

In addition to many specific acts in her life which parallel or even exceed Paul's exploits, Thecla is finally acclaimed as Paul's counterpart by Paul himself. Paul, on the contrary, assumes in the story an increasingly less important and less heroic role; in the end he exists only to be Thecla's inspiration and the apostolic validator of her mission.

The *Acts of Paul and Thecla* portray Thecla as finding virginity to be the most perfect evangelical life style, and the way in which one lives out the Gospel most securely. Paul's preaching to her centered on virginity as the way for the Christian to become a "temple of God," to be pleasing to him, and to be rewarded by him in the "day of his Son." For this reason Thecla rejected her own fiancé and was first sent to execution; and in Alexandria she also rejected a suitor, who became the cause of her trial in the arena. Directly or indirectly, Thecla's adherence to virginity was a cause of her near martyrdom, and was almost identical with her Christian life.

<sup>5</sup>*Acts*, 7 (Schneemelcher ed., 2: 355).

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 41-43 (Schneemelcher ed., 2: 364).

The *Symposion* of Methodius of Olympus, written sometime in the second half of the third century, is the only other literary work to treat the figure of Thecla which Gregory would have known.<sup>7</sup> Although much could be said about the work itself, I can here, as with the *Acts*, only indicate certain points which are relevant to Gregory's portrait of Macrina.

In the *Symposion* the same sort of literary frame is used as in Plato's work of the same name, and we are told in a secondary way about a banquet in which a group of ten women discusses the theme of virginity (not *eros*, as in Plato's dialogue). Thecla is presented to us as the intellectual leader of the virgins.<sup>8</sup>

Not only is Thecla acclaimed as leader, and acts as such, but she demonstrates her skills in the most sophisticated and cogent of the discourses. In it, she examines the nature and definition of virginity, expounds significant Scriptural passages, engages in some highly complex allegorical exegesis, responds to objectors, defends human free will against astrological determinism, and concludes with an exhortation to follow the way of virtue rather than vice. In her teaching, Thecla illustrates two characteristics which Gregory insists upon in his portrait of Macrina: (1) Thecla is master of Scripture, not just acquainted with it in a pious way; and (2) she knows enough about pagan philosophy to refute it in order that Christian truth may shine forth.

In the *Symposion* a much more orthodox attitude toward virginity is presented than that in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. The idea that marriage and pleasure are bad and that virginity is good is put forward by one of the characters and is vigorously refuted by another, who asserts that marriage is good but virginity is better because it frees one for the Kingdom of God.<sup>9</sup>

The *Life of Macrina* was written sometime between A.D. 380 and 383 by Gregory, shortly after Macrina's death in 379. It takes the form of a lengthy letter in response to a person whom Gregory had met on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He explains his reason for writing as an effort to prevent the story of his sister's life from being lost, because she "lifted herself, thanks to philosophy, to the highest summit of human

<sup>7</sup>Greek text in G. N. Bonwetsch, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1917) 27: 1-141; Eng. trans. in ANF, 6: 309-355 and in ACW, 27: 38-162. Hereinafter cited as *Symposion*.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. *Symposion*, log. 8, 11.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, log. 2.

virtue.”<sup>10</sup> The first account is of her birth, in which her mother’s dream and the importance of the name Macrina is insisted on. Gregory then speaks of her education, her projected marriage and the death of her fiancé, her decision to lead the virginal life, her conversion of her mother and of her brother Basil to this life style, and the transformation of the family estate into a monastery. The story of their brother Naucratis’ life and death is told as an example of her love and courage. Much time is spent detailing life in the women’s community at Annisa, with attention to Macrina’s leadership. Her nurture of her brother Peter and the deaths of her mother Emmelia and brother Basil are discussed, and Gregory then tells at length of his last visit to Macrina and of her death. The final part of the *Life* relates to Gregory’s further discoveries of Macrina’s holiness from her companions, to her funeral, and to miracles connected with her life and death.

In the *Life*, just as with Thecla, Macrina is the model of the virgin life. She is introduced to us as “the virgin,” persuading her mother and her brother Basil to take up the virginal-philosophical life, and joining together others on the family estate to lead the virginal life in a community characterized by a common life and shared goods. Her virginal life in this community was “for her mother a guide to the immaterial and philosophical life,” and the power of her example was such that the whole community rose towards the heights of this sort of life.<sup>11</sup> The virginity which Macrina espoused and promoted was that of the *Symposium*, a freedom for Christ, not the primarily flesh-rejecting type of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*.

Indeed, Macrina was the teacher who guided others to the “angelic life,” instructing them as “if inspired by the Holy Spirit,” but also with “clarity and logic . . . with verbal facility.”<sup>12</sup> As a second Thecla, Macrina was an exemplary teacher of the Word, respected by men and women, and by lay people and clergy alike. While as one would expect in a fourth-century work written by an orthodox bishop, Macrina exercises no sacramental function, but no one questions that she must be accepted as an authoritative guide in the philosophic life. So authoritative is she as a teacher that Gregory the bishop portrays himself as an admirer of, and learner from, this woman who was the “common boast

<sup>10</sup> *VSM*, 1 (p. 142).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. 5-7 (pp. 154-164).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 (p. 200).

of our family.”<sup>13</sup> In his last conversations with her in the *Life*, Gregory appears as the one who is in need of comfort and instruction, and these he receives from Macrina.

Within this context, note should be made that Macrina is explicitly a teacher of *the Word*; that is, Gregory presents her as an expert in expounding Scripture. Just as with the Thecla of the *Symposion*, Macrina’s teaching has Scripture as its basis and is oriented towards the nurturing of others in the evangelical life.

These various aspects of the figure of Macrina as the second Thecla point to one clear conclusion: Unquestionably, Gregory does model the life of his sister Macrina on the Thecla figure, even more so on the portrait in the *Symposion* than that in the *Acts*. In doing so, he is able to present his sister in a very strong characterization as a virgin teacher, philosopher, and leader, within a context familiar to his readers. He is also enabled to blend skillfully the Socrates model with the Christian saint, at least partly because of the antecedent in Methodius’ Thecla, the virgin teacher, learned in all wisdom.

## 2. *On the Soul and Resurrection: Macrina as a Christian Socrates*

In order to understand the breadth of Macrina’s stature, we must now consider the complement of the Thecla figure, that of Macrina as the Christian Socrates. In order to do so we shall examine Gregory’s *Dialogue on the Soul and Resurrection*, which he wrote as a direct parallel to Plato’s *Phaedo*.<sup>14</sup> In general, the main lines of movement and structure in both works are the same. In the *Phaedo*, Phaedo exposes his intention to recount to Echecrates the last day of Socrates. In this account, Socrates explores the fate of the soul after death and expounds a myth of life after death. Adducing several proofs to dispel the fear that the soul will vanish after death and refuting some serious attacks on his own views about the soul—attacks brought forward by Simon and Cretes—Socrates demonstrates to everyone’s satisfaction that the soul must be indestructible. Then follows the myth of the soul’s fate after death; and finally, Socrates prepares himself for death, for which he regards his whole life to have been a preparation. His last words to Crito are an instruction to pay the debt of the cock owed to Asklepios.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 22 (pp. 212-216).

<sup>14</sup>Plato’s *Phaedo*, trans. Reginald Hackforth (Indianapolis, 1955); Plato, trans. H. N. Fowler, in LCL, 1: 200-403. Hereinafter cited as *Plato*, from the Greek text of LCL ed.



In *On the Soul and Resurrection* essentially the same order is followed. Gregory, in a first-person narrative, tells of coming to Macrina to mourn together over the death of Basil. She, herself on her deathbed, helps him overcome his grief as they talk about the soul and the resurrection. She refutes his fear of death by showing that the soul is one and cannot be destroyed. This leads to a discussion on the resurrection, which is the true answer to the problem of the soul's fate after death. Gregory, in a parallel action to the questioning by Simon and Cretes, questions her about the individual resurrection and the final resurrection. Macrina responds by refuting Gregory's arguments against the resurrection and describes what can be known of the final restoration, the *apokatastasis*. On this note of the ultimate healing of the cosmos the dialogue ends.

Thus, both works begin with the impending death of the teacher, and cover the same topics: virtue, the life of philosophy, and the fate of the soul after death. Of course, some major differences are found, because Socrates asserts the immortality of a disembodied soul whereas Macrina bases her faith on the resurrection of the body and the restoration of the cosmos to harmony with God. Both works end, as well, with a final healing of the disordered human state. Socrates dies, asking that a cock to Asklepios be sacrificed so that his debt be paid; but Macrina does not die at the end of her dialogue. In her doctrine, the *apokatastasis* is healing; therefore it is found at the end, as the conclusion and *telos* in the discourse.

Both dialogues have, moreover, a similar focus. Neither are simply about death and life after death; rather, both are concerned with the leading of the virtuous life, in which death is a "boundary situation" which forces one to ask why one lives as one does.<sup>15</sup> Death is not important in and of itself, nor is "life after death" an abstract concern. In both cases the question is raised about the way in which one lives as this relates to what one can hope for after death. The perception of the relationship and what is to be hoped for is quite different for the two, but the concern is the same.

The two dialogues do, however, have some significant divergences in structure. One of them relates to the immediacy of narration. In the *Phaedo*, Phaedo recounts the death of Socrates to Echebrates, who has

<sup>15</sup>Hackforth, in his introduction to the *Phaedo*, p. 3, treats the fundamental theme of the dialogue as the furthering of the philosophical life. Gregory introduces this same notion into *AR* (e.g., cols. 17, 119).

been seeking an eyewitness account. The narrator is himself a bystander, peripheral to the events; and the whole episode takes on the timeless aura of a tale told within another story. Such a telling was most appropriate for a philosopher who denied the meaning of history and the propriety of human emotion, and who was seeking to escape this body and life in the world. Gregory, by way of contrast, is himself both narrator and participant in *On the Soul and the Resurrection*. He expresses his own grief, admiration, and consolation. He himself goes through the process of seeking the truth with Macrina, and he takes us on the same journey. I think that it would not be too much to see in this literary style an affirmation of a central theological truth for Gregory and Macrina: The whole cosmos is in search of reunion with God. None of us is, or even ever aspires to be, an isolated sage, as in the Socratic ideal; but we are now and always will be all on a common journey together to a common goal. Therefore, timelessness is inappropriate as a narrative technique, because the life and death of Macrina is part of the temporal progress of the world towards God.

As was observed above, both the *Phaedo* and *On the Soul and Resurrection* have congruous endings, dealing with the healing of the soul. But reasons must be sought as to why they do not both also end with death of the central character. Could not Gregory have compressed the last two days of Macrina's life into one? Would this not thereby have provided a more precise and more telling parallel with Socrates? One could, of course, argue from verisimilitude. Socrates did die on the day when he had a discussion about the soul with his pupils, but Macrina died the day after a similar sort of dialogue with Gregory.

There is, however, another equally important literary reason for the different endings of the two dialogues. Socrates had to die at the end of the *Phaedo*, for the final reward of virtue, the necessary final liberation of the philosopher, is death. Philosophy is the study of "nothing but dying and being dead."<sup>16</sup> Thus it is not only historical but also literary and philosophical necessity that demands that Socrates die at the end of his dialogue. Only death will give him the freedom to seek the reward he hopes for behind the myths he recounts.<sup>17</sup> But Macrina does not expound this sort of understanding of death or of human nature. The human being is a microcosm, a spiritual being in a body.

<sup>16</sup>Plato, 1: 222.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 370-376.

Both components are necessary, the soul linking human beings to God, and the body to visible creation. The soul itself works and acts through the body.<sup>18</sup> The soul is and always will be united to the body; death is, in our present economy of salvation, a necessary stage between this present life and our restoration in the resurrection.<sup>19</sup> The moment of death is not a farewell to the body, but an entrance into a new stage of relationship to it. Therefore, not only was it unnecessary to show Macrina's death, but to have done so would have blunted the point. Pagan philosophers saw the flesh as a detriment, and viewed the ideal human state as being that of a disembodied spirit; true philosophy, on the other hand, knew that the body is part of the human person which will always interrelate with the soul. Macrina's death as the climax of the *Dialogue* would have lessened the impact of the very doctrine she was propounding—the resurrection of the body.

### 3. *Details of Macrina's Characterization*

The foregoing are some of the structural similarities and differences between the *Phaedo* and *On the Soul and Resurrection*. In order to gain fuller insight into Macrina as Gregory presents her to us, one also needs to look at some of the details of her characterization. We will here consider several of the more prominent traits that Gregory attributes to her.

In his first paragraph, Gregory establishes the notion of Macrina's skill as a teacher. He relates that after Basil had died, he journeyed to his sister, seeking "for one who could share as an equal my sorrow, with many tears together." Then he continues:

But when we saw each other, the sight of the teacher awakened all my sorrow, because she also was lying in a state of decline, near to death. Like a skillful driver of horses, she allowed me to give way to the force of my grief; and afterwards she tried to check me with words, and to curb the disorder of my soul.<sup>20</sup>

The point here is that Gregory had come to Macrina as an equal, a sister who would share his grief. Instead, he found in her one who exercised the traditional role of a teacher to a pupil. It was he who gave way to his emotions; it was she who must lift him up and console him. This introduction not only establishes her as a teacher, but as a skilled

<sup>18</sup>AR, col. 29.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., cols. 121-127, 153-155.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., cols. 11-13.

and psychologically insightful one. In contrast to Socrates, who had Xanthippe ejected when she lamented his coming death, and who rebuked his disciples whenever they mourned his imminent execution,<sup>21</sup> Macrina accepts Gregory's grief and allows him to express it. Only after he has had some time to grieve does she help him to see the issues involved. She then can move to help him identify the problem of his belief in the soul and resurrection.

Why is there this difference of attitude between Socrates and Macrina towards the grieving ones? The difference, I think, is not so much in attitudes towards the passion of grief, which both would agree is detrimental, but in their exercise of compassion. In Socrates' view, compassion is not a virtue; from Macrina's Christian perspective, it is. Macrina is not simply a midwife of the soul, but a follower of the Jesus who wept when his friend Lazarus had died.

In further contrast to Socrates, who referred quite specifically to his death several times in the course of the *Phaedo*,<sup>22</sup> Macrina only once and indirectly refers to hers.<sup>23</sup> Aside from the relative importance and function of death for Socrates and Macrina, already mentioned, a further reason for the difference has to do with the character of the Christian sage in contrast to the pagan philosopher. The former does not have his or her own soul as a focus of concern, but is preoccupied with the praise of God and the union of all in God. Thus the Christian sage is not constantly absorbed with his or her own death, but with the testimony of God's grace and love to us.

A methodological contrast between Socrates and Macrina should also be noted. During his discussion of life after death Socrates often refers to stories and myths which he regards as probable and worthy of belief because they affirm the immortality of the soul. Macrina, on the other hand, explicitly excludes myths and stories to assert the truth of the resurrection. Sometimes she simply deabsolutizes myths — e.g., cosmology.<sup>24</sup> She refutes pagan philosophy, and calls the platonic myths of the soul's fate after death and the transmigration of souls "incoherent doctrine."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Plato*, 1: 208-210, 400.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 212, 218-222, 240, 294.

<sup>23</sup> *AR*, col. 29.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 69.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 109-113.

In the place where Socrates presents his final great myth of the soul in the underworld, Macrina places her exposition of Scriptural passages discussing the *apokatastasis*. While Socrates ends with myth and probable expectation, Macrina ends with Scripture and certain truth.

Socrates is shown as attacking the Sophists and transcending the notions of his inadequate philosophical predecessors.<sup>26</sup> Macrina is presented as possessing all the philosophical insight necessary to reject these "outside" philosophers and demonstrate what the Christian wisdom is.<sup>27</sup> Her mode of operation is not to try to discredit those other philosophies by mere pious affirmation. Rather, she demonstrates an acute mind with enough grasp of the pagan arguments to refute them or correct them. She does not claim an extensive knowledge of the written sources; she has only "heard" them.<sup>28</sup> But because she is intelligent and knows the truth, she is able to present aptly the "certain philosophy" of the Scriptures in opposition to pagan arguments.<sup>29</sup> Her assertions are reasonable, Gregory insists, and she rejoices in refuting clearly and precisely the diverse positions of "foreign philosophy."<sup>30</sup> Rather than proclaiming Scripture as an arbitrary authority, she shows how it must be interpreted reasonably and why it can overcome all the objections of the adversary.<sup>31</sup> From this perspective, Macrina does not represent a triumph of Christian asceticism over philosophy, but the triumph of true philosophy over false.

All the characteristics of Macrina which Gregory has chosen to portray in the *Dialogue* point to her as the exemplar of the Christian sage, the true philosopher. She is the virgin-philosopher *par excellence*.<sup>32</sup> Having freely chosen the philosophical life, she is therefore enabled to know the higher truth through her living of it. Aware of the subtleties of truth, she is capable of leading others along the way. Master of "other philosophies," she is the teacher of the true philosophy of Scripture who is irrefutable because of her logic and her life.

<sup>26</sup> *Plato*, 1: 330-342.

<sup>27</sup> *AR*, cols. 25, 49, 63, 79.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 21.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 49-51.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 107-109.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 49-51, 79-81, 129, 149.

<sup>32</sup> This theme is treated by Maraval in *VSM*, pp. 90-103.

#### 4. Conclusion

In the figure of the virgin-sage we find the unifying theme which pulls together the Thecla and Socrates motifs. Thecla is the virgin teacher *par excellence*; Socrates' search for wisdom is fulfilled in the virginal philosophical life as embodied in the idealized figure of Macrina. Macrina in both the *Life* and the *Dialogue* is the virgin-philosopher, thus showing in her person how the Christian and pagan search for wisdom is fulfilled in the virginal-philosophic life. One should also note that the teaching office is an integral part of this life for both Thecla and Socrates. Thus it is not enough for Macrina to be the virgin-philosopher; she must articulate her wisdom and communicate it to others. The *Life* and the *Dialogue* are therefore necessary complements of each other. They are not two disparate works, but are a necessary unity.

But what does Gregory provide in his whole theological system as a theoretical justification for his presentation of Macrina in this role? Is she simply a fluke, an aberration? Basil or Gregory Thaumaturgos would be explicable as major heroes, but why is Gregory able to present a figure unique in patristic literature—a woman Christian sage who surpasses Socrates?

To understand this, it is first necessary to investigate briefly Gregory's anthropology. As expressed in *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, the human being is both body and soul: The body through the soul knows the external world; the soul as the created intellectual essence animates the body and gives it the power of knowing. Between the spiritual and corporal world—good in both body and soul, and indeed created by God and destined to be purified and restored by God—the human being will always remain as body and soul, and will be so renewed on the last day. But it is the soul which is in the image of God, knowing and judging, and imparting the divine goodness to the material element. It is the soul which progresses in virtue during this life and will purify itself in assimilation to God as it eternally moves toward him.<sup>33</sup> Thus, in Gregory's view, the soul is in the divine image; the body is the way we relate to the world. Only the soul's free choice and virtue, or lack of such, determine the human being's value as philosopher or Christian relating to God. Thus, a teacher-philosopher's ability is

<sup>33</sup>AR, cols. 27-29, 89-93, 97-101, 105; there are parallels in *On the Making of Man*, 16 (Eng. trans. in NPNF, 2d series, 5: 404-406).

judged by the capacity of the soul, not by the body.

One of the major consequences of this view is that there is no distinction of sex in the virtuous life. Male and female are equal in striving for virtue and a relationship with God. Virginitv, in both its physical and spiritual manifestations, its most perfect form, is the highest form of the deifying life; and both men and women can engage in this kind of life. It is, in fact, particularly freeing for women who are oppressed and fettered because of their social status in marriage.<sup>34</sup> Distinctions of sex, Gregory further insists, are related to the irrational, and not to the rational life of virginitv. Therefore, the question of whether or not one is male or female is irrelevant to the question of who can be virgin, teacher, philosopher. There is no inherent difference in relating to God between male or female.

In terms of Gregory's theology, Macrina is a human being who has made progress in the virginal or philosophical life. She is judged as an individual human being recreated by Christ; she is one who has gained mastery of spirituality, i.e., of reality. Therefore, she can teach and lead others on that same quest.

On an individual level, Macrina has been presented by her brother Gregory, in an historically plausible portrait, as a Christian philosopher equal to, and even superior to, Socrates. On a more general level, Gregory's portrait of Macrina is a strong and sensitive statement, with no exact parallel in patristic literature. It declares that in Christ there is neither male nor female, but that in him all are one.

<sup>34</sup> *On Virginitv*, 2-3 (Eng. trans. in NPNF, 2d series, 5: 344-348).





## BOOK REVIEWS

Coats, George W., and Long, Burke O., eds. *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977. xvi + 190 pp. \$13.50.

This collection of essays by ten distinguished OT scholars is briefly introduced by a preface from the editors in which they point out among other things that there is a "new context" for biblical authority produced by changes in society and the historical-critical method of biblical research. "Ironically, the fruits of scholarly labors have contributed about as much toward making scriptural authority problematic as have any large social changes" (p. x). The end result of the application of the historical-critical method is that the notion of a canon as a unified revelation and the religious authority based upon it is said to be "inherently arbitrary, intolerably narrow, and untimely" (ibid.). A reaction to this negative situation from a NT scholar has recently been published (G. Maier, *The End of the Historical-Critical Method* [St. Louis: Concordia Press, 1977]), and the volume under discussion presents a number of recent trends to find meaning in the OT without giving up the critical method that has so significantly contributed to the problem itself.

A variety of historical questions is raised in the first five essays: B.O. Long, "Prophetic Authority as Social Reality" (pp. 3-20), James A. Sanders, "Hermeneutics in True and False Prophecy" (pp. 21-41), R. E. Clements, "Patterns in the Prophetic Canon" (pp. 42-55), G. M. Tucker, "Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of a Canon" (pp. 56-70), P. R. Ackroyd, "A Judgment Narrative between Kings and Chronicles? An Approach to Amos 7: 9-17" (pp. 71-87). In this reviewer's opinion, the essays by Sanders and Clements deserve particular attention, because they point to impulses toward the canonization of the prophetic writings of the OT.

Three essays acknowledge the current dissolution of the authority of the OT, but seek to employ or reject current notions of making the OT again normative for modern man: G. W. Coats, "The King's Loyal Opposition: Obedience and Authority in Exodus 32-34" (pp. 91-109), P. D. Hanson, "The Theological Significance of Contradiction within the Book of Covenant" (pp. 110-131), W. S. Turner, "The Renewed Authority of Old Testament Wisdom for Contemporary Faith" (pp. 132-147). Coats and Hanson are diametrically opposed in their use of notions of process theology. Turner reveals the contemporary shift to wisdom writings as touching modern man's experience.

The last two essays are written from the perspective of the full validity of the final form of the canonical text of the OT and thus are most important for the matter of the authority of the Bible: B. W. Anderson, "A Stylistic Study of the Priestly Creation Story" (pp. 148-162), R. P. Knierim, "'I Will Not Cause It to Return' in Amos 1 and 2" (pp. 163-175).

*Canon and Authority* is a volume that will be read with interest by all concerned with the questions of OT canon and biblical authority. The essays do not reveal a consensus. Neither do they treat the problem of a "canon within the canon" nor do they discuss the early or late fixing of the OT canon (see now the penetrating study by S. Z. Leiman, *Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence* ([Hamden, Conn.: Shoestring Press, 1976])). They do reveal concern for the stages in the formation of the canon and some of them point to canonical hermeneutics.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

Hengel, Martin. *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross*. Translated by John Bowden. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977. xii + 99 pp. \$4.50.

This book is not a treatise on the Theology of the Cross, but in the author's words provides "historical preliminaries for a presentation of the *theologia crucis* of Paul" (p. 86). Hengel wants to show why the early Christian missionaries in general and the apostle Paul in particular met such a universal contempt for a religion in which its central god-figure, Jesus Christ, had met a shameful death as a convicted criminal. His work is thus a commentary on Paul's statement made after about twenty years of missionary experience among both Jews and Gentiles, that the message of the "crucified Christ" was a "stumbling block" (*skandalon*) to the Jews and a real "folly" (*mōria*) to the Gentiles (1 Cor 1: 23).

In a well-documented way the author shows that crucifixion, as the ultimate penalty, was remarkably widespread in antiquity. It seems to have been introduced by either the Phoenicians or the Persians and then occasionally to have been also applied by the Greeks, and especially by the Carthaginians, to punish primarily high officials, army commanders, and rebels. In Palestine, the Maccabean rulers also adopted this mode of execution for their opponents; but strangely enough, Herod the Great, who by nature was a cruel despot and had many of his adversaries killed, never used crucifixion. However, crucifixion found its most widespread use among the Romans, who inflicted it on the lower classes such as slaves, common criminals, and unruly foreign subjects. They considered it an effective deterrent, and for this reason carried it out on public squares or principal streets and roads so that the greatest possible number of people would witness the ultimate humiliation of the gruesome punishment of a naked individual condemned to this form of death. This was usually aggravated by an inhuman flogging of the victim preceding the crucifixion and a denial of a burial after it. From the available records it seems that crucifixion as a punishment was accepted by all levels of the public, for it was hardly ever criticized in the ancient world.

To the author's credit it must be said that he presents his evidence by means of direct quotations in Greek and Latin, with English translations for those readers (and they may be in the majority) whose knowledge of classical Greek and Latin is rusty. The reader can also be grateful for the full references that are given for all statements made.

Since crucifixion was a mode of punishment meted out to slaves, who were considered chattel in the Roman world, and to criminals and rebels, it is understandable that the preaching of a "Savior of mankind" and "Son of God" who had shared the fate of a convicted criminal, met only mockery and rejection. The mythology of the Greeks and Romans knew of no clear examples of a crucified god worthy of worship. The only exception to this claim, and not even a good one, was the demigod Prometheus, who, against the will of the gods, had revealed fire to man. For this reason he was chained to the rocks as a punishment so that an eagle could pick out his liver during the day, which then grew back during the night so that the punishment could start all over again the next day.

The only Roman who was held in high honor by the state although he had been crucified was the General M. Atilius Regulus. And Regulus was used by Tertullian as the prototype of a martyr who was an example that even an honorable and innocent Roman nobleman could suffer this mode of shameful death (*Ad Nationes*, 1.18.5). As an army general Regulus had fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians during the First Punic War. Sent to Rome by his captors to negotiate a peace treaty with Rome, he counseled the Senate to press on with the war and then returned to Carthage to

honor his promise to return if his mission should fail. Thereupon the Carthaginians tortured him in the most inhuman way and then crucified him.

Aside from the foregoing examples, the ancients seem not to have known of heroes or gods who had shared the fate of low criminals. For this reason it was extremely difficult for an ancient man or woman to embrace a religion which required the worshiper to adore a criminal condemned to death by crucifixion, to pray to him, and to accept him as a personal savior.

The extent of the contempt in which the Christian religion was held for worshiping a convicted and crucified criminal is illustrated by a caricature scratched during the second century A.D. into the plaster of a wall on the Palatine hill in Rome. This depicts a man in the mode of adoration in front of a crucified individual who had the head of an ass, while the accompanying inscription says in mockery, "Alexamenus worships his god" (Jack Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past* [Princeton, 1946], p. 292, Fig. 129).

As far as it goes, Hengel's book is a most valuable piece of work. Yet, the reader is disappointed that it does not treat a variety of questions dealing with the manner and techniques of crucifixions, even though there may be difficulty in obtaining answers to all such questions. (Hengel says that while crucifixions are frequently mentioned in the ancient literature, their manner is hardly ever described; in fact, the best description, according to him, is given in the Gospels [p. 25].) Here are some of the questions one would have liked to see answered, or at least discussed:

How widely was the "Greek cross" (X) applied in crucifixions? Did most of the Roman crosses carry their horizontal cross beam at the top of the vertical pole (T) or somewhat underneath it (†)? Were the people always crucified naked, or did they sometimes wear loincloths as the artists have regularly depicted Christ? How often were criminals crucified head-downward, a mode mentioned by Seneca (p. 25), and according to Origen applied to the apostle Peter (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.15.2)? How often were the genitals of the criminals nailed to the cross, a practice also mentioned by Seneca (p. 25)? How often was a small wooden peg (*sedecula*) attached to the upright pole on which the man to be executed sat? How long did crucified men usually live on the cross? Was it a general practice to crush the legs of crucified men if they were still alive at the end of the day of crucifixion, as the Gospels tell us the Roman soldiers did with the two criminals crucified together with Jesus?

Moreover, the author fails to take notice of discussions that have been going on about the way the feet were pierced by the nail (or nails) in crucifixions since the discovery of a skeleton of a crucified man in Jerusalem, although he does call attention to the articles containing these discussions (p. 32, n. 25; and in the Bibliography under V. Tzaferis and Y. Yadin, pp. 92, 93). He also fails to mention the fact that the nails were put through the lower arms, just above the wrists, and not through the palms of a condemned man, as experiments on corpses have shown: Pierced hands do not support a body hanging on them (A. F. Sava, M.D., in *CBQ*, 16 [1954]: 438-443), in contrast to most paintings of the crucified Christ. Also the arm bones of the Jerusalem skeleton reveal that the nails had pierced, not the man's hands, but his arms between the radius and ulna (N. Haas, in *IEJ* 20 [1970]: 58).

Another item of interest is the historical beginning and end of the practice of crucifixion. It may be difficult to come to unassailable results in this respect since the Greek words used for putting criminals to death are mostly ambiguous. It is not always easy to know which is meant—impaling or crucifixion. Ancient pictures of impaled men are known from Assyrian reliefs, but no early pictorial representations of crucified people have been found. This is a subject which needs a more thorough study than Hengel gives. If no evidence exists which can provide an answer as to the time in history when the practice of crucifixion was initiated, this fact should be

stated plainly. As far as the termination of crucifixion in history, the author indicates that the practice fell into disuse during the time of Constantine, when crucifixion was replaced by hanging (p. 29). But we know that crucifixions were carried out as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century in certain non-Christian countries of the Far East (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 5: 1134-1135). Therefore one would like to know whether this was a revival of a cruel ancient punishment, or whether the practice had never really died out completely.

One more criticism should be made. The bibliography is rather sketchy and misses some important works that deal with the subject of crucifixion. The author even fails to list several articles from which he presents quotations in the text, such as those of F. Cumont (p. 9, n. 20) and N. Haas (p. 32, n. 25).

The reader can see from this review that the small book of Hengel contains much that is commendable and helpful, but that it certainly does not exhaustively treat the subject of crucifixion in which every NT student should be interested.

Pleasant Hill, California

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Hutchison, William R. *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976. x + 347 pp. \$15.00.

Filling a major gap in the history of American theology, this volume argues that modernism was an apologetic movement within liberal Christianity that sought to break down the traditional distinction between religion and culture and emphasized modernity. To establish this thesis William R. Hutchison, who teaches American religious history at Harvard University, traces modernist thought from its Unitarian beginnings in the 1820s to its decline in the 1930s. The Unitarian quest for cultural sources of religious affirmation first pioneered the modernist synthesis during the four decades prior to the Civil War. Then in evangelicalism, Horace Bushnell and David Swing during the 1860s and 1870s revised doctrine within the context of modern thought. From this groundwork the "New Theologians"—Newman Smyth, Charles A. Briggs, and Theodore Munger—attempted in various ways to integrate science and theology. By the turn of the century, modernism was a discernible and influential movement that emphasized the immanence of God in the natural and cultural order while also seeking to preserve Christianity's uniqueness. Discussing this latter problem primarily within the context of mission, William Newton Clarke and George Angier Gordon argued that Christianity's singularity lay in its ethical superiority.

As the movement achieved influence, however, it experienced doubts regarding the validity of the idea of progress and the possibility of deriving theological data from modern culture. World War I only confirmed the questioning expressed by such people as George Burman Foster and William Wallace Fenn. While modernism was disintegrating internally, the 1920s brought attacks from fundamentalism and humanism, both of which argued that liberalism was not Christianity. By the end of the 1920s the term "modernism" had fallen into disuse; but liberalism, represented by Harry Emerson Fosdick, although unwilling to reinstate the distance between God and man urged by Karl Barth, no longer looked to human progress to explain God's nature. Hutchison concludes that adaptationism and the sense of divine immanence remain a vital theological heritage, though carried on more soberly by such theologians as Harvey Cox and Langdon Gilkey.

As this brief summary indicates, Hutchison has chosen a "history of ideas" methodology. Interested in the developing concept of modernity, he draws upon the formal thought of major figures as it appears in sermons, articles, books, and reviews.

In the process he explicates important texts and traces the intellectual biographies of several individuals. These biographical sketches give the reader a sense of the seriousness with which these men took their theological task.

The resulting analysis of modernism as an intellectual movement is both exhaustive and careful, qualities that will make it the standard work on the subject. The volume, however, lacks conceptual rigor, for Hutchison does not clearly distinguish modernism from liberalism in general, and in fact often uses the terms interchangeably. Kenneth Cauthen refers to evangelical and modernist liberals in his *Impact of American Religious Liberalism* (1962), but it appears that he and Hutchison are not always agreed on who is a modernist. William Adams Brown, for instance, appears as a modernist in the present work and as an evangelical liberal in the earlier one. Greater conceptual clarity would enable the reader better to understand and thereby evaluate Hutchison's study.

Potential readers should also know that Hutchison views modernism more sympathetically than do its neo-orthodox and fundamentalist critics. Particularly apparent in the epilogue, this attitude enables the author to close on an optimistic note that not all will share.

Nevertheless, this volume is a major work that will interest both historians and theologians. Indeed, as a guide to the primary literature of the modernists, Hutchison's book is indispensable to anyone seriously concerned with the relationship of Christianity to contemporary culture.

Andrews University

GARY LAND

Jaroš, Karl, and Deckert, Brigitte, *Studien zur Sichem-Area*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Vol. 11a. Freiburg (Schweiz): Universitätsverlag, 1977. 81 pp; 23 figs. 1 map.

This book is to serve as a companion volume to the first-named author's *Sichem*, reviewed in *AUSS* 16 (1978): 350-352. It is a useful study on the ecology and occupational density of the whole Shechem area during the various periods of history—from Chalcolithic times to the Crusaders. This study was spawned by Jaroš's participation in the surface exploration of Khirbet Janun, 9 km. southeast of Shechem—the possible site of Janoam mentioned in Merneptah's Israel Stele—carried out in 1976 by members of the "Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für die Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes."

Jaroš and Deckert bring together the archaeological history of 48 sites, all lying within a radius of 12 km. from Shechem. For some of these sites, such as Shechem itself, the information has been obtained through the results of excavations; for other sites, it came from literary sources or the collection of surface pottery and the study of other visible archaeological remains carried out by a number of investigators, among whom the team directed by E. F. Campbell, Jr., deserves special mention (*BASOR* 190 [1968]: 19-41).

Studies of this type, which deal with a geographically limited area, can be extremely instructive and can supplement the results of archaeological excavations conducted at selected sites. This fact has been demonstrated, e.g., by the surface investigations in which the Andrews University Heshbon Expedition has been engaged around Heshbon (see *AUSS* 13 [1975]: 217-223; 14 [1976]: 119-126; 16 [1978]: 201-222).

The book under review ends with three excursuses: The first is a brief historical sketch of the Samaritans under Jews, Romans, Christians, and Moslems; the second is

on the traditional well of Jacob and the tomb of Joseph at Shechem; and the third is on some Moslem shrines in the Shechem area.

Pleasant Hill, California

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Johnsson, William G. *Religion in Overalls*. Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1977. 122 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

*Religion in Overalls* is essentially a topical study of the Gospel of Matthew, primarily intended for the minister and thinking layman, in which the author tries to bridge the gulf between ivory tower and pew. Specifically, some of the results of NT scholarship from the last two decades are given a form and application to interest the nonspecialist wishing to gain a better grasp of the first gospel and its message. Matthew is chosen because of the author's conviction that this gospel has a message of "unusual significance" for the church today. While a special debt is owed and acknowledged to the redactional studies of Bornkamm, Barth, and Held, there is ample original material to interest those already familiar with these other studies.

Assuming the reader's limited knowledge of some of the conclusions most scholars take for granted, the author uses his first chapter to explain such matters as the synoptic problem, the priority of Mark, the nature of inspiration, canon, and the rudiments of redaction criticism, among other matters. Considering the material covered and the limited space available, the author "covers the waterfront" fairly well and says what needs to be said, although it is unlikely that the specialist will be very satisfied.

Perhaps the most important element in this early material is the author's appeal to listen to Matthew's unique message. Matthew is described as an author with something to say rather than as a mere chronicler. He portrays a Jesus distinct from the One found in Mark, Luke, or John, who speaks to the specific situation that Matthew knows. The recognition that each gospel writer is a creative author in his own right is said to be "one of the great insights to emerge in recent Biblical studies" (p. 23).

Having laid the necessary groundwork, the author proceeds to discuss a variety of topics in the next six chapters, including "Jesus: Royal Lawgiver"; "Discipleship: In the Footsteps of Jesus"; "Conduct: Better Righteousness"; "The Church: In the Storm-tossed Sea"; "The Kingdom: Already But Not Yet!"; and "The Cross: His and Mine."

Under each heading, Matthew's treatment of the tradition is analyzed to see how he has selected and modified material to convey the message that he wishes from the life of Jesus to meet the needs of the people to whom he is writing. It is observed, e.g., that while Mark and Luke record the story of the stilling of the storm in a simple and direct way so that the accent falls on the miraculous aspect, Matthew intends much more. Here the message is set in the context of discipleship, and it has a special meaning for the early believers beyond that of a mere nature miracle. "It is a picture of early Christianity. It elaborates what it means to follow Jesus. There is the little church, fearfully buffeted by the upheavals of the Roman world, apparently about to be swallowed up by the hostile society. . . . But [Jesus] . . . is near to speak the delivering word" (p. 77). Each study concludes with a brief homily in which the lesson drawn is applied to the present, as is seen in such subheadings as "Matthew's Jesus and Our Day," "The Disciple Today," and "Matthew's Concept of Righteousness Today," among others.

A concluding chapter surveys Matthew in retrospect and notes certain patterns which give insight to the situation he is facing and the intent of his message. It is

noted, e.g., that whereas the other gospels place considerable emphasis on the Spirit and his work, Matthew says little. In fact, he is said to be "strangely alone" and "clearly the odd man out" (p. 114). It is not that Matthew ignores exorcisms, miracles, and wonders so much as that he subordinates these through an emphasis on the significance of Christ's words. Matthew's gospel is seen to be "pre-eminently the gospel of Jesus' words" (p. 119). This gospel insists upon a practical type of Christianity, a Christianity that is lived out in the "hurly-burly of life" (p. 119).

While Johnsson has provided an interesting, helpful, and nicely written work, perhaps the most commendable aspect of his endeavor is the concern to make the gains of contemporary scholarship more broadly available. It is hoped not only that there will be further contributions from his pen, but also that his example will encourage others to make a similar effort.

Walla Walla College  
College Place, Washington

D. MALCOLM MAXWELL

Kee, Howard C. *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977. xiii + 225 pp. \$13.95.

This book represents Kee's major contribution to NT studies to date. It has been written in order to engage his colleagues in the use of a new method for biblical research, called the "social-cultural-historical" method (p. ix). Basically it consists of reinforcing the literary criticism of the past with the insights provided by sociology of knowledge. In the fullest sense the method is "holistic" rather than atomistic.

The atomistic approach was tied to the well-established practice of writing commentaries on the biblical text. By their very nature, commentaries were bound to become a disjointed series of observations on words and phrases. With the rise of historicism and linguistic science in the nineteenth century, the comments became more and more pedantic displays of grasp on trivia. The development of form criticism as a method for Gospel research did nothing to change the atomistic approach. But redaction criticism allowed the gospels for the first time to speak as literary units with a voice of their own. It would seem that the days of commentaries on the Synoptic Gospels are numbered. On Matthew and Luke none of any significance has been written for a long time. On Mark, Vincent Taylor's (1959) set the high-water mark of the form-critical approach.

Kee's book is one in the new format of "Studies in the Gospel of. . ." The intent of the book is clearly to do what the commentaries were supposed to do: to interpret the text either theologically or historically. Kee opts for the historical, since that is to be done first in order later to "distinguish those implications which are typical and proper components of the meaning from those which are not" (p. 177). Here he is following E. D. Hirsch's advice.

The results of Kee's historical work are arrived at by means of painstaking work, solidly substantiated and clearly set forth. According to him, Mark was produced by an apocalyptic community in the years prior to the fall of Jerusalem. This community was located in southern Syria, from where it sent forth itinerant charismatics to the villages of the surrounding countryside in order to heal the sick and preach the vindication of Jesus as triumphant Son of Man in the immediate future. The Gospel was originally written in Greek within a community that fed itself spiritually from the LXX. The main purpose in writing was to set forth clearly how Jesus' life and death took place according to God's plan as foretold in Scripture, and to urge people to join the community of those who are waiting for the vindication of God's plan in the parousia.

In his recognition that the origins of Mark have to do with the fall of Jerusalem rather than the imprisonment of Peter in Rome at the time of the Neronian fire in that city, Kee keeps company with Norman Perrin, to whom the book is dedicated. I would agree that Mark fits better the apocalyptic mood fired up by the events around Jerusalem. Kee, however, parts company with Perrin when it comes to Mark's Christology. Perrin saw the Gospel as a theological attempt to replace a half-adequate *theios aner* Christology by a higher Christology of the cross. The aim of the evangelist, according to Perrin, was to make the miracle tradition subservient to the Passion. Kee follows Carl Holladay and rejects the notion that there ever existed a *theios aner* Christology in the early Church, as proposed by Achtemeier, Koester, and others. Mark reflects a community engaged in the Gentile mission, but it is not engaged in a Christological dispute about a *theios aner* which would have been palatable to Gentiles. The theological center is not Christological, but apocalyptic, and even the miracles have to be seen in that light.

Perrin was strongly influenced by W. Wrede's interpretation of the messianic-secret motif. For him the *Wredestrasse* had become the *Hauptstrasse*. Kee sees the Gospel reflecting more directly the "life-world structures" of an apocalyptic community, and completely rejects Wrede's interpretation of the secrecy motif, even conceding that "an understanding of the secrecy motif is rightly presented [by Wrede] as essential to an understanding of Mark" (p. 167). Wrede is charged with having failed to see that the secrecy motif is not a unit, and having included as elements of the motif parts of the Gospel that have nothing to do with secrecy about the Kingdom or Jesus' messiahship. After discarding the irrelevant materials, Kee finds five different kinds of secrecy sayings or narratives (pp. 169-172). But Kee's classification fails to convince this reviewer, and the conclusion to which he arrives as to the role of the secrecy motif is even less convincing. That the secret is that Jesus had to die with a view to the resurrection (which the evangelist fails to report) seems far-fetched. It would seem to me that the secrecy motif may be better explained in reference to the apocalyptic setting of the Gospel.

Kee's studies in Mark are full of valid insights, and his observations on the problem of the gospel as genre, and the style and structure of Mark will make his colleagues rethink seriously the issues involved. His application of the sociology-of-knowledge approach turns out at times to be quite fruitful. But I must confess that I cannot overcome a deep uneasiness when comparisons are made between "cargo cult" communities in the South Pacific of the twentieth century with Christian communities in Palestine or Syria of the first. Melanesia may have isolated, back-water communities unaffected by the currents of civilization moving freely under the auspices of the *pax americana*. Whether the same may be said of Palestine or Syria at the time of the *pax romana* has not yet been established.

Saint Mary's College  
Notre Dame, Indiana

HEROLD WEISS

Metzger, Bruce M. *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1977. xix + 498 pp. \$17.50.

The author has placed NT textual critics in his debt by this masterful treatment of the early versions of the NT made before A.D. 1000. Only one with the background and knowledge of the many languages involved and with control of the bibliographical material for this subject area could have produced a book manifesting such expertise and reliability.



The book is divided into two sections, the first dealing with the early eastern versions and the second with the early western versions. In the first section the following versions are treated: Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, and minor versions such as Arabic, Nubian, Sogdian, and Caucasian Albanian; and in the second section the following are treated: Latin, Gothic, Old Church Slavonic, and minor versions such as Anglo-Saxon, Old High German, and Old Saxon. For each of these versions, a short history of the beginnings of Christianity in that language area is provided, followed by a list and description of the earliest manuscripts and printed editions, and a discussion of the translation base, the textual affinities, and the limitations of the language in representing Greek. The last is written by experts in the respective language areas.

Metzger's work updates Vööbus's *Early Versions of the New Testament* (Stockholm, 1954) and again makes accessible material which has been difficult to obtain inasmuch as the latter work has been out of print for some time. Metzger also adds material not found in Vööbus's treatment. This includes coverage of additional versions (Old Church Slavonic, Sub-Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, Anglo-Saxon, Old High German, Old Saxon, Nubian, Persian, Sogdian, and Caucasian Albanian) and the especially helpful section on the limitations of the languages in representing Greek. This latter is indispensable in evaluating whether a difference in the reading is a real variant or is simply due to the limitation of a language. In dealing with versions, the text critic must always be aware of this situation and of a group of variants such as transpositions and use of synonyms which cannot be definitely determined as variants.

Metzger's material is better organized than Vööbus's, since he divides the versions into eastern and western, while it is difficult to see the rationale for Vööbus's order. Metzger also appears to be more objective in his treatment of areas where there is no clear consensus. Since Vööbus has been more personally involved in research in some of these areas, it is understandable that he would be more subjective in favoring his positions.

It would have been helpful to the less linguistically trained person if words not in Roman script (other than Greek) had been transliterated and translated, as, e.g., on p. 97. While this has usually been done, it is not consistently carried through; translations are normally Latin, and in one case for some unknown reason the translation is German (p. 248). The translation should be either Greek or English.

This publication will be a useful volume not only for the text critic but also for the philologist and church historian.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Odom, Robert L. *Sabbath and Sunday in Early Christianity*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1977. 304 pp. \$12.95.

Robert L. Odom is already well known for his scholarly work on the Sabbath and Sunday in ancient times, particularly through his major book, *Sunday in Roman Paganism* (Washington, D.C., 1944). He has also dealt with "The Sabbath in A.D. 1054" and "Vettius Valens and the Planetary Week" in articles in earlier issues of *AUSS* (*AUSS* 1 [1963]: 74-80, and 3 [1964]: 110-137). The present volume deals with the weekly Sabbath and Sunday as worship days in early Christianity down through the time of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, in the fourth century A.D. The presentation, Odom tells us, "unfolds the historical facts in their chronological order, and the data used for the purpose are drawn mainly from primary sources" (p. 10).

The first chapter (pp. 11-17) treats very briefly the OT data, followed by six short chapters (pp. 18-71) dealing with the NT. Chaps. 8 through 35 (pp. 72-243)—again all very brief—cover the period from the second century to the time of Eusebius. A final chapter (pp. 294-304) summarizes the findings.

The first seven chapters, though brief as they are, give a fairly comprehensive overview of the main biblical data, especially for the NT; and the arguments are generally set forth both cogently and clearly. The major drawback is the fact that nowhere in these chapters does Odom grapple with, or even show awareness of, current discussion of the subject. Certain questions raised by recent writers such as Willy Rordorf, Paul Jewett, and others, have not received the attention that would be expected in a volume such as Odom's.

For the postbiblical period Odom has brought to attention a wide and helpful array of source materials, and this feature is certainly one of the stronger points in his publication. But again, unfortunately, the presentation lacks treatment—and even fails to show awareness—of the issues that are at the forefront of current discussion. Moreover, although the author deserves commendation for the comprehensiveness of his survey of ancient literature and for his ability to move comfortably in knowledge of what that literature says, his portrayal repeatedly betrays inaccuracy because of failure to take proper note of historical backgrounds.

Treatment of the terms "Gnostic" and "Gnosticism" will illustrate this latter point. Though Odom refers repeatedly to ancient Gnosticism, he does not seem to recognize what Gnosticism really was. Rather, he identifies it by simply one of its practices, that of allegorizing—a practice which was by no means limited to Gnostics nor determinative of them as Gnostics. Odom has, in fact, classified the Sabbath interpretations of such anti-Gnostic champions as Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian as being of Gnostic type (see pp. 78, 132, 145, 147, 150, 194)! He even claims that the charge of Gnosticism has been brought against Ignatius' epistle to the Magnesians in the short recension by the editors of ANF (see p. 78, n. 12), when in fact the reference he gives states (and correctly so) exactly the opposite.

His chap. 12, "Extreme Antinomianism," shows how far afield he really goes on this matter. In that chapter he discusses as extreme antinomians several genuine Gnostics, but misses the very point that made them Gnostics. He thinks again, apparently, only of allegorization, and ignores the central idea of a spirit-matter dualism, with its connected concepts of the Gnostic aeon theory, docetism, etc. While some Gnostics were actually antinomian and even licentious, it should be noted that others went to an opposite extreme of becoming rigorous and ascetic. (Some seem even to have advocated "sabbatizing the Sabbath"! ) Such widely divergent practices among Gnostics found common ground in the belief that the body was being harmed for the good of the spirit. Thus, Odom's chapter on "Extreme Antinomianism," describing the views of only one class of Gnostics, is not really helpful. In fact, it may even leave the unwary reader with quite a wrong impression, for although Odom does admit that the Gnostics were not in the mainstream of Christianity, he fails to indicate how truly violent early Christianity was in its opposition to Gnosticism.

Numerous other illustrations could be mentioned of problems arising from a failure to deal adequately with historical contexts; but aside from these, a broader concern may be raised: Does this volume provide a *history* of the Sabbath and Sunday in the early church in such a manner that the reader can determine what was really happening—what the basic developments were? How and through precisely what processes, e.g., did Sunday eventually come to displace the seventh-day Sabbath so widely? Although the writer may have fulfilled well his purpose of presenting sources in a chronological order, he has left the reader at a loss regarding historical *relationships*. It seems to this reviewer that Odom's book would have served better as either a

history or a source collection, rather than as an admixture of the two.

Moreover, there are considerable sections in the volume that are extraneous to the main discussion, and that lead the reader into "blind alleys" as far as the main topic is concerned. The chapter about Gnostic antinomianism, mentioned above, is only one such example. Several chapters that deal with the Easter question in early church history fall into the same category. If in his discussion the author had related this particular question in a meaningful way to his main topic, the inclusion would have been good and justified; but Odom has generally failed to draw out the relationships.

In this connection, it may be observed that in his brief chapter on "Hippolytus" (pp. 210-214) he seems more interested in the paschal chronological tables than in Hippolytus' references to Sabbath and/or Sunday. It is unfortunate that precisely here he has missed calling attention to one of the most significant early statements about the weekly Sabbath fast (this indeed is one of the very few sources overlooked by Odom). Hippolytus, in his Daniel commentary, polemicizes against those who maintain the Sabbath fast. Incidentally, a recognition of this may have helped Odom avert another historical misunderstanding, in his chapter on Tertullian, where he quotes an outdated and erroneous opinion of Joseph Bingham in support of the idea that, to use Bingham's words, "it is next to impossible, that the sabbath should have been a fast in the Roman church at this time [the time of Tertullian's *On Fasting*], and yet not have been discerned by so acute a man as Tertullian" (p. 196, n. 26). (For a discussion of the Sabbath fast in early Christianity, see, e.g., Samuele Bacchiocchi, *Sabbath to Sunday* (Rome, 1977), pp. 187-196, and Kenneth A. Strand, "A Note on the Sabbath Fast in Early Christianity," *AUSS* 3 [1965]: 167-174.)

In conclusion, I would say that in spite of my criticism of Odom's book on some rather basic matters, the volume has considerable merit as a compendium of ancient source materials. It is evident that the author has put much effort and considerable research into locating such a comprehensive collection of primary source materials. Indeed, the overview of statements from the different writers up through Eusebius is excellent and can be used with profit by the careful reader who sifts historical judgments from the primary data given. The lack of an index and bibliography is unfortunate, as is also the fact that footnote references lack imprint information (even the dates of publication are omitted).

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Talbert, Charles H. *What Is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977. 147 pp. \$9.95.

Two views prevail concerning the literary genre of the canonical gospels. One view maintains that they are biographies in the same class as Graeco-Roman biographies. Another view affirms that they are not biographies but apostolic *kerygma* built up into a vivid narrative form. The author's purpose is to demonstrate that the gospels do indeed fit into the biographical genre, and he marshals a large amount of evidence for this purpose.

The three main arguments set forth against the view that the gospels are biographies are "(1) the gospels are mythical, the Graeco-Roman biographies are not; (2) the gospels are cultic, the Graeco-Roman biographies are not; and, (3) while the gospels emerge from a community with a world-negating outlook, the literary biographies are produced by and for a world-affirming people" (p. 2). The first provides the structure; the second, the function; and the third, the attitude—all of which in conjunction are necessary for a genre under which gospels can be classified. In

establishing his point that the gospels are biographies, the author accepts this set of criteria as valid. His task, therefore, is to demonstrate that the Graeco-Roman biographies have these three characteristics.

Chaps. 2 and 3 discuss mythical structure, but unfortunately the author does not define myth until chap. 4 under cultic function. He bases his definition on those of Malinowski and Eliade, who see it as a narrative involving supernatural beings and explaining the origin of the universe or some part of it. The myth serves as a model and legitimation for human activities today. The evidence for the presence of this mythical quality in Graeco-Roman biographies, Talbert finds in the stories of the immortals, men who because of some extraordinary qualities were believed to have been taken up into heaven and granted immortality. Included in the myth of the immortals are divine parentage (either father or mother), prediction that the individual would be taken up, no trace of physical remains after death, and appearances to people after death. Though there is absence of the parousia theme and the exclusiveness found in Jesus, the similarity between the two types of accounts is apparent.

With respect to the Fourth Gospel, the myth of the ascending-descending Redeemer originates not in Gnosticism but in the descent and ascent of wisdom and in the angelology of Hellenistic Judaism. Talbert, however, cannot find in the extant Graeco-Roman biographies any use of the descending-ascending redeemer such as is found in the Fourth Gospel. It seemed inconceivable to the Greek mind for a divine being to come down as a man. There are momentary epiphanies in human form, but there is no passing through human form till death. Talbert does not feel that the Fourth Gospel should be classified in a different genre because of its use of a different myth. The determining factor is its use of myth in the structure of its story.

Talbert believes that the didactic biographies which employ myth were either cult legends or expanded cult legends. A clue to the cultic setting of certain biographies is the close connection made between the life and the teaching of the biographee. These biographies were preserved for the sake of the religious values of the community.

In regard to the third criterion noted above, the author denies that the Gospels reflect a world-negating mood. But he maintains also that it is possible to have an eschatological perspective and to employ literary genres without eschatological perspectives, such as in letters. Then through a rather subtle argument, which really does not establish his point, the author affirms that the attitude of the Gospels "is not at all a world-negating one which prohibits Christian self-expression in the literary forms of the profane world" (p. 127).

It seems to this reviewer that the arguments of the author become progressively weaker and, in fact, he seems to change his approach at the end. His first point, that the Graeco-Roman biographies have mythical structure, is valid, though at one point his presentation in this regard is confusing. On p. 55 he states that "the descent-ascent mythology could be used by Graeco-Roman authors to interpret the lives of historical figures," but on p. 77 he says that this motif was not used and that such descents were only momentary. It seems strange that when he needs to show that Graeco-Roman biographies had a descending-ascending redeemer such as is found in the Fourth Gospel, much of his time is spent in giving evidence of the presence of this motif in Judaism. He ends up with the problem of not finding this motif in Graeco-Roman biographies, and thus he falls back upon the argument that it is not necessary to have this particular myth but only that these biographies have a mythical structure (the myth of the immortals). One wonders, then, why all this material about the presence of the descending-ascending redeemer in Judaism is being presented, at all. On the other hand, the argument concerning the cultic *Sitz im Leben* of the Graeco-Roman biographies is plausible, though it appears that the word "cultic" has to be stretched somewhat for Talbert's purpose.

Talbert's last argument is somewhat puzzling in several respects. His approach changes from showing how the Graeco-Roman biographies are like the Gospels to how the Gospels are like the Graeco-Roman biographies; i.e., they are both world-affirming rather than world-negating. The obvious reason for this shift is the fact that the burden of proof is to show that the Gospels are world-affirming. At the outset it would seem difficult to claim that the Gospels have the same attitude toward the world as the secular biographies. How does the author seek to accomplish this *tour de force*? He does it by reference to the compositional method of the Gospels. He attempts to show through this method that the attitude of the Gospels was inclusive rather than exclusive; i.e., they did not totally reject material with a different point of view, but reinterpreted it within a larger whole with another point of view. His discussion here is not entirely clear. For instance, how absolutizing in intent is a simple collection of sayings or miracles? Or what limits are there to the principle of inclusion? At any rate, how the fact that the Gospels are similar to the secular biographies in their compositional method demonstrates that they are both world-affirming in the same way and satisfies Bultmann's third criterion is difficult to see. Furthermore, is this the type of attitude that Bultmann had in mind when he called the secular biographies world-affirming? The determination of contrast has become a problem of semantics.

While some of Talbert's arguments are questionable, he has provided very helpful material and insights that may also be useful in other directions than for his own specific purpose.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Taylor, Michael J., S.J., ed. *A Companion to John: Readings in Johannine Theology (John's Gospel and Epistles)*. New York: Alba, 1977. xv + 281 pp. Paperback, \$5.95.

This is the second *Companion* that the editor has compiled, his first being a *Companion to Paul* (1975). The readings are taken from previously published articles in journals and books. He has included more Protestant authors in this volume than his previous one, which was heavily dominated by Catholics. While some of the Catholic authors selected for the present book would be included in most, if not all, selections dealing with John, a selection made by a Protestant would probably not have included some of the lesser known Catholic writers. The editor has chosen his material to give to the beginning student a kind of introductory guide to the understanding of the basic themes and problems of the Johannine writings. Because the readings were directed to this type of student, the editor selected those articles which "combined acceptable scholarship with an easier readability and clarity of expression than is normally found in essays on the subject" (p. xiv). For the same reason, too, footnotes have been reduced to a bare minimum. To make this volume more useful, the editor has provided an "Introduction" and has at the end added "Review Questions: Material for Comment and Discussion."

The authors and articles included in the volume are: John Marsh, "John: A Very Different Gospel?"; T. W. Manson, "The Johannine Jesus as Logos"; Basil de Pinto, "John's Jesus: Biblical Wisdom and the Word Embodied"; Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and John: A Comparison in Thought and Expression"; W. D. Davies, "The Johannine 'Signs' of Jesus"; Raymond E. Brown, "The Ego Eimi ('I Am') Passages in the Fourth Gospel"; Karl Schelkle, "John's Theology of Man and the World"; Andre Feuillet, "Man's Participation in God's Life: A Key Concept in John";

Thomas Barrosse, "The Johannine Relationship of Love to Faith"; Bruce Vawter, "John's Doctrine of the Spirit: A Summary View of His Eschatology"; Rudolf Schnackenburg, "Christian Morality according to John"; W. K. Grossouw, "Christian Spirituality in John"; Raymond E. Brown, "The Johannine Sacramentary"; Rudolf Schnackenburg, "Is There a Johannine Ecclesiology?"; J. Ramsey Michaels, "Reflections on the Three Epistles of John."

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Utke, Allen R. *Bio-Babel: Can We Survive the New Biology?* Atlanta: John Knox, 1978. 247 pp. \$11.95.

The new biology threatens to revolutionize life as we know it in the last quarter of the twentieth century. We witness today as critical a breakthrough in knowledge and technology in biology as we witnessed in physics a generation ago. In the first part of the book the author sets forth what we know and what we soon shall see in various areas of biology. In the area of reproduction, he refers to new methods of birth control, self-administered abortifacients, artificial insemination and sperm banks, control of sex in offspring, artificial in ovulation, artificial placentas, cloning, and artificial wombs.

Under physical modification, he refers to the following realities and possibilities: transplanted, artificial, and regenerated body parts; genetic engineering, including negative and positive eugenics using cell fusion, transformation, sperm therapy, transduction, and microsurgery; artificial and synthetic plants and animals; man-animal, man-plant, and plant-animal chimeras.

Under mental modification, he refers to the electrical control of the brain; the chemical control of behavior, memory, and intelligence; disembodied brains, head transplants, and brain transplants; and man-computer and man-machine chimeras.

Under prolongment of life, he refers to the control of disease, freezing techniques to preserve someone for future reanimation, chemically-induced hibernation and suspended animation, and control of the aging process.

The last chapter in this section deals with the creation of life.

The second half of the book deals with the implications and possible consequences of the biological revolution described in the first half. The author first raises questions concerning the unthinking acceptance of the "progress" gained through science and technology, whether these are not doing more *to* man than *for* man. In view of the rapid acceleration of knowledge without corresponding growth in morality, he queries whether we are not in fact now like children playing with dynamite.

Next he sets forth the blessings which we can gain from the advances of the biological revolution and weighs these against the dangers. His emphasis is clearly on the dangers. He looks at the current developments as a Bio-Babel rather than as a cornucopia of unlimited blessings. In the light of these dangers, he proposes a ten-year moratorium on artificial in ovulation research, on the development of artificial wombs, on attempts to clone small mammals and humans, on cell fusion experiments, and on recombinant DNA research. Research in other areas should be slowed down, but those areas are not as serious as the ones mentioned above. During this period of moratorium, conferences and forums that include leaders in all disciplines and fields of knowledge should be held to discuss these various types of research.

Utke also calls for a revolution in which wisdom rather than knowledge will be the objective and that will result in a new person who "would be less self-centered, less orientated toward seeking power, and more concerned about nature, mankind,

humanity, and future generations than are most people today" (p.221). This new person would be a humanized scientist who would share his knowledge and become politically active so that he can change society, a new educator who is not simply an impartor of knowledge but a professor of wisdom, a new layman who becomes informed and active in the shaping of society, and a new religious person who becomes involved for positive good in exercising his Christian responsibility.

The author has set forth well the research being carried on at the present time, including the most up-to-date material available (his postscript adds new developments since the main part of the book was completed). Yet he appears to be much more optimistic regarding future developments than the evidence warrants. Perhaps he felt that the negative tone in presenting the evidence is necessary in order to indicate the serious dangers which are upon us and the Babel-like nature of man's research. Scientists who have been working in these fields have themselves warned against the frightening implications of such research, so Utke's suggestion of a moratorium is not a strange proposal. However, in a complex world, the practicality of such a moratorium has to be weighed in the light of what other countries are doing and will do. What implications does such research have regarding self-defense? What implications does it have regarding our moral quality? Would it be better to stop such research even if this means being overcome by our enemy who continues this sort of research? From a public-policy point of view, questions of this kind have to be asked, and this is what Utke calls for.

From a Christian standpoint, the issues would be looked at differently. How realistic, moreover, is his appeal for a revolution which in fact demands the conversion of American society? Given the nature of man, is this possible? While attempts should be made for the transformation of men, they should always be made with the awareness of the sinful nature of men. Perhaps ultimately the only real solution for man's hubris is God's intervention as at the Tower of Babel. This does not mean, of course, that the Christian should have a laissez-faire attitude. While in this world, the Christian should put forth every effort to influence it according to what he considers the humane options in harmony with Christ's principles. Yet he does this, not in wild-eyed optimism, but in sober realism.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

White, Ronald C., Jr., and Hopkins, C. Howard. *The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America*. With an essay by John C. Bennett. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976. xix + 306 pp. \$15.00/\$6.95.

In 1940 C. Howard Hopkins published *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism*, a volume that, along with Henry May's *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*, remains authoritative on the movement. Believing that the social gospel needs "re-visioning," Hopkins and Ronald C. White, who teaches religion at Whitworth College, have now compiled a volume that forces one to do the rethinking the authors desire.

To classify this volume is difficult, for it contains excerpts from the published and unpublished writings of social-gospel advocates, excerpts from previously published works on the movement, new essays written expressly for this volume, and commentary by the compilers themselves that links this varied material together. The resulting book is surprisingly coherent and reads almost like a monograph.

More importantly, White and Hopkins present material that calls for revision of our traditional view of the social-gospel movement. First, drawing upon the work of Timothy Smith and others, they show that the social gospel had deep roots in nineteenth-century American Christianity, both evangelical and liberal. It was, therefore, in part a product of the internal development of Christianity and not just a response to the industrialization and urbanization of America. Second, while urbanization was the key problem that the social gospel addressed, its activities in the south—where it became involved in farm tenancy, illiteracy, race relations, and other issues—indicate that it was “a particular kind of response to a whole variety of social problems in a changing society. . .” (p. 80). This argument receives further documentation in the section on “Neglected Reforms and Reformers” where material appears from Washington Gladden on race relations, Josiah Strong on imperialism, and Frances Willard on prohibition. Third, the social gospel appears as a theological movement as well as a social movement. As one would expect, Walter Rauschenbusch is the central figure, but the compilers emphasize his background of evangelical piety and present convincing evidence that he had a sense of human sinfulness surprisingly close to that of his later neo-orthodox critics. Underlining the religious nature of the movement were the prayers and hymns that it produced. Washington Gladden’s “O Master Let Me Walk With Thee” takes on new meaning, e.g., when read in the light of its author’s social-gospel struggles. Finally, the reader is reminded of the social gospel’s continuing significance in its influence upon such people as Martin Luther King, Jr., and George McGovern, and in its recent appearance in the evangelical Chicago Declaration. In his concluding essay, John C. Bennett states, “Many elements of the social gospel are now receiving fresh expression though in a context that is very different situationally and theologically” (p. 288).

For the historian *The Social Gospel* does not completely settle any of the above areas of interpretation, but it does point to the kind of evidence that further research must incorporate. At the very least, it is impossible now to continue regarding the social-gospel movement as simply a manifestation of political Progressivism within the liberal churches. It was a much more complex religious awakening.

For the theologian and other religious thinkers and doers to whom this book is also addressed, there is the reminder that American Christianity has a long tradition of social thought and action. The spirit (and in some cases the specific ideas) of the social-gospel movement is a living heritage. This volume enables the contemporary Christian to renew or initiate contact with that still-relevant past.

Andrews University

GARY LAND

Wilson, Dwight. *Armageddon Now!: The Premillenarian Response to Russia and Israel Since 1917*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1977. 258 pages. Paperback, \$4.95.

In this volume, the author, himself a premillenarian, takes note of a vast number of statements regarding Armageddon, Russia, and Israel made by one group of premillenarians, namely, dispensationalists. This group also holds a futurist position as part of their eschatological interpretation. Wilson acknowledges that there are other premillenarians, such as Seventh-day Adventists, whose views are different from those which he treats in this publication (p. 12).

In his “Introduction,” the author informs us that the sources from which his analysis “is basically drawn are premillenarian books and periodicals which are primarily the food of the laity rather than the clergy. Hence, it usually excludes formal theological treatises and scholarly premillenarian journals such as *Bibliotheca Sacra*,



even though they parallel the popular material in content" (pp. 12-13). However, as the volume itself reveals, this should not be taken to mean that dispensationalist scholars are excluded from the investigation. In fact, a good deal of the material quoted or alluded to derives from prominent dispensationalist scholars, including Arno C. Gaebelin, Charles L. Feinberg, E. Schuyler English, Charles C. Ryrie, Wilbur M. Smith, Louis T. Talbot, and John F. Walvoord. Some of the more popular speakers and writers, such as Richard DeHaan and Hal Lindsey, are also mentioned, of course.

After a chapter entitled "Before Balfour and Bolsheviks" (pp. 14-35), eight further chapters (pp. 36-214) continue the survey on the topic indicated in the title and subtitle. Numerous examples of dispensationalist pronouncements from 1917 to 1977 are carefully documented; and although these carry a somewhat common general concept regarding "Armageddon," they also reveal many vicissitudes and conflicting ideas in the matter of specifics in interpretation. One gets the impression that dispensationalist efforts to locate prophetic fulfillment in current events result in considerable confusion because of lack of a proper hermeneutic in dealing with the biblical literature.

This brief review cannot even begin to sample the massive information which Wilson provides, and it must suffice to point out that the almost overwhelming amount of detail given furnishes an account that is both comprehensive and authoritative. The fact that the author has not generally made use of scholarly publications may be a minor fault from the standpoint of completeness; however, the omission is compatible with his objectives and, moreover, can hardly be considered as a factor that might have altered his results.

Although the volume is not basically devoted to a critique of premillenarian views, the "Epilogue" (pp. 215-218) aptly reviews some of the problems inherent in the dispensationalist positions portrayed throughout the book. The author points out that although no attempt "has been made to evaluate or criticize the theological positions of the premillennial system in contrast to other systems of eschatology . . . any set of beliefs may be expected to demonstrate in practice an internal consistency *within* that body of ideas" (pp. 215-216). Literalism as a dispensationalist hermeneutical approach would seem to demand some consistency in finding prophetic fulfillment, but such consistency is lacking, Wilson points out, as one observes the vast array of changing interpretations regarding the "sign of the end," the "revival of the Roman Empire," "the northern confederation," the "supposed restoration of Israel," and the "end of the 'times of the Gentiles.'" He concludes that this sort of "loose literalism when considered as a whole is no more precise than the figurative interpretations of which these literalists are so critical" (p. 216).

Wilson also critiques the dispensationalists on the basis of "determinism" in that usual "definitions of aggression and violation of international law have been ignored in favor of prophecy," and on the basis of "opportunism" by suggesting that this group of premillenarians have "succumbed to the temptation to exploit every conceivable possible prophetic fulfillment for the sake of their prime objective: evangelism" (pp. 217-218). The internal inconsistency displayed in dispensationalist interpretation furnishes a valid basis for critique, being adequately substantiated by the historical survey itself. Wilson's views regarding dispensationalist "determinism" and "opportunism" are, however, somewhat more in the nature of value judgments; nevertheless, even here it must be remembered that these assessments have been made by a scholar who has "grown up" in the ranks of premillenarian thought and who thus in a certain sense speaks "from within" as an authority well versed in premillenarian teaching and practice.

In addition to the rather extensive notes (which appear as a separate section, on pp. 219-246), the volume contains a helpful bibliography (pp. 247-258).

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

## CONSONANTS

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

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	וּ, ו (vocal shewa) = e	וּ = o
וּ = ā	וּ, וּ = é	וּ = o
וּ = a	וּ = i	וּ = o
וּ = e	וּ = i	וּ = u
וּ = ē	וּ = o	וּ = u

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

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